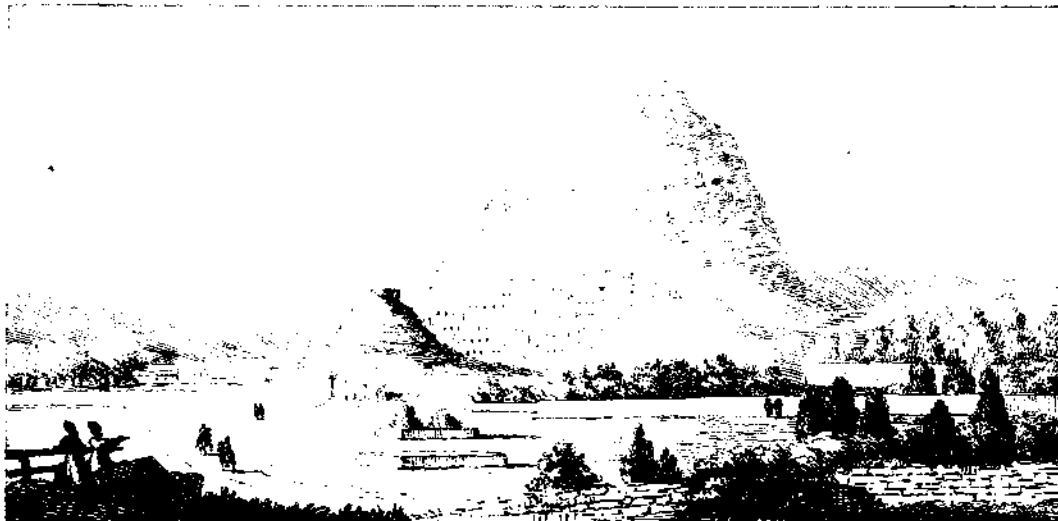




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*Firuzkuh p. 226.*



*Pul i Serbil p. 237.*

**TRAVELS**  
IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE  
**EAST;**  
MORE PARTICULARLY  
**PERSIA.**

---

*A work wherein the Author has described, as far as his own  
Observations extended, the State of those Countries in  
1810, 1811, AND 1812;*

*and has endeavoured to illustrate many subjects of*

**ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCH,**

*History, Geography, Philology and Miscellaneous Literature,  
with extracts from rare and valuable Oriental Manuscripts.*

---

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*Honorary*

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HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GORE OUSELEY, BARONET, K. L. S.

HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENI-  
POTENTIARY AT THE COURT OF PERSIA.

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**VOL. III.**

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1823.





## ADVERTISEMENT.

*This volume exceeds the second, numerically, by fifty-six pages; and, materially, in proportion of, at least, one hundred and sixty, from the close printing adopted at page 249 : a circumstance which will account for some delay in its publication. As time throughout many countries of Asia, is the chief criterion by which distances are ascertained, the hour of departure from one stage and of arrival at another, is, in general, noticed with minute accuracy ; and that future travellers may furnish their private stores accordingly, the principal articles of food at different places, are particularly mentioned,—some stages abounding with those which others altogether want. In a few copies the reference to Plate LVII (View of the mountains near Isfahán) has been omitted ; it should have occurred in p. 41, line 5, after the word “right.” And in p. 500, line 2, after “appearance,” should have been a reference to the View of Tosiah, Plate LXXX. The Turkish names of places between Kárs and Scutari are given from a list obligingly communicated by Mr. Pisani, chief Dragoman to the British Embassy at Constantinople.*

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*Errata at the end.*

*\* Besides two Maps, (No. III. and No. IV) and the wood-cut (in p. 542), this third volume contains twenty-seven Plates, of which the last is numbered LXXXII.*

**TRAVELS**  
*IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES*  
OF  
**THE EAST.**


OF THE EAST  
WESTERN  
SECTION.

**CHAPTER XIII.**

*Account of Ispahán or Isfahán, and of the River Zendehrúd,  
according to Eastern writers.*

**B**EFORE I record the transactions which immediately followed our arrival at *Isfahán*, or describe any of the objects noticed there, it seems necessary that I should examine the information given by Eastern writers on the subject of this celebrated city; having previously remarked, that while, in conformity with modern pronunciation, the name throughout my pages generally appears *Isfahán* (اصفهان),

yet it is more properly *Ispahán* (اسپهان), or, according to the strictness of orthography, *Asp-hán*, *Aspahán*. That this represents the ancient *Aspadana*, although placed by Ptolemy, in Persis, (Lib. VI. c. 4, As. tab. 5) can scarcely be doubted: of their identity the excellent D'Anville (Geogr. Anc.) was convinced; and his opinion has been adopted by De la Rochette and Barbié du Bocage<sup>(1)</sup>.

The name written *Spahán* (or *Sepahán*) thus  occurs three or four times in the *Bundehesh*, an extraordinary *Pahlavi* composition, of which I was so fortunate as to procure a well-written copy from one of the *Parsís* or Fire-worshippers at Bombay. M. Anquetil du Perron, who with considerable ingenuity and accuracy translated the *Bundehesh* into French, restricts its antiquity to the seventh century; although he regards it as a compilation formed from *Zend* originals, older not only than the Christian era, but probably than the victories of Alexander<sup>(2)</sup>.

The next work, according to chronological order, wherein I have found notice of *Isfahán*, is the "Book of Conquests," that valuable record quoted (see Vol. II, p. 312) as the



(1) See M. de la Rochette's map "Indiæ Veteris," &c. which I have already noticed with due praise, (Vol. II. p. 174); and the Geographical "Analyse," &c. subjoined by M. Barbié du Bocage, to the "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre" of Baron de Sainte Croix, (2d edit. Paris, 1804, p. 817).

(2) "Le mont Bakhtan est dans Sepahan." See "*Zendavesta*," Tome. II. p. 368; and p. 393. "Le Khrei roud a sa source dans Sepahan," &c. See also p. 337 and p. 338, concerning the antiquity of the *Bundehesh*.



noticed in a former part of TABRÍ's chronicle as having been the country of KĀ'VEH (كاه) a celebrated black-smith, to whose assistance the mighty FERIDU'N was indebted for his throne seven or eight hundred years before Christ. The name of *Isfahán* or *Spahán* frequently occurs in the *Sháh Námeḥ* of FIRDĀUSÍ; first, I believe, in a line which alludes to KĀ'VEH, the personage above-mentioned<sup>(5)</sup>.

EBN HAUKAL (in the tenth century) described *Isfahán* as a wealthy and flourishing city, remarkable for its fruits, and manufactories of silk and linen, according to his printed work, p. 169; in this account the *Súr al beldán* agrees, that fine MS. copy of his work so often quoted; and it adds, that “*Isfahán* consists of two towns, the first called *Yehúdiáh*, the “other *Medínah* or the city”<sup>(6)</sup>; that they were separated by a small interval, both having mosques, and their houses being constructed of clay; and that “this city is the great mart for “*Párs*, and *Kúhestán*, and *Khurásán*, and *Khúzistán*; and “the very beautiful and costly garments made here of cotton; “embroidered scarlet stuffs, and silk, are highly prized and “sent all over *Irák*, and into *Párs*, and every part of *Kúhestán* “and *Khurásán*, and the different regions of *Islám*. Saffron,

---

(5) “Thy father was of *Sfáhán*, a worker in iron,” *بهرت از صناهان بد آهنكوي*  
 I suspect that this line has crept into some copies of FIRDĀUSÍ's work, for it does not occur in any from the poem of his preceptor ASADI, mentioned in Vol. I. p. 48, note 68.

(6) واما اسفهان دو شهر است اول يهوديه و ديكر مدينه

“also, abounds in this place; and the fruits are much finer than those produced in any other country; and on account of their superior flavour and fragrance, they are exported throughout *Irák*; and from *Irák* to *Khuráshán* there is not any spot, except *Raï*, that yields so many comforts and “luxuries of life”(7).

As the word *Yehúdi* signifies “a Jew”, we might infer from the name *Yehúdiáh* that this place had formerly been a Jewish settlement; the following extract from the *Seir al belád* will tend to confirm this inference. Having declared *Isfahán* (in the fourth climate) to be one of the most considerable and delightful cities of Persia, excelling more particularly in the purity of air and fertility of soil, in the beauty, accomplishments and virtues of its inhabitants, (on which subjects some verses are quoted) the Manuscript proceeds to state that “the ancient town was denominated *Jei*, and is said to “have been founded by *ISCANDER*; it was a place of great “size, and named *Yehúdiáh* having been thus peopled;

(7) و آن فرشته پارس و کوهستان و خراسان و خوزستانست و جاها با قیمت  
 بغایت لطافت مثل عتالی و نثار کرده و ستلاطویات و تمامت جامها اریشم و  
 پنبه از اجا مرتفع می باشد و در عراق و پارس و تمامت کوهستان و خراسان و  
 غدیوان از شهرها اسلام از آن حمل می کنند و نقل می افتد و زعفران بسیار نیز در  
 اینجا می باشد و میدهها آنجا بر فواکه دیگر مواضع فصل و ترجیح دارد و از لذت و  
 بوی خوش که آنرا هست از آن در عرق حمل می افتد و از عراق تا خراسان بغیر  
 از ری شهری با خصب و راحت و خیر و دعوت و عیش و مسرت در آن بیشتر از  
 آصفهان نیست  
 (MS. *Súr al belád*).



"when BAKHTNASSER led away captive from Jerusalem  
 "the most ingenious artists, they arrived at the spot where  
 "Isfahán now stands; and finding that in the qualities of air  
 "and water it resembled their holy city, they chose it for  
 "their residence and established themselves there"(<sup>a</sup>).

Some passages must now be extracted from HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI's description of *Isfahán*, and its four hundred dependent villages, comprised in eight districts, among which I find mentioned as first, the territory of *Jei* bordering on the city (جي در حالي شهر). This account was written in the fourteenth century; when, says our author, *Isfahán* was reckoned by some as belonging to the fourth climate, but according to the calculation of longitude and latitude, men of science placed it in the third. From the Fortunate Islands, he adds, its longitude is 86, 40, and its latitude, from the equinoctial line 32, 25. "Originally," continues the Persian geographer, "it consisted of four villages, *Karran*, *Der-i-*

(<sup>a</sup>) و مدینه قدیمه جي نام دشت کوپند ان از بناهاي اسکندر است و شهر  
 کلاي بود ابرا يهوديه گفتندي و کيفيه ابادني ان برينموزل است که بختنصر اعل  
 حرفه و ضاعدا از بیت المقدس باسيري ابرده چون بجاي که اصفهانست رسیدند  
 آب و هوای البحر باب و هوای بیت المقدس مناسب یافتند بنابر ان ارا جهت  
 قوطن اختیار کردند بانجا مقیم شد  
 (MS. *Seir at belâd*, Clim. IV).

The reader of my former volumes will probably recollect that ISCANDER or SECAN-  
 DER is Alexander the Great, and BAKHTNASSER is Nebuchadnezzar. See what  
 Major Rennell has ingeniously collected from various authors respecting the Jewish  
 settlement at *Isfahán* (Geog. of Herodot. p. 398). The word *Jei* in *Pahlavi* signified  
 "pure, or excellent," and is still added to the names of fire-worshippers at Bombay,  
 and Surat, as DA'RA BJEI, BARRA'MJEI, &c.

“*kúshk*, *Júbáreh* and *Deridesht*, with certain arable lands.  
“Of those, some part may be ascribed to *TAHMURATH* the  
“*Píshdádian* monarch, and some to *JEMSHI'D*; but the  
“greater portion to *DHU'L'-KARNEIN*, the “two-horned;”  
“or Alexander. When *CAI KOBÁ'D*, first sovereign of the  
“*Caiánian* dynasty made this place his capital, great multi-  
“tudes of people assembled there; buildings were erected  
“without the villages, which being united by degrees, formed  
“at length a considerable city. *RUKN AD'DOULEH HASSAN*,  
“son of *BU'IAH*, surrounded it (in the tenth century of  
“Christ) with a rampart, of which the circumference amounts  
“to twenty one thousand paces; this was constructed under  
“the Zodiacal sign of *Sagittarius*; the city is divided into  
“forty four districts, and has nine gates; its climate is tem-  
“perate both in summer and winter, and the heat is never  
“so excessive, nor the cold, as to impede the business of  
“any person. Earthquakes, rain and lightning are here  
“seldom destructive; in the earth of this place dead bodies  
“decay but slowly; and it preserves for several years what-  
“ever grain or other substances may be deposited therein;  
“the plague and paralytick diseases are very rare. The river  
“*Zendehrúd* passes by *Isfahán* on the south-western side, and  
“from its stream many canals or conduits flow through the  
“city; there is well-water also at the distance (or depth) of five  
“or six yards, nearly equal in salubrity and pleasant flavour to  
“the water of the river; and whatever seeds are brought from  
“any other place and sown here, will be found, if they should

“not improve, at least not to degenerate, except pomegran-  
 “ates; which never thrive at *Isfahán*; and even this circum-  
 “stance demonstrates the excellence of its climate and water,  
 “for pomegranates flourish most in an impure air”(9).

Then follow the praises of those fruits for which *Isfahán* has at all times been remarkable; the apples, quinces, pears, apricots, melons, and various others, so celebrated that they are exported to India and Asia Minor(10). HAMDALLAH

(9) در اصل چهارده بوده است کران و د کوشک و جواره و در دشت با چند  
 مزرعه بعضی طموریت پیشدادی و چندیرا جمشید و ذوالقرنین اکثر را ساخته بودند  
 چین کیقباد اول کیانیان آنرا دارالملک ساخت کثرت مردم اینجا بهم رسید در  
 بدین دهها عمارت میکردند بتدریج باهم پیوست و شهری بزرگ شد رکن الدوله  
 حسن بن بویه آنرا بارو کشید و دبرش بیست و یک هزار گام است طالع عمارتش برج  
 قوس است چهل و چهار محله و نه دروازه دارد هوای آن معتدل است در تابستان  
 و زمستان و کرما و سرما چنان نبود که کسی را از کار باز دارد و زلزله و بارندگی و  
 صافیه که موجب خرابی باشد کمتر در آن اتفاق افتد خاکش سوده را دیر زیارت و هر  
 چه بدان سپارند از غله و غیره نیکو نکه دارد و تا چند سال تپاه نکند و در و  
 پیماری مزمن و وبا کمتر برد زنده رود در جانب قبله بر ظاهر شهر میکردن و از و  
 نهرا در شهر جاری و آب چاهش در پنج شش کزی برد و در کوارندگی و خوشی باب  
 رود نزدیک بود و هر تضم که از جای دیگر بانجا بردند و زرع کنند اگر بهتر از مقام  
 اول بر ندهد کمتر از آن نباشد الا آنرا که انجا نیکو نیاید و آن نیز از نیکویی است  
 که انار در هوای متعین نیک آید (MS. *Nuzhat at Cutub*. Geogr. sect. ch. 2).

(10) Among those fruits HAMDALLAH mentions the *milchi* (ملچی) which I do not recollect to have seen in Persia, nor does he explain the name; but that it was a kind of pear, which in the soil of *Isfahán* acquired a flavour peculiarly exquisite, we learn from the MS. *Seir al belád*. The name *Rúm* (روم) which I have translated Asia Minor, is sometimes extended to Greece; but properly signifies (as HAMDALLAH describes it in the seventh chapter of his Geography) the present Turkish empire or western part of Asia, bounded by the Euxine and Mediterranean seas, and by an imaginary line from the borders of Georgia and Armenia to the extremity of Syria near Egypt.

proceeds to describe the pasture-lands which in a surprising manner fatten and strengthen cattle; the plains and admirable hunting-grounds abounding in game of every kind; he informs us that in the city were many publick edifices; at one of these (a *madrasseh* or college) in the *Gulbár* (كلبار) district, which contained the body of SULTA'N MUHAMMED, the *Seljúkian*, was preserved a stone weighing about two thousand *mans*, brought from India, where it had been esteemed the chief idol; and the people of that country offered, but in vain, to redeem it at any price. He then observes that the inhabitants of *Isfahán* are fair-complexioned; notices their religious sects, the difference of which caused much strife and contention; he quotes some epigrammatical verses, and an Arabian prophecy respecting DEJA'L (دجال) the false Messiah or Antichrist, who, it is said, shall come from the *Yehúdiáh* of *Isfahán*, or the Jewish quarter above-mentioned. One district, he says, the *Shahristán* (شهرستان) called also *Shahr-i-now* (شهر نو) or the new town, was founded by SECANDER or Alexander, and rebuilt by FIRUZ, the *Sasánian* king; and in the territory of *Márbín* (ماربین) there was a castle erected by TAHMURATH, and this castle has been denominated *Ateshgáh*, (اتشگاه) as BAHMAN the son of ASFENDYA'R constructed a Fire-temple within it.

Having enumerated the districts and their respective villages, (many of which contained, in his time, a thousand houses or families) the geographer closes this account of *Isfahán* by

calculating its distance from several other places; and as the statement appears sufficiently correct and may be useful to future travellers, I have subjoined it in the Appendix.

EBN VARDI, in one copy of his Arabick work, devotes but a single line to *Isfahán*, celebrating the excellence of its air, soil and water. This line occurs also in my second copy; (a fine Manuscript) which has, besides, the following brief account of *Isfahán*: "it consists of two towns; one called "*Yehúdíah*, the other *Shahr báneh*; and these constitute at present the most flourishing and abundant city of *Jebál* "*(Irák Ajemi* or Parthia) and the largest; here are manufactured embroidered garments of various kinds, silk and cotton; saffron grows here in great profusion, and is sent "from this place to other countries"<sup>(11)</sup>.

AMÍN AHMED RA'ZI (أمين احمد رازي), author of a history of the Persian poets, entitled *Haft aklím* (هفت اقليم) or the "Seven Climates," has illustrated his work with much geographical matter, and in the description of *Isfahán* borrows from the *Seir al belád* (or *Athar al belád*), and the *Nuzhat al culúb* many passages which I have already extracted from these Manuscripts and, therefore, shall not here repeat. His account then

<sup>(11)</sup> اصبهان وهي مدينتان تسمي احدا هما اليهوديد و الآخرى شهربانه و هما اخصب مدن الجبال و اوسعها حالا و بها طراز انواع الحرير و القطن و الزعفران بها كثيرا يحمل منها الي ساير البلاد (MS. *Kheráied* or *Kheridet al ajáieb*.) I have given *Sháhrbáneh* as in the MS, but doubt its correctness.

proceeds to state that concerning the foundation of *Isfahán* there have been many contradictory opinions; several ascribing it to ISPAHA'N a descendant of YA'FET (or Japhet); whilst others regard it as the work of ISPAHA'N son of SA'M (or Shem) the son of Noah; and some have affirmed that *Isfahán* is a name formed of words implying "the city of "horsemen;" others declare that *Isfahán* is the general denomination of the whole territory; "and, adds our author, "it is mentioned in the *Ajaieb al beldán* or "Wonders of "Regions" that this city was, at a very early period, styled "Yehúdiáh or the Jewish settlement; because the children of "Israel when they fled from BAKHT AL NASSER, carried "with them some of the clay or earth from Jerusalem, and "having wandered through the world they found that the "soil of *Isfahán* resembled the earth of their original sacred "habitation; and there they erected a city and called it "Yehúdiáh"—"*Isfahán* is situate on the banks of the river "Zendebrúd, or as some express the name Záiendebrúd; and "from this stream a thousand and one channels have been "cut, which supply abundantly with water the eight *belúks* "or districts"(12). AHMED RA'ZI has not omitted to notice

(12) و در عجایب البلدان آورده که آن شهر را در قدیم یهودیه خواندندی که با آنکه چون بنی اسرائیل از بخت النصر بگریختند باره از خاک بیت المقدس را برگرفته کرد عالم میکردیدند چون خاک اصفهان را موافق خاک بیت المقدس یافتند انجا شهری بنا کرده موسوم بیهودیه— و شهر اصفهان بر کناره آب زنده رود که بعضی بزیانده رود اعتبار کرده اند واقعست و از زنده رود هزار و یک نهر جدا شود و هشت بلوک را کفایت کرد

(MS. *Haft Aklm*, Climate IV).

the antiseptick quality of the earth, the purity of air, and the excellent fruits of *Isfahán*; where, he adds, venomous creatures such as snakes and scorpions are seldom discovered; he praises the publick buildings; the gardens and baths; and in conclusion, quotes a poem of the celebrated KHA'KA'NI, extravagantly representing that city as a perfect paradise; Egypt (or its capital) as less important than the district of *Jeí*; and the far-famed Nile inferior to the *Zendebrúd*<sup>(13)</sup>.

Of this river we perceive in the extract above-given that the name is variously expressed; and I have found it indifferently written in Manuscripts of equal authority, *Zendebrúd*, (or *Zindebrúd*) (زندۀ رود) which may be translated "the living stream;" and *Zhēndebrúd* (زاینده رود) the river that brings forth, fertilizes or vivifies. These, however, may be variations of the same name; but according to the *Seir al belád*, the stream which runs by *Isfahán* was entitled "*Zarín Rúd*" or the "Golden River," "celebrated for the pleasantness and purity of its water; the coarsest thread when washed in that stream becomes as soft and fine as silk; and the source is at

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<sup>(13)</sup> خاتمی. From the poem of KHA'KA'NI (خاتمی) our author has extracted but ten distichs: it consists, however, of seventy two, or seventy five, according to different copies of that poet's *Diván* in my collection, each distich ending with the word *Sifahán* (صفاهان). Few Persian poets furnish so many local allusions as KHA'KA'NI; he ends every distich of another composition with the name of *Rai* (ری); and a poem of one hundred distichs (according to my best copy) has the name of *Khúrásán* (خراسان) in the second line of each.

“a certain spot called *Tebakán* or *Betakán*”(14). Nearly in the same manner one copy of EBN VARDÍ's Arabick treatise above quoted celebrates the *Zendebrúd*; but, as I suppose through some mistake, the name appears written *Nahr Zem-rúd*, which would signify “the river of emeralds.” According to the MS. “it is famed for its pure and salubrious water; “in which clothes of a rough or coarse texture being washed “are rendered soft as silken garments; and it issues from a “place called *Melkán*”(15).

In his account of the *Zendrúd* (for so the MS. one of very doubtful accuracy, exhibits this name) we learn from HAFÍZ ABRÚ that it is a considerable river which passes near *Isfahán*; “in some books,” says the historian, “the name is written “*Zinehrúd*, which may be derived from *Zarínehrúd* or “the “golden stream,” an appellation given because its water was “deemed so precious that even a drop of it should not be “lost or wasted(16);” he adds, that this river proceeds originally from the *chashmeh* or fountain of *Jánán* (جانان).

(14) نهر زرین رود که موصوفست بعدوة آب و لطافت آن رود همان درشت را چون باب آن نهر بشویند چون حریر نرم و لطیم گردد سرچشمه آن از قریه است که انرا بقایان گویند (MS. *Nahr al belad*)

(15) نهر زمرد و هو باصطهان موصف بالاناء و العذوبة یغسل فیه الثوب الخشن فیصار الین من الحرر و هو ینخرج من قریه لی لها مکان

(16) نهر زندرود—در بعضی کتب زینت رود نوشته اند و وجه تسمیه آن بزینت رود است که یک قطره آب ضایع نمیشود



It is traced however by HAMDALLAH (in his Chapter on the subject of Persian Rivers) to the "*Kúh Zerdeh* among the "mountains of the greater *Lur*, and to the territory called *Jái Saró*, the "cypress stream," or fountain; having passed "through *Rúdibár* a district of *Luristán*, it proceeds to *Firúzán* and *Isfuhán*, and is at length, after a course of eighty "farsangs, dissipated or absorbed, at *Ravíd Sestein* in the "land of *Gawkháni*"<sup>(17)</sup>. He notices its names, *Záíendehrúd* and *Zarínrúd*; and informs us that according to some accounts, this river sinks into the ground at *Gawkháni* from which it runs subterraneously sixty farsangs, and then rises again in the province of *Kirmán* and flows into the eastern sea, (در بای شرقی, the eastern part, we may suppose, of the Persian Gulf). "It is related," adds he, "that in former times, a "piece of reed, having been marked for the purpose, was "thrown into this stream at *Gawkháni*, and appeared again in "*Kirmán*"<sup>(18)</sup>; but the mountains, and soil would present so many natural obstacles in the intermediate space, that HAMDALLAH is induced to consider this story as not supported by facts or even by probability. Yet in the work entitled *Ajáieb al beldán* or "Wonders of Regions;" the descent

(17) از کوه زرده و جبال لر بزرگ بهدون جوی سرو بر میخیزد بر ولایت رودبار لرستان گذشته در ولایت فیروزان و اصفهان ریزد در ناحیت روید سستین در زمین کاوخانی منتهی میشود و طولش هشتاد فرسنگ باشد One copy for Ravíd Sestein has Ravendsín (روندسین)

(18) و میگویند در زمان سابق نی پاره نشان کرده در کاوخانی در آن آب افکنده بودند در کرمان پیدا شد

of this river into the Persian Gulf is thus mentioned without any doubt or comment. “The *Zendebrúd* which waters the “territory of *Isfáhán*, is remarkable for its purity and salubrious qualities; from branches of its stream the gardens “and villages of that place derive considerable advantage; “and it falls into the sea of *Fárs*”(19).

The *Zendebrúd* appears to have borne, in the ancient dialects of Persia, denominations totally different, at least in sound, from any of those above-mentioned; for the *Bundeshesh*, according to Anquetil du Perron’s translation, (*Zendav. Tome II. p. 391, 393*) styles it the *Khréi* (or *Khréé*) and the *Mesrega roud*, or *Mesregantch*. The extreme accuracy of that learned Frenchman is evinced, as usual, by a collation of his version with the original text. From my Manuscript copy already mentioned (p. 2) I annex (See Misc. Plate) as it appears written in *Pahlavi* characters, the passage respecting this river; which at present is only known by the name of *Záidebrúd* or *Zendebrúd*; the former being by many considered as more correct, although the latter seemed to me more generally used in conversation.

This account might easily be lengthened by extracts from other Manuscripts now before me; these, however, would

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(19) زندهرود در ولایت اصفهانست و بعدوبة و اطافت آب معرف و رسانیق و سادات اصفهان از جداول او منتفع باشند و مصب ان بحر فارس است

add but little to our stock of knowledge, as the authors have, in general, borrowed not only the matter, but the very words of those already quoted in this chapter. All the information respecting the river *Zendehrúd* which I received from various persons at *Isfahán* in answer to my personal inquiries, agreed so nearly with notices compiled at the same time by MÍRZA' MUHAMMED SA'LEH, (a young and ingenious man of letters who accompanied our embassy from *Shiráz*, and has since visited England), that in translating a few passages from his *Journal*, obligingly communicated to me by himself, I offer the result of our joint researches; previously mentioning one account unnoticed by him which traces the stream to a source called *Chárchashmeh* (چارچشمه) or the "Four Fountains," situate eighty or ninety miles westward of *Isfahán*.

"The *Zendehrúd* is a considerable river which rises among the mountains of *Shámkkeh* (شامکخه) in the *Bakhtyári* (بختیاری) country; and at the distance of twelve farsangs from those mountains, there is a certain bridge, the *Pul-i-Kelleh* (پل کله) exceedingly lofty, although it has but three arches; and this is situate in the territory of *Chár mehál* (چار محال) or the "Four Districts," which, as report states, comprise from two to three hundred *pargannahs* (پارگانه) of villages<sup>(\*)</sup>, where the lands are cultivated by the *Bakhtyáris* and people of *Chár Mehál*,

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(\*) The MS. Dictionary *Jehángírl* informs us that *pargannah* signifies a territory from which taxes are levied.

chiefly with wheat and barley and a little rice. After this, the river waters *Linján* (لنجان) or the *Linjánát* (لنجانات) a tract of country containing nearly thirty *pargannahs* of villages, and about eight thousand inhabitants. Rice is here the principal object of cultivation, but the soil produces also cotton, barley and wheat, some vetches, lentils, and a sufficiency of pease. Gardens are very numerous in the territory of *Linján*, through which the river *Zendebrúd* passes; and there, likewise, is a bridge called *Pul i Vargán* (پل وركان) of firm workmanship. From this to the bridge of *Kelleh* before-mentioned, is a distance of six farsangs. The river, after a course of three farsangs from *Pul i Vargán*, runs under another bridge of great size, the *Pul i Márnán* (پل مارنون) to within half a farsang of *Isfahán*, that city which resembles paradise (چنت نشان); there, situate on it, is the *Pul-i-chehár-búgh* (پل چهارباغ), a very strong bridge and truly beautiful, erected by ALI VERDI KHÁ'N (علي وردی خان) one of SHA'H ABBA'S'S (شاء عباس) principal servants. About three hundred paces below this there is a short bridge called *Pul-i-chúbi* (پل چوبي), the occasion of building which was, that the channel of the *Zendebrúd* being here, close to the royal palaces named *Haft-dest* (هفت دست) and *Saadet-ábúd* (سعادت اباد), of considerable depth, the water might be more easily conveyed into those edifices, along the upper part of the bridge. Having passed from the *Pul-i-chúbi* three hundred paces farther, the stream arrives at the city near the gate of *Kháju* (خواجه), where a large and very strong bridge has been constructed; and this, which is called:

the *Pul-i-Khájú*, and the bridge of *Chehârbâgh*, have each an upper and lower row of arches. The river then passes on to the *Pul-i-Shahristân* (پل شهرستان), a bridge so denominated from an extensive village on the eastern side of *Isfahân*; there is a *minâreh* (مناره) or steeple, exceedingly high in the *Shahristân*, and this place affords a moderate crop; different sorts of barley, wheat, and other grain; the bridge here is not very long and has only ten or twelve arches. From this the river *Zendebrúd* proceeds to the *belúk* (بلوك) or district of *Berâhân* (براهان), where, as the ground presents an elevated surface, a *band* (بند) or dyke has been constructed, to facilitate the descent of the stream, and disperse it for the purposes of irrigation among the cultivated fields; the dyke of which we have spoken, is called the *band* of ALI KU'LI KHA'N (علي قاي خان), and the whole population of *Berâhân*, amounts, as it is supposed, to about one thousand people. The river next flows on to *Rúdesht* (رودشت); this place comprehends several villages, and the inhabitants may be reckoned four thousand, their crops are reasonably abundant; and there also is a dyke, the *Band-i-Merwân* (بند مروان); which derives its name from a person who governed under one of the *Abbási Khalífa*hs. Hence the *Zendebrúd* advances to *Varzeneh*, (ورزنه) in the district of *Rúdesht*; and a little beyond *Varzeneh*, settles on the earth." I must remark that one meaning of *Zendeh* (زنده) is "great," yet it does not seem applied in this sense to the river by those poets who often play upon its name.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### *Residence at Ispahán.*

WE remained at *Ispahán* from the twenty-ninth day of July until the twenty-first of October, a space of twelve weeks, during which our residence was in the Royal Gardens of *Saudetábád*, where Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley occupied the extensive building called *Haft-dest*, comprising many ranges of apartments<sup>(1)</sup>. These, when the former

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(1) Properly seven, for *haft* (هفت) signifies that number; and *dest* or *dast* (دست) having other meanings, such as the hand, power, &c. serves to express a thing complete in its various parts, as we learn from the MS Dict. *J-hángiri* and the *Burhán Kátea*; thus *yek dest i jámeš* (یکدست جامه) or *yek dest i rukht* (یکدست رخت) implies a perfect suit of clothes or a dress complete from the *mandil* (منديل) wrapped round the head, to the covering of the legs and feet. *Yek dest i siláh* (یکدست سلاح) a suit of iron armour complete from the (*خود*) *khúd*, the cap or helmet (in sense and sound resembling our English word "hood") to the boot; and *yek dest i khāneh* (یکدست خانه) signifies a mansion complete in all its chambers as a dwelling house, besides stables, &c. The *Haftdest* of *Saudetábád* is the edifice which Le Brun styles "le serrail," and has delineated in Pl. 84. "Voyages," &c. p. 204, (Amst. 1718).

kings lived here, formed the *Harem* or *Hharam* (حرم) the dwellings of their wives; some chambers were still very richly gilt, painted and otherwise ornamented in the best Persian style. This edifice is not attached to any other situate within the precincts of *Saadetábád* gardens; the lower part is built of stone, in large and well-cut masses; the superstructure of brick; one end, a tower, appears in Plate LVI, (first view) which also represents the *tálár* (تالار) or great open-fronted hall of the Palace hereafter described.

Some gentlemen of the embassy furnished for their own accommodation the rooms or recesses in that airy and pretty, but most inconvenient structure the “European hat,” (*Kuláh i Frangki*<sup>(\*)</sup>), or as it is sometimes called the *namek-dán* (نمکدان) or “Salt cellar.” Of this building, described as an octagonal pavilion by Chardin, (Tome VIII, p. 228, Rouen, 1725) I made two sketches; one the subject of Pl. LVII, (No. 1) was taken near the Palace from the great walk through which runs a conduit with works for throwing up water. In this is included part of the mountain called *Kúh e Saffeh* (کوه صفا). The same Plate, No. 2, represents the *Kuláh i Frangki* delineated from a spot near the garden gate, opening towards the cemetery or *Kabrestan* (قبرستان) of the district called *Takhti-Púlád*

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(\*) (كلاه فرنگي) So called from a fancied resemblance in its projecting roof, to the old-fashioned *kuláh* or hat of the Franks or Europeans. An edifice of this kind has been mentioned in Vol. II, p. 2.

(تنصت يولاد) after an ancient hero, PU'LA'D; this view shews the basin or fountain raised on a circular platform, from the center of which water constantly issued, and as I heard, was often projected to a considerable height.

Most of us, however, preferred our tents, and pitched them among the lofty *chínár* (چنار) or plane-trees, so numerous in these ample gardens. We daily assembled at that stately edifice which I have denominated the Palace, being the handsomest, and principal of all that constitute the *Saadetábád* (سعادت آباد) or "Residence of Felicity." There the Ambassador received visits of ceremony; and there we breakfasted and dined in the magnificent and spacious "Hall of Audience," or "*Diván Kháneh*" (ديوان خانه); the *tálár* or open front of which has been already represented (Pl. LVI, No. 1) and appears in a different point of view (Pl. LVI, No. 2) when seen from a door-way near the *Haft-dest*; whence also is discerned the *Pul i Khájú* (پل خواجو) or "Bridge of Khájú," as expressed in the same engraving. Of the *Diván Kháneh*, that splendid hall wherein we daily assembled at meals, the walls were formed at the lower part, of fine marble slabs, painted and gilded in patterns of birds and flowers.

In another place some architectural observations on this Palace, and an ichnographical sketch, shall be offered; meanwhile I proceed to record the transactions subsequent to our arrival on the twenty-ninth day of July, at *Saadetábád* or "the Mansion of Felicity."



We had not been many hours in this Persian Elysium before the Ambassador received a visit from HA'JI MUHAMMED HUSEIN KHA'N (حاجي محمد حسين خان) the *Amin ad douleh* (امين الدوله) second minister of the Empire and ruler of that extensive region, which lies between *Aminábád* and *Tehrán*; his son, ABDALLAH KHA'N (عبدالله خان) being peculiarly the governor of *Ispahán*; but it was attributed to his father's judicious and mild administration, that this celebrated city has, within a few years made rapid advances towards its ancient degree of population, splendour and opulence.

Next morning we set out on horseback at ten o'clock in full procession, to return the *Amin ad douleh's* visit; and having crossed the river *Zendehrúd* on the bridge of *Khájú* we rode through several long, handsome and well-peopled streets, but had opportunities of remarking that at least as many more were in ruins and uninhabited. The great man received us at his door with much courtesy; in honour of the Ambassador he had assembled all the chief personages of *Ispahán*; and at noon the floor of a spacious chamber was covered with ten very large trays, each containing twenty-five china bowls and dishes of various sizes<sup>(\*)</sup>; these

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(\*) I have seen a still greater number at once on the floor during a *ziáfet* (ضيافته) a grand feast or entertainment) which the prime minister at *Tehrán* gave in honour of the Ambassador. To indulge in the use and display of beautiful porcelain has long been among the Persians a favourite luxury. In his account of HEMA'M AD'DIN

were filled with the most savoury meat, conserves, sweet cakes, delicious fruit, both dried and fresh; sherbet of orange and pomegranate, and willow-water or *âb-i-bidmishk* (اب بیدمشک) cooled with ice; after this repast we were treated with coffee and *caleâns* or pipes. Rose water was poured into our hands, and we returned at two o'clock to the gardens of *Saadetâbâd*.

I rode next day into the city, visited some of the principal edifices, and many *bûzârs* or rows of shops, and purchased a few trifling articles from painters and money-changers who promised to reserve for my inspection whatever extraordinary pictures, gems, or ancient coins might fall into their hands. I also left with two intelligent book-sellers, lists of about thirty rare Arabick and Persian manuscripts which at *Shîrdz* had been in vain the object of my inquiry.

Although the nights were pleasantly cool, yet the sun acquired considerable heat very early in the morning; and, on the last day of July, at half-past nine, the thermometer had risen to 89; at noon it was up to 97; and stood, an hour after, at 98.

.....

TAHERI'ZI (همام الدین تجریشی) who died about the year 1313, (A. H. 713) DOWLET SHAH notices the banquet given by a private, though wealthy, individual some years before that time, when four hundred china dishes and vessels were at once placed before the guests; چهارصد طبق چینی در آن مجلس حاضر کرد.

Visits repeated two, three or four times every week during a space of nearly three months, enabled me to examine, with perfect ease, the chief objects of curiosity still existing at *Ispahán* and in the neighbourhood of that city, which has been so well described by Chardin, that the task remaining for a modern traveller is little more than to lament the decay of its buildings, and the decrease of its population. We learn from the account given by that ingenious Frenchman, that, about the year 1666, *Ispahán* contained, according to some calculations, eleven hundred thousand inhabitants; he acknowledges, however, that on this subject there were different opinions; but the most moderate statement, he says, only reduced the number to six hundred thousand, (Tome VIII, p. 3, 4.). I strongly doubt whether at this time, (1811) two hundred thousand could be found resident in the city.

Yet so extensive is the tract covered with its ruins, that including the quarters still peopled, it is not probably, a very exaggerated representation, by which the natives have frequently<sup>4</sup> described to me this great capital, as being ten farsangs in circumference<sup>(4)</sup>.

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(<sup>4</sup>) Chardin (Tome VIII, p. 8, 8) pronounced it one of the greatest cities in the world; forming with its suburbs a compass of not less than twelve leagues; he allowed a circuit of twenty thousand paces to the walls as they stood when he wrote in the seventeenth century; and we have seen twenty one thousand assigned to them by HAMDALLAH at the time of their original construction seven hundred years before (See p. 7). Kämpfer allows sixteen farsangs, and could not ride round them in one day; (Asiatick. Exot. p. 163).

From its former vast extent and population, has arisen that hyperbolical saying which a stranger hears so often among the vaunting natives, and which declares *Isfahán* to be "half the world," (*Isfahán nisf e jehán* اصفهان نصف جهان). This city, as an aged and respectable inhabitant informed me, contained when in its glory under the *Sefeviah* (صفویه) princes, sixty five thousand families or houses; a number augmented to seventy two thousand by another account, reported in the Journal of MÍRZA SA'LEH, (See p. 16). Perhaps the saying above-quoted, may have alluded, inclusively, to the numerous villages once so thickly studded on the adjacent plains, fifteen hundred being situate, says Chardin, within a space of ten leagues. Of those villages several have totally disappeared or only exist in a state of absolute decay; many however still flourish and continue to supply *Isfahán* most abundantly with the produce of their fields and gardens.

From our residence at *Saadetábád*, we usually entered *Ispahán* by way of the bridge and gate called *Khájú*, and through the adjoining *Chárbágh* or quadruple garden, of which the spacious avenues, bordered with trees and shrubs, and watered by rills, flowing from ample fountains, led us to the *Bázár* of HASSAN ABA'D (بازار حسن اباد). In this, the rows or streets of shops are under cover of one general roof; in the centre is an octagonal *howz* (حوض) or reservoir, and the fronts of those buildings near it are decorated with gaudy pictures of kings

and heroes. For this handsome *bázár* and the neighbouring *Chárbágh*, which now present busy and chearful scenes, where lately ruins alone were visible, the inhabitants are indebted to the AMI'N AD'DOULEH, whose indefatigable perseverance in embellishing and enriching *Ispahán* is evinced by the population and bustle of those streets situate between the *bázár* above-mentioned and the gate called *Tukhchi* (تخچی), a space of about two miles; also in the quarter of *Kaisariáh* (قیصریه), in the royal square or *Meidán Sháhi* (میدان شاهي), and in the various districts allotted respectively to copper-smiths, sadlers, cap-makers, sword-cutlers, druggists, cotton-manufacturers, dyers, those who sell clothes, confectioners, cooks and other artisans and tradesmen.

This patriotick minister also rebuilt (as I learn from some notes committed to paper on the spot) that gate styled *Derwázeh* (دروازه) or corruptly, *Derb-i-Kaisariáh*, (درب قیصریه), over which is exhibited a painted representation of SHA'H ISMA'IL (شاه اسمعیل) engaged in battle. He not only preserves from decay several magnificent palaces, founded by the powerful and luxurious *Sevefiáh* monarchs; such as the royal mansions called *Chehl Setún* (چهل ستون) or the "Forty pillars," *Hesht behesht* (هشت بهشت) or the "Eight Paradises," and *Saadet-ábád* or "the Residence of Felicity" above-noticed: but has erected and completely furnished at his own expense, a very beautiful new edifice for the accommodation of his sovereign, in honour of whose name (FATTEH ALI SHA'H) (فتح علی شاه) it is

entitled *Fatteh A'bad* (فتح آباد) or the "Residence of Victory." If the other palaces derive from their more ample proportions and more rich though faded decorations, an air of superior majesty, this modern and smaller building pleases, perhaps in a higher degree, by the smiling gloss of novelty. The others, not yet claiming veneration as monuments of antiquity, are, however, sufficiently old to appear, when considered as dwelling places, dreary, gloomy and incommodious, whilst the newly-constructed apartments of *Fatteh A'bad* seem to constitute a chearful, clean and comfortable habitation. It possesses one chamber of peculiar beauty, gilt and painted with considerable elegance, and receiving light through stained glass, fancifully disposed in handsome windows, and of different colours so vivid as to excite, during sun-shine, an idea of most brilliant jewel-work.

The portraits of many ancient kings, represented of the natural size, contribute to embellish this palace. They have been painted within ten or twelve years by a celebrated artist, MIHR ALI (مهر علی) of *Tehrán*; who has not only marked each picture with his own name, but considerately added the title of each illustrious personage whom he intended to delineate. This alone enables the spectator to distinguish FERIDU'N, NU'SHI'RAVA'N and others from ISCANDER or Alexander the Great, whose face, dress and arms are, most probably, the same that MIHR ALI's imagination would have assigned to any Pérsian prince of the last fifty or hundred years.

At a house adjoining the *Fatteh Abád*, I paid frequent visits to Captain Lockett, who had left *Shíráz* some days before our departure, and had suffered much from insults and extortion on the road between that city and *Ispahán*; his baggage had been repeatedly searched; one of his Indian servants threatened with death for the crime of not being a Muhammedan, and his own life in danger several times.

With him I often inspected the palaces above-mentioned; the great *Meidán* (میدان) or square; the *Maddrassehs* (مدرسه) or colleges, and various publick edifices so accurately described by Chardin, Le Brun, and other travellers; and we explored together the streets and *bázárs* where the *Kitáb-furúshán* (کتاب فروشان) or booksellers resided.

Captain Lockett was desirous of proceeding through *Hamadán* (همدان) to *Baghdád* (بغداد), where he purposed finishing, under the eyes of learned natives, his translations from several manuscript works on the abstruse science of Arabick grammar. But to travel by the road of *Hamadán* was reckoned so hazardous, on account of the depredations committed by *Bakhtyáris* and other lawless tribes, and of hostilities between the prince of *Kirmánsháh* and the Turkish governor or *Páshá* of *Baghdád*, that he determined on returning to *Búshehr*, whence he might be easily conveyed in some English or Arab vessel to *Basrah* (بصرة). About the middle of August he pitched his tent in the *Saadetábád* garden, and

remained amongst us there until the twentieth of that month, when he commenced his journey, having agreed for a certain sum with muleteers, who engaged to escort him and carry his baggage in thirteen days from *Isfahán* to the *Bander* (بند) or sea-port of *Báshehr*.

If, respecting any particular object, the statements of two contemporary travellers, equal in abilities and authority be sometimes found to disagree, those who have visited distant countries and especially the East, will not always ascribe the variation either to neglect, or to wilful misrepresentation. Accident may have furnished one with the means of obtaining the most correct intelligence which, from a combination of unfavourable circumstances, no exertions of the other could have procured. Nor must all those from whom it is sought, be necessarily supposed qualified to give it; although they are, in general, more ready to deceive or amuse a foreigner with erroneous information and vague conjecture, than to acknowledge their own ignorance. I have received from persons residing in the same street, and even in the same house, very contradictory answers concerning subjects on which it was natural for a stranger to suppose that, from local and daily opportunities, they would have acquired the most certain knowledge.

Tavernier and Chardin, about the years 1665 or 1666 differed in enumerating the gates of *Isfahán*; the former



reckoned ten, the latter twelve, of which eight were always open and four, for superstitious reasons, always shut. We have seen (p. 7) that a Persian geographer of the fourteenth century assigned to that city only nine gates; from what I could myself ascertain when on the spot in 1811, and from a written account given to me there by an ingenious native, the number appears to be twelve.

Another instance of discrepancy occurs in calculating the population of *Ispahán*, which Tavernier, most probably, under-rated when he informs us that Paris contained ten times more inhabitants than the Persian capital; whilst Char-din seems to have exaggerated it in an equal degree by stating them at eleven hundred thousand, or even at six hundred thousand; my own opinion, as already expressed, (p. 24) would not raise the amount of their present numbers beyond two hundred thousand.

But we find that Europeans are not the only travellers who differ in their reports on the same subject. In his very brief account of *Ispahán*, written by MÍ'RZA' JA'N whilst we were there, he mentions that the city is divided into twelve *mahallehs* (محاله) or sections resembling our parishes; and it comprises according to the journal of MÍ'RZA SA'LEH who accompanied us from *Shíráz*, no less than seventeen; of which, adds he, some are inhabited and others fallen to decay. These two reports might perhaps, be reconciled, by

supposing that of seventeen five only were in a state of ruin; but if the peopled *mahallehs* do not exceed twelve in number, those which have been deserted are, as many statements induce me to believe, considerably more than five. The division, however into forty-four, that subsisted in the fourteenth century, according to HAMDALLAH CAZVINI has long since been reduced; and when Chardin wrote, (about the year 1676) *Ispahán* consisted of two principal districts, *Deri desht* and *Júbáreh*; these denominations still remain.

Through some procrastination for which no satisfactory excuse or reason can now be offered, I neglected to ascertain from actual measurement the length and breadth of that great *Meidán*, described by so many travellers in terms of admiration; yet it was fully my intention to determine whether Daulier Deslandes, or Tavernier, or Chardin stated most correctly its dimensions; for the book of notes and extracts which I had compiled in England proved that their respective accounts did not, by any means, accord, although the writers visited *Ispahán* at nearly the same time(\*). Whatever

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(\*) According to Daulier Deslandes it was 600 paces or steps (*pas d'un homme qui se promene*) by 400. Tavernier says about 700 (*pas*) long and between 200 and 300 broad. Chardin 440, by 160; an ingenious traveller of our own time describes it as "une place d'environ 700 *pas* ordinaires de long du nord au sud et de 230 de large "de l'est a' ouest." (Olivier, *Voyage en Perse*. Tome V. p. 183, Paris, 1807). Pietro della Valle assigned to this "Piazza maggiore" about 690 of his steps (*passi de i miei*) by 280; and Kämpfer 660 (*passuum*) by 212. Le Brun extends its length to 710, and states its width at 210 steps (*pas*).

may be its extent I am willing to believe that few cities of the world can boast so magnificent a public square as this "Royal *Meidán*," *Meidán sháhi* (میدان شاهي) or "Place of the lofty gate," *Meidán Aali Cápi*, for it bears both names<sup>(\*)</sup>. Yet its appearance did not altogether correspond to the vast ideas which I had formed. Time has, in many parts, defaced its buildings and exposed the original meanness of their materials, brick or clay; and we, at least, never witnessed any of those brilliant cavalcades which rendered this scene so interesting, whilst the monarch held his court in the splendid palace adjoining; nor that bustle of amusement and of business by which it was animated, whilst the city could pour greater multitudes into its ample space. Near one end however, I generally observed some booths or awnings under the shade of which a few traders of the lowest classes sold their wares. *Lúties* or mountebanks here practised their buffooneries and *pahlaváns* (پهلوان) or *kushtigírs* (کشتیگیر) displayed their skill in athletick exercises. Two of these appear wrestling in the view with which Kæmpfer has illustrated his excellent account of this *Meidán*; wherein also he has represented a goat trained to jump on the highest of many little wooden pyramids piled one above another, yet not throw any down. To this an allusion has been already made; and to the exhibitions of wrestlers, such as I have frequently

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(\*) Some affect to call it *Ali Cápi* (علي قاپي) or ALI's gate, instead of *Aali Cápi* عالي قاپي "the sublime or lofty gate."

stopped to contemplate in the great square at *Ispahán*, (See Vol. I. p. 232, 234, and Pl. XII).

The hundred and sixty-one *masjeds* (مسجد) or mosques, comprehended within this city's walls during the seventeenth century according to Chardin, are now reduced to sixty, as the statement of MÍRZA' JÁ'N acknowledges; and even of these, he says, no more than forty are kept in a state of repair, the others having fallen to ruin; but MÍRZA' SA'LEH, who committed his observations to paper at the same time declares that there are one hundred and twenty; the principal is entitled *Masjed i Sháh* (مسجد شاه) or the "King's Mosque," a very handsome edifice founded by SHA'H ABBA's, and situate at the southern side of the great square or *Meidán Ali Cápi* above mentioned, so called sometimes from the gateway which forms part of its western side. This noble gateway serves as chief entrance to the royal residence, consisting of various buildings and separate ranges of apartments; it comprises the *Chehlsután* (چهل ستون) or "Palace of Forty Pillars;" the *Tálár Tavíleh* (تالار طویل) or "Hall of the Stables;" the *Hesht behesht* (هشت بهشت) or "Eight Paradises;" the *Guldesteh* (گل‌دسته) or "Bunch of Roses;" the *Harem* (حرم) or chambers of the queens and their female attendants; besides a variety of distinct dwellings for the king's officers, body guards, and domestick servants; with extensive gardens watered by streams from handsome and copious fountains supplied by subterraneous conduits.

Adjoining, in a south-western direction is the palace with its princely domain called *Hezár jerib* (هزار جریب) or "the 'Thousand Acres ;' through the ample *chárbağh* (چارباغ) or quadruple garden of which, a straight and spacious avenue leads to the river *Zendehrúd*, and the bridge of *Julfa* (جلفا), or of *Ativerdi Khán*; or, as it is often denominated from the gardens adjacent, *Pul i chárbağh*. This has been already mentioned and shall hereafter be more particularly described.

Meanwhile, returning to the city I must remark that if a modern statement reduces the mosques to one third of their former number, the colleges or *madrassehs* (مدرسه) would appear to have multiplied by nearly one half; for Chardin reckoned only forty-eight; and in a report given to me at *Ispahán* eighty-four are noticed; those no longer frequented, being included with those still flourishing. Of all the colleges, that styled royal *Madrasseh Sháhi* (مدرسه شاهي) is considered as chief. I suspect however, the accuracy of my living informant with respect to the number. Yet in another instance the recent calculation is considerably lower than Chardin's; according to notes which he had collected the publick baths of *Ispahán* amounted in his time to two hundred and seventy three. *MÍ'RZA' JA'N*, who resided there in 1811, informs us that the city contains about eighty baths, of which the best is called *Hamám-e-Khusrau A'ká* (حمام خسرواكا). *MÍ'RZA' SA'-LEH* at the same time, inquired their number, and says that they amount to about one hundred. My own questions on

this subject produced very vague information, fluctuating between eighty and a hundred and twenty.

*Ispahán* abounds in those tall, slender, cylindrical towers or steeples which the Persians call *mináreh*, generally constructed of brick and sometimes richly decorated with glazed or lackered tiles of various colours. According to a list before me, the *masjed* or “Mosque of Ali” possesses the loftiest *mináreh*; two of great height belong to the *Masjed jamaea* (جامعہ); two likewise to the mosque of AKÁ’CHEMA’KLU’ (اكا چماكلو); one is attached to the mosque of ALI in the district of DA’R AL ZEIA (دار الضياء); and there is another which indicates by its singular name, *minár e serkeh* (منار سرکه) or “vinegar tower;” the commodity sold by an individual at whose expense it was erected. The *Mináreh Shahrístán* (مناره شهرستان) is also very lofty; but the first that I went to see was the tower of *Gulbár* (گلبار or *Gulvár* as commonly pronounced), respecting which Chardin’s account had excited my curiosity; those who showed it, however, did not point out any circumstance in its construction particularly remarkable.

A respect almost natural for ancient trees induced me to inquire after those mentioned by former travellers as deserving notice; but my researches were not always successful. Of the venerable trunk called *chinár súkhteh* (چنار سوخته) or the “burnt plane-tree,” which existed when Chardin wrote his

description of *Ispahán*, the name at present only remains; transferred from the tree to an ordinary door or gateway, that occupies its place at the end of a *bázár*.

The celebrated castle of *Tabarrak* (تبرک), will much disappoint those who may expect to find it as represented by Chardin, whilst the fortifications were yet preserved in a defensive state; he enumerates minutely, and without doubt, accurately, as usual, the different buildings comprised inside its walls and the royal treasures of which it was, in 1676, the impregnable depository. Kæmpfer too, who visited Persia ten or eleven years after, describes it as being still a favourite object of admiration to the citizens, and interesting to foreigners. But the last century has robbed it of all its hoarded riches, its strength and beauty; even in the year 1704 Le Brun found its ramparts so shattered that a person might see through them in several places; he thought that to discharge a cannon from them would cause their overthrow; and strangers he believed were only excluded lest they might discover that decay had made still greater progress within. The ruined walls are now mouldering into heaps of clay. I perceived however, from the size, the thickness and height of some towers and bastions not yet fallen, the depth of its ample ditch, and the extent of ground which it covers, that this must have been a fortress of considerable strength. While viewing its remains I was entertained with several anecdotes related by two or three Persians, demonstrating

the very remote antiquity of its foundation; all those were equally absurd as one which I shall record in the words of MI'RZA' SA'LEH; adding his comment to prove, what many other examples have convinced me, that the present men of letters and of liberal education in this country attach but little credit to those fictions of their ancestors wherein preternatural beings are employed as agents. "The *Kelaa* or citadel denominated *Tabarrak*," says MI'RZA' SA'LEH, "was once exceedingly strong although at present in ruin. Still its vestiges remain, such as the ditch, some towers and walls. It is said that *Tabarrak* was a *Dét* or gigantick demon, who had revolted against the holy king Solomon; but this story is most probably untrue; since we find that every thing in a slight degree uncommon or extraordinary is immediately styled the work of a Demon"(6).

It was supposed by Chardin and Kæmpfer that the name of this fortress signified "benediction;" they must have sought, therefore, its etymology in the Arabick language; but from the story above-quoted, and similar traditions we might perhaps infer that it borrowed the name from some



(6) قلعه تبرک آن نیز قلعه بسیار مضبوطی بوده است اگرچه حال خرابه  
لیکن حال آثاری از آن باقیست مثل خندق و برج و جدارش میگویند تبرک دیوی  
بوده است که از حضرت سلیمان یاهی شده بود شاید قول صحیح نباشد بسبب  
اینکه هر چیزیکه اندک غریبیتی دارد میگویند کار دیواست



powerful chief, its ancient founder. Yet the Eastern lexicographers of highest authority do not sanction either derivation, and those excellent Dictionaries, the *Jehāngiri* and *Burhān Kātea*, class *Tabarrak* among words purely Persick, and inform us that “it expresses, in a general sense, any “castle or fortress; but, particularly, the citadel of *Isfahān*(<sup>7</sup>).

We learn from *SHERIF AD DÍ'N ALÍ*'s chronicle that, in the year 1387, on a day of memorable atrocity, which the servile historian celebrates as an era of victory and honourable triumph, while seventy thousand citizens of *Ispahān* were massacred by the barbarians who gladly obeyed their more sanguinary chief, *TAIMU'R*; this conqueror was stationed in the fortress of *Tabarrek*. Although *Petis de la Croix*, in his translation of that chronicle has judiciously contented himself with a mere statement of the fact, yet it may gratify some readers to see how the adulation of a Persian writer has embellished the simple circumstance of *TAIMU'R*'s retiring into the castle. I find it thus expressed, on referring to the original Manuscript; “And the august monarch, that hero always fortunate “in accomplishing his desires, entered the city; and by the “glory of his auspicious arrival he caused *Tabarrak* to become

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(<sup>7</sup>) تبرک — هر حصاری را گویند عموماً حصار امپاهانرا خوانند خصوصاً So the MS. Dict. *Jehāngiri* explains *Tabarrek* and writes the name of *Ispahān*. By *Kämpfer* the castle is styled “قلعه برک *Kalahi berūk*, i. e., arcem benedictionis.” (*Amānit. Ezót.* p. 168).

“an object of envy to that azure or turquois coloured fortress  
 “of the celestial spheres, the fourth region of heaven!”<sup>(8)</sup>

Returning through the streets of *Ispahán* I shall again remark what Milton styles the “busy hum of men” that pervades so many of its crowded *bázárs*; while extensive tracts immediately adjoining, covered with ruined houses and public edifices sinking to decay, offer a most dreary picture of desolation very strikingly contrasted with the neighbouring scenes of life and bustle.

During the first fortnight of August I found the quicksilver in Fahrenheit’s Thermometer rise, on some days, to 97, 99 and 100. On the fifteenth, at half past three o’clock, there was a violent storm of wind and rain, with loud peals of thunder, and much lightning. While this continued, the quicksilver in a few minutes sunk from 83 to 76; and within an hour to 71; after that, until the last day of this month, my journal does not mark a higher degree of heat than 89. The change had been foretold by natives of this place, whose prognostications concerning the weather scarcely ever prove fallacious. They pretend, indeed, to determine with precision the very day or even hour when spring shall perceptibly

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(<sup>8</sup>) و صاحب قرآن کامکار بشهر درآمد و طبرک را بفر قدوم همایون رشک  
 حصار فیروزه کار طارم چارم سپهر گردانید MS. *Tárikh i Taimúr*, (Book II. ch. 60).  
 In my two copies of this work the name of TABARRAK is spelt طبرک.

succeed to winter, and when summer and autumn are to follow in their turns. The power of doing this they have enjoyed since the time when, according to an old tradition, **BALKI'S** (بلكيس) the Queen of Sheba, having been affected by a dangerous malady, king Solomon ascertained, from his books of mysterious science, that she could not possibly recover unless removed to a particular spot, where the four seasons and their respective periods of wind and rain, heat and cold, perpetually recurred at intervals not liable to the variation of one moment. After an anxious search throughout the world, it was found that *Ispahán* alone corresponded to this description. Hither the fair **BALKI'S** was transported by her royal lover; and to corroborate the truth of this tradition (for some strangers have appeared incredulous) the very place is still shewn where she resided and regained her health, on a mountain called, from the remains of an ancient structure, *Takht i Rustam* (تخت رستم). The view annexed will shew some general features of those parched, barren, and mostly insulated mountains which are scattered numerously over the territory of *Ispahán*, and from the multiplicity of flat and hollow intervals between them have caused it to be denominated *Hezár dereh* (هزار دره) or "the Thousand Vallies." This tract, it is said, extends an hundred miles from east to west; and appears fifteen or twenty broad in different parts. The sketch which I made at *Kabristán-i-Púlád* (قبرستان پولاد) or *Púlád's cemetery*, (near the outer gate of the *Saadetábád* gardens where we were encamped) represents two of those mountains,

highly celebrated in Persian romance like the tract in which they stand, as scenes of many heroick and wonderful exploits.

One is the *Takht i Rustam* before mentioned, which the spectator, directing his view a few miles southward from *Ispahán*, sees on the right. Its name alludes to some considerable ruins crowning the eastern summit; and once (as fame reports) the *throne* or *seat* of RUSTAM, that mighty warrior of ancient times, whose ponderous mace wielded by his invincible arm, has so often resounded through this “Region of a Thousand Vallies.”

But neither did those remains, of which a particular description is unnecessary as they have been minutely delineated by Le Brun; nor the consecration of this rock by the visit of Solomon and his Queen, according to an anecdote already noticed, so strongly interest my curiosity as the neighbouring mountain, on the left, called *Kúh-e-Sofah* (كوه سفاه); rendered by a more probable tradition almost classick ground; for it is said, that from a place of security contrived on its steep and lofty side, the unfortunate Darius beheld his troops defeated with prodigious slaughter by the Macedonians under Alexander. Its name is derived from an edifice occupying a terrace or flat spot, on the northern side and facing the city; this terrace forms a seat or resting place which, in our language may be expressed by the adopted Arabick word *Sofa*; and the villa erected there, about one hundred and fifty years,

ago, by SHA'H SULEIMA'N (شاه سليمان) is sometimes styled his *takht* (تخت) or throne. What this summer-house may have been in its founder's time, the engraver of Kæmpfer's view, taken about 1684, has barely enabled us to conjecture (Amoenit. Exot. p. 197). Le Brun describes it as containing several handsome apartments shaded with trees of various kinds and refreshed by a fall of water (Voyages, ch. XL). His view, which may be deemed correct, represents its aspect in 1704. But some changes and considerable decay, not perceptible, however, at the distance of three or four miles, have been occasioned by the lapse of little more than a century. When seen from the cemetery above mentioned, the edifice seems to fill a small natural chasm of the mountain, about half way up its side; but from a ruined *gumbed* (گنبد) or tower near it, the various buildings appear as in Pl. LVIII, No. 1. These I was induced to sketch, not so much by any beauty or remarkable circumstance in the structure, as on account of one tradition that indicates this to be the station of Darius; and it is sufficiently high to command a very extensive prospect. But other reports exalt the monarch to a more elevated region and place him where the remains of walls are seen immediately over the summer house. To reach them, however, by scrambling almost perpendicularly from below, or indeed in a more circuitous manner from any side, was a task so difficult and dangerous, that of several gentlemen and attendants with whom I rode one day to the *Kûh e Sofah*, an English artillery-man alone succeeded in ascending to that second stage; there he

found only some remains of masonry on a small flat terrace; but he could perceive that the approach had once been rendered more easy by a path, now scarcely passable, which seemed to encircle the mountain in a direction nearly horizontal; exhibiting at some angles the vestiges of a parapet, and of towers on the most prominent parts. We could also discern from our lower situation, that even the very summit had once been decorated or fortified with some building assigned to Darius by a third account; this likewise relates, that SHA'H SULEIMA'N's villa of which we examined the apartments at our leisure, occupied a spot formerly reckoned sacred as the residence of a *Dervish* (درویش) or hermit, whose cell was in the dark natural cavity behind an edifice on the left; here, it is said, a fountain of limpid water issued from the rock, over-shadowed by majestick planes and cypresses, which during a succession of nine hundred years were held in superstitious veneration, a compliment to the holy *pîr* (پیر) or elder, whose long-established sanctity inspired every visitor with religious awe. Of those ancient trees I sought in vain some relick; a few of more recent growth (perhaps coeval with the building), appear as in the view (Pl. LVIII) two being pre-eminently conspicuous at a distance of many miles.

With the original trees, this place seems to have lost its sacred character, and during the last century, the villa has been a scene of most profane merriment and of the grossest de-

bauchery. No longer frequented by its royal owners, it is stripped of its splendid furniture; the doors have been removed, its roof has partly disappeared, and it occasionally serves the profligates of *Ispahán*, as a retreat, where, with their effeminate dancing and singing boys they enjoy the forbidden delights of wine, and indulge in excesses the most criminal. Of some rooms, the gilding and painting have not yet decayed; and I found written on the walls many records of those who had visited the place within forty or fifty years. Among them had been some Jews, and prefixed to their names appeared the Persian word *yádgar* (یادگار) or memorial, thus expressed יָאָד נָאָר in Hebrew letters. Here also the French travellers, Olivier, De Nerciat and Bruguere had inscribed their names.

Returning once from the *Kúh e Sofah* to our camp, I rode through a spacious garden or *chárbağh* of which the avenues were in several places unpaved; the cisterns and conduits without water; and even the few remaining trees wore a melancholy appearance of neglect, corresponding to the perfect desolation of many stately mansions adjoining. These have been untenanted since the *Afgháns* (افغان) under MÍ'R MAH-MU'D (میر محمود) occupied them in 1722 while besieging *Ispahán*(<sup>9</sup>). Of the magnificent apartments, however, which

(<sup>9</sup>) The horrors of this siege, equal to any recorded in ancient history, have been described by the Polish Jesuit Krusinski, who personally witnessed them, (See his *History of the Revolution of Persia*, published by the Pere du Cercean); and they are

they contained, some beautifully decorated with stuccoed work, and walls and ceilings richly painted, still seemed so little injured that I thought them capable of being rendered, at a trifling expense, again habitable and commodious; but in this country an insulated dwelling is never secure, and for mutual protection several must be at once inhabited or all must be suffered to decay; it is not probable that the suburbs will be peopled while half the city continues in a state of ruin.

Near this garden in the wall of some decayed edifice, a door, turning on an upper and lower pivot, all formed of one solid stone, attracted my observation; it was about four feet six inches high; two feet and three quarters wide and almost five inches thick. I have since found that similar doors of stone are not uncommon throughout Persia.

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noticed in the "*Histoire de Perse depuis le commencement de ce siècle*," (the eighteenth), of M. la Mamyé Clairac, on authorities which cannot be disputed. The inhabitants of *Isphân* were compelled by famine to devour not only mules and horses, but dogs and other creatures which their religion taught them to consider as unclean. A woman endeavouring to strangle a cat was heard to exclaim at every scratch or bite that she received "Thou strivest in vain, I'll eat thee notwithstanding." The leaves and bark of trees were ground into a kind of meal and sold by weight; shoe-leather was boiled and used as food; at length human flesh became the chief support of many miserable wretches; who for awhile were content with what they could collect from bodies that filled the publick streets; but some were induced to murder their fellow-citizens, and, it is even said, that parents killed and devoured their own children. From the MS. Memoirs of ALI HAZI'N, (mentioned in Vol: I. p. 416) we learn that "a crust or "jump of bread was sold at so high a price as four or five *ashrafis*, or pieces of gold coin. که قرص نانې چار پندې اشرې رسیده بود. A pound of bread, according to Krusinski, attained, in September, the price of thirty shillings; and, in October, of above fifty. Among the calamities of this memorable siege ALI HAZI'N laments the destruction of his library which comprised about five thousand volumes, Arabick and Persian, many enriched with the marginal notes of his learned ancestors.



Some Armenians having one day applied for medical advice, I accompanied Mr. Sharp, the Surgeon, to *Julfa*, where we visited an infirm old man, and were regaled by his friends and children with sweet-meats, cakes, and a cordial made of the strongest arrack extracted from grapes and saturated with spices. We were permitted to inspect the places of worship, and the convent of nuns, or "Damsel's Church," *Keltisiá-i-Dukhterán* (کلیسیا دختران) as the Persians call it. We saw, likewise, those pious virgins themselves; among eighteen of whom, but one possessed, as I thought, even a moderate share of beauty. By them too, we were treated with the ardent cordial. Of the churches and chapels formerly thirteen in number, seven, as I heard, still exist; the two or three that we saw were profusely ornamented or rather lined with pictures of saints executed by no very masterly hand; and some extraordinary representations of hell, of the infernal torments, and portraits of the principal devils.

*Julfa* comprehends an extensive tract, with its gardens; of which one, denominated the *Khalífahs* (" *Bágh-i-Khalífah*" (باغ خلیفه), has in some years, produced twenty thousand *mans* of quinces. But this town has suffered in the general decrease of Persian population; it was supposed to contain, as Kæmpfer declares, about the year 1685, no fewer than thirty thousand souls; and according to the account that I received from a native, it comprised, in the time of SHÁH AB-BÁ's, two thousand houses or families of which the number

is now reduced to three hundred and fifty, or at most four hundred. The inhabitants are christians, whose fore-fathers that monarch forcibly removed from their original place of residence at *Julfa* in Armenia, allowing, them, as an indemnification for his tyranny, to bestow the name of that ancient city on the territory allotted as their new abode; he made, however, a more substantial recompense, in affording them personal protection and encouraging their commercial transactions. But his successors, adopting the ruinous system of excessive taxation, of imposts and confiscations regulated only by caprice or avarice, have reduced to misery the scanty remnant of that once flourishing and numerous colony; and its present members are daily exposed to the brutal insolence of their Muhammedan neighbours.

At *Julfa* also reside eighteen or twenty catholicks whom we found in such poverty and distress that even a few guineas or *tumáns* subscribed by the English gentlemen were received with most grateful acknowledgments, by them and their Bishop. The Ambassador having bestowed immediate relief, exerted his influence for the permanent benefit of all the christians living in this place; he solicited an amelioration of their circumstances from the *Amín ad'douleh*, and a restoration of some important privileges granted to their ancestors by the monarch who first transported them from their native land.

The bridge of *Julfa* is sometimes called, as I before observed, the *Pul-i-chárbágh* from those gardens of *Hezár jeríb* beyond the river, to which it leads; or the bridge of *ALI VERDI KHA'N*, after the general at whose expense it was erected about two hundred years ago. The view given in Pl. LVI, (No. 3), I took from the *Deroâzeh-Meidán-i-Suleimán Beg* (دروازد میدان سلیمان بیک), the gate of a *Meidán* or piece of ground bearing the name of *SULEIMA'N BEG*; this is situate close to the *Zendehrúd* on its southern bank, and not far from the palace of *Saadetábád*.

Of that handsome bridge which some have considered the most wonderful specimen of Persian architecture, many excellent delineations representing its near appearance may be found in the works of different travellers, who have accurately described its singular construction; its lower row of thirty four arches; the covered galleries on each side, and the passage under it. Among the recesses of its battlements are those small chambers where several indecent pictures so much offended the delicacy of *ABBA's* the second, that by his order the entrances were closed. But had it been the monarch's object to preserve publick morals from contamination he should have totally effaced those vestiges of a licentious pencil; there, however, they remain; and the doorways of those chambers having been during a century filled up with brick and lime were opened a few years since at the instigation of curiosity; and such painted scenes of impurity

are now disclosed in various compartments on the walls, as must have tended to corrupt the innocence of rusticks on their very approach towards the capital, and taught lessons of extreme depravity to the infant citizens while yet unconscious that what they learned was vice<sup>(10)</sup>. The figures appear to have been executed in a style worthy of better subjects, and beyond the skill of most modern Persian artists; but from the fading colours we may reasonably hope that those pictures will not much longer continue to excite disgust or taint the imagination. In the view is seen, above the bridge, a mountain distant five or six miles, on which are some remains of an edifice not very ancient but occupying, as tradition relates, the site of a ruined Fire Temple. Hence the mountain has been denominated *Kûh átesh kadeh* (کوه آتشکده) or *áteshgáh* (آتشگاه).

In the account, already given, of *Ispahán* and the river *Zendehrúd*, several neighbouring villages have been mentioned, which lay within the compass of our morning rides; I shall now briefly enumerate some others; *Sin* (سین); *Garsang* (گرسنگ) and *Garkáb* (گرکاب) celebrated for the most delicious melons; *Nejefabád* (نجفآباد) in the territory of *Márbín* (ماربین).

(10) In the words of Quintilian (Lib. I. cap. 2) "discunt hæc miseri antequam sciunt vitia esse." Notwithstanding the grave, decorous and respectful behaviour of young Persians before their superiors or elders, I fear that we might apply to them when assembled without restraint among themselves, the passage immediately preceding that above quoted from Quintilian on the education of Roman boys, "Omne convivium obscenæ canticis strepit; pudenda dicta spectantur; sit ex his consuetudo, deinde natura."

produces admirable grapes, almonds, walnuts, apricots, and other fruits, and it is said to contain four thousand inhabitants. Another considerable village is *Káleh-dán* (کاله دان); this yields quinces in great profusion, and according to a statement probably much exaggerating the truth, comprises fifteen hundred families. But it is chiefly remarkable for an *Imámzádeh's* tomb, of which the towers are shaken by a slight exertion of any person ascending to their summits. Of those villages some derive water from wells and *canáts* or subterraneous conduits, others more directly from the *Zendehrúd* itself.

During twelve weeks that we resided on its banks, this river was in general rendered so shallow by natural drought and the innumerable drains which it supplied for the irrigation of land, that many who daily walked across its bed, were not wetted above their knees. Yet in some places between the bridge of *Khájú* and of *Aliverdi Khán*, the water, for a few yards, was from four to seven or eight feet deep. These spots though often swept by the nets of Armenians, served as nurseries for fish; one very numerous but small kind, resembled our bleak, and there were others not unlike carp, of which I killed several, twelve or fourteen inches long; for, having brought from England the necessary implements, a rod, a line and "all the slender watery stores," I was induced, at an early hour of morning, and frequently even under a meridian sun, to indulge in angling. It is probable

that an artificial fly had never before floated on the surface of this stream<sup>(11)</sup>.

An intercourse of ceremonious or friendly visits led us frequently to the houses of great men at *Ispahán*. On the twenty-eighth of August, at five o'clock, the Ambassador with all the gentlemen of our party, went in grand procession to dine with the *Amín-ad-douleh*, and we found that numerous guests had been invited to meet us. Politely anticipating the wants of Europeans our host had spread his sumptuous feast upon a table; and we were accommodated with chairs and stools, (many of very antique fashion) and with plates and napkins, spoons, knives and forks, not by any means of uniform patterns. Sherbet, however, supplied the place of wine; a forbidden liquor, which before so many *Muselmáns*, jealously watching the conduct of a superior, the hospitable *Amín-ad-douleh* (who had made the sacred pilgrimage) could neither venture to taste himself, nor offer to his less scrupulous friends. We were conducted after dinner through various long galleries and winding passages to some handsome apartments where tea, coffee and *caledns* were served, as usual; when the evening became dark, many hundred candles surrounding a large *hawz* or reservoir of water, and small lamps in surprising numbers were lighted; a band of



(11) The fishes here seemed ready to seize indiscriminately large and small hooks dressed in Wales with plain coloured feathers and silk, and those which I disguised, with tinsel and gaudy plumage in imitation of the living Persian flies,

musicians began to play, and we were entertained with a brilliant exhibition of fire-works; about nine o'clock at night we returned to the camp.

During this feast I remarked that the *Amín-ad-douleh's* son, ABDALLAH KHA'N (عبد الله خان) a man seemingly above thirty years old, the possessor of considerable wealth and governor of *Ispahán*, but seldom appeared among the guests; and only seated himself, as one of the humblest, when invited by the words or encouraged by the looks of his father. This reserve, however, was not caused by any ill-will or deficiency of kindness subsisting on either side; but arose from the filial respect which, in every stage and condition of life, the Persians are thus taught to express. Many similar instances I had already witnessed and shall have occasion to notice others. This respect is not the right of parental authority alone; it is generally extended to seniority among brothers.

We visited on different occasions ABDALLAH KHA'N and his two uncles; who treated us with magnificent repasts. But at the house of ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, we found rooms furnished in the English style with chairs, tables, sofas, beds, mirrors, clocks, and writing desks; besides framed prints among which were portraits of many distinguished personages, the Prince of Wales, Lord and Lady Arden, and others whose flattering attentions the *Khán* had experienced when in London; he too, feasted us with a variety of Persian dishes,

to which he took an opportunity of privately adding a few glasses of excellent wine, rendered mellow by age, and the voyage from Madeira to Bengal, whence he had brought it seven or eight years before.

Several of our gentlemen proceeded one morning to the house of KA'ZEM WA'LEH (كازم واه) a celebrated poet whom they found composing an epitaph for his own tomb; as he was a person of remarkable countenance and of venerable age, (for he acknowledged eighty years) Colonel D'Arcy expressed a desire of sketching his portrait. WA'LEH at first objected; but some one present having ironically declared that many European monarchs were anxious to possess a resemblance of him, the vain old man called for different turbans; tried them all on his head, and when satisfied with one as sufficiently becoming, sat most complacently while Colonel D'Arcy finished an admirable likeness.

The months of August and September were pregnant with extraordinary rumours, and *Ispahán* was filled with alarm on the subject of those *Bakhtiáris*, whose attacks our guards had so much dreaded on the march from *Shiráz*. The *Amín ad douleh* sent an additional party of *Tufangjis* (تفنجی) or musketeers for the protection of our camp, from which, indeed, he recommended, as a measure of security, that we should remove into the city. The *Tufangjis* discharged their fire-arms every hour of the night. The *burjes* (برج) or towers



of *Julfa* were repaired, and battlements of clay were hastily erected on the gate of *Suleimán Beg* (سلیمان بیک), (represented in Pl. LVI, 3) which became the station of fifteen or twenty soldiers. One report seemed to excite much consternation among the citizens; for it threatened them with the approach of *ASAD KHA'N* (اسد خان) or the "Lion Lord," and a numerous body of his fierce *Bakhtiáris* who had vowed to carry massacre and pillage into the very heart of *Ispahán*. What reasons there existed for apprehending this incursion I could not learn; but the inhabitants were probably convinced that their defences, if assaulted in a spirited manner by four or five hundred men, must soon have fallen; and it was not yet forgotten, by many living witnesses of the disgrace, that ninety desperate fellows had once surprised the governor and levied contributions on the merchants of *Ispahán*(<sup>12</sup>).

(<sup>12</sup>) Yet the inhabitants of *Ispahán*, regarding their own city as equivalent to half the world, (See p. 25), and themselves as far superior to the people of other places, have long entertained a particular jealousy against the *Shirázians*. We learn from *HA'TIFI* (هاتفی) who died in 1520, that on occasion of the massacre to which I have alluded (p. 38) the men of *Ispahán* endeavoured to excite one another's courage by saying, "We are *Sipáhánians*, lions and tigers (or leopards); we are not *Shirázians*, "dreading battle. We turn not away our faces from the blood shedding sword; we "feel not any inclination to demand quarter."

نه شیرازیانیم ترسان ز جنگ  
بز بهار خواهی نداریم خوی

سپاهانیانیم شدر و پلنگ  
ننابیم از تیغ خونریز روی

I have extracted these lines from the MS. *Taimúr Námeh* (تیمور نامه) or "History of *TAIMUR*," also entitled the *Zaffer Námeh* (ظفر نامه) or "Book of Victory" comprised in about 4500 distichs. Like the four other poems of *HA'TIFI*, this is rare; indeed Sir William Jones could not procure (at least in Bengal) any besides the *Laili Majnún* (لیلی مجنون), of which he printed the Persian text; (See his preface to.

Such an alarm was scarcely counterbalanced by news which soon after arrived announcing the surrender of *Herát* (هرات); this celebrated city, as a courier declared, had acknowledged the sovereignty of FATEH ALI SHA'H, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute; it was also whispered, but not very confidently, that the Russians had retired from some of their posts in Georgia; and that the Turkish government would allow the Persians to make an attack on ABDAR'RAHMAN (عبد الرحمن) *Páshá* of *Baghdád*; for this purpose, it was said, the prince of *Kirmán Sháh* had made great preparations; purchased all the wheat and barley in his capital; and was actually commencing his march, with thirty thousand armed men, besides followers of the camp; and that resolving to conquer or die, he had taken with him his *caffen* (كفن) or winding sheet. Being of all the kings sons reckoned most enterprising and warlike, described as *theily rashíd* (خيلي رشيد) and *sáheb e shamshír* (صاحب شمشير), extremely brave and clever, and "lord of the scimitar," or expert in wielding the sword; some profound politicians of *Ispahán* were almost inclined to wish that he might not succeed in this design

that publication). Of the *Ispahántans* it may be here remarked that if they despised the people of other places, they have quarrelled bitterly, during many centuries, among themselves, being divided into two parties or factions which, as the "blues and greens" formerly at Constantinople, have frequently rendered their city a scene of tumult and discord, and stained its publick places with blood. To these factions, originally proceeding from some slight difference of religious opinions, HAMDALLAH has alluded (See p. 9); they are noticed by Chardin and Tavernier; and Le Brun compares them to the two parties at Venice, the Nicolotti and Castellani. (Voyages, p. 196, Amst. 1718).

against the *Páshá*, whose troops he could easily induce to unite with his own, and assist him in snatching the diadem from his father's brow; he was not, they said, the only prince who had determined to struggle for the empire; and a contest among four or five brothers would probably, on the death of FATEH ALI SHA'H, deluge the country with blood, although ABBA'S MI'RZA' who governed at *Tabriz*, was generally regarded as heir apparent. After a silence of some days we were surprised to hear that the Turkish forces had completely defeated the Prince of *Kirmánsháh*; but subsequent and more authentick rumours affirmed that no battle whatsoever had occurred. Of these affairs, however, all consideration was dissipated among us in camp, on the arrival of a *Tátár*, who brought more interesting intelligence from our European friends, transmitted by Mr. Stratford Canning, the British minister at Constantinople, in a packet with despatches to the Ambassador. We were four days delightfully occupied (I speak from the recollection of my own feelings) in answering the letters thus received, after which the *Tátár* set out on his return. Next morning, (August the 26th) our *Mehmándár*, MI'RZA ZEKI, having made every necessary arrangement for his journey to *Tehrán* was dissuaded by the AMI'N AD DOULEH from commencing it at the hour appointed; for his astrologers had discovered that some aspects of the planets were not favourable to such an undertaking. The *Vazír* remained at *Ispahán* until a more auspicious moment two days after.

People now reported that the king would soon honour this city with his presence, and reside in it probably several months; he had been for some time with the army, but rumours were also circulated, representing him as dangerously ill and unable to travel. The *Amin ad'douleh* at length was favoured, on the 8th of September, with a letter from his royal master, who fixed on *Tehrán* to be, as usual, the place of his winter residence. It was therefore decided that the embassy should proceed to that capital through *Kum* and *Cáshán*, instead of going by way of *Hamadán* to *Tabriz*, as had been originally proposed.

Meanwhile sickness diffused itself at *Saadetábád*, not only among the Europeans, but their Asiatick attendants. Bilious disorders became frequent and violent; whilst many were affected by those complicated feverish agues which the Persians call (تب و لرز) *tab u larz*<sup>(15)</sup>. The nights had been, from the middle of August, so cool that some laid additional blankets on their beds; about the first of September the nocturnal warmth returned, and I found that one sheet was a sufficient covering. At two o'clock after noon, on the third,

(15) *Tab*, (تب pronounced *táb* by the Turks, and *táp*, as I understand, by the Indians who generally write it تب) signifies a "fever," and in this sense contributes to form the name of *Tabriz*, as we learn from geographical MSS. and many popular epigrams. One poet whom I shall quote more particularly in my account of *Tabriz*, playing on the name of his native city, declares "that its soil is amber, and its air *tab-riz*" or fever-dispelling; که خاکش عنبرست و باد تب ریز

Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 96 in the shade; on the nineteenth at the same hour it stood at 89; and on the thirtieth at 84.

A bilious fever, attended with delirious ravings, proved fatal to the Ambassador's English coachman; he died at the age of twenty three-years, and we all attended the interment of his body on the thirty-first of August, in the Armenian cemetery. Mr. Sharp, the Surgeon, early in September, was reduced to a very alarming state of weakness; and at the same time KHOJEH ARETU'N, a venerable Armenian, and treasurer of our Embassy, lay at the point of death. About the tenth, Sir Gore Ouseley felt symptoms of indisposition which, after some days, became extremely dangerous. Lieutenant Willock, also, was confined by such violent illness that his recovery could scarcely have been expected. During the last week of this month (September) a comet was visible every night<sup>(14)</sup>.

On the first or second of October the weather became cool at night and morning; this change, perhaps, was beneficial to the European invalids, but much annoyed the *palankin*-bearers, shivering Indians who had never before endured a

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(14) Dr. Herschel, in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, (for 1812) mentions that this comet first became visible to the naked eye about the middle of August, 1811; and that the luminous phenomenon which we call the comet's tail was, on the 15th of October, upwards of one hundred millions of miles long, its greatest breadth being at that time about fifteen millions of miles.

sensation of cold. In the city, at this time, daily deaths were numerous beyond the usual average of mortality; many persons, young and vigorous, fell victims to the illness of a few hours<sup>(15)</sup>. The trees now began to shed their leaves; there were strong and frequent gusts of wind; and during the seventh and eighth soon after mid-day several clouds obscured the sky, and for some minutes it was impossible to ascertain the hour by a sun-dial; I had not before observed in Persia such a circumstance as this.

It had been determined that our journey towards *Tehrán* should commence about the middle of October; and on the twelfth Sir Gore Ouseley proceeded in a *Takht-raván*, (تخت روان described in Vol. I. p. 251) being still weak after his illness, to return the *Amin ad'douleh's* numerous visits (which were sometimes of unreasonable length, three or four hours) and to take leave; most of the gentlemen accompanied him. The minister presented a handsome sword and belt ornamented with jewels, on a silver tray, to the Ambassador.

(15) Among these I must notice ABBA'S A'LI عباس علي who sometimes visited us in the camp; he was a remarkably handsome man and had acted with credit in the magisterial department. Feasting one day in perfect health with several companions, he heard that some of his intimate friends had suddenly died; this circumstance probably induced him to reflect on the precarious tenure by which life is held; he abruptly left the entertainment and proceeded to the nearest burial-ground, where he inquired the price of a grave suitable for himself. Being very tall he agreed to pay a few pence more than the two or three *rials*, usually charged on ordinary occasions; he then chose a particular spot for his own interment; saw the earth opened, went home, died the next day, and was buried according to the directions he had given.

who at the same time, received letters from the king, brought by a Persian courier, and despatches with English newspapers, by a *Tátár* from Constantinople.

On our return through the *Chárbágh*, an old blind man with a white beard, standing under the gate-way, solicited us for alms. I had often remarked him in the same place; and now learned, from another person, some particulars of his lamentable history. He had once been a chief or nobleman of high rank and considerable fortune, in one of the north-eastern provinces; where a hundred servants attended him whenever he rode forth from his princely mansion; but having incurred the envy or suspicion of *AKA MUHAMMED KHA'N*, (that tyrant who bequeathed the government of Persia to his nephew the present king), he was stripped of all his wealth by arbitrary confiscation, and deprived of sight, a greater blessing, by heated plates of metal drawn across or held close before his eyes. In blinding persons of mean condition, the point of a knife or dagger is frequently used.

We employed ourselves on the thirteenth in preparations for our journey; and I finished several views and ground-plans of the edifices that decorated or rather constituted the *Saadet-ábád* or "Residence of Felicity." Among these, the principal structure has been delineated in Pl. LVI; another in Pl. LVII; and the ichnographical sketches are given near the end of this volume, and explained in the Appendix.

Among several Manuscripts which I purchased soon after our arrival at *Ispahán*, was a poetical work composed during the full splendour of this palace; the original perfection of its water-works, and beauty of its shady avenues, and of the luxuriant flowers that embellished their variegated borders. It is entitled “The *Gulzár-e-Saadet* or Rose bed of Prosperity, a poem in praise of the gardens and edifices at *Saad-etábád*”<sup>(16)</sup>, composed about an hundred and ten years ago. Besides the poem written to celebrate these gardens, I procured during my residence under the shade of their noble *chinár*-trees, many other Manuscripts; among which some are only beautiful copies of Arabick or Persian works, already known in the great libraries of London or Oxford, Paris or Leyden; but three or four may be considered as extremely rare; it is doubtful, indeed whether any duplicates of them exist in Europe; they shall be noticed in another part of this work. But *Ispahán* did not furnish even one of those ancient Arabick and Persian Manuscripts, that the booksellers undertook, and probably endeavoured to procure, according to a list which I had given them immediately on my arrival. Some gems and a few medals (represented in Pl. LIX) were the chief result of my researches among *sarráfs* (صراف) or money changers, and *deláls* (دلال) or persons employed by shop-

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(16) Its title is *مثنوی مسمی بگازار سعادت در تعریف باغات و عمارات سعادتآباد* and it comprises about three hundred and fifty distichs. The same volume contains a poetical description of *Yezd* (یزد) and other compositions, occupying nearly one hundred and fifty octavo pages.



keepers to carry about specimens of their goods and to sell trifling articles of various kinds. From one *delâl* I procured a small parcel of the *hinnâ* and *rang*, used in giving to the beard a fine glossy black tinge; these substances shall be noticed in the Appendix.

At *Ispahân* the covers of books are ornamented in a style peculiarly rich; and they often exhibit miniatures painted with considerable neatness and admirably varnished. I purchased many loose covers of different sizes, containing representations of the finest Persian flowers delineated from nature in exquisite colours, and with minute accuracy.

Most provinces of the kingdom are supplied by this great city with pencases or *Kalmdâns* (کلمدان generally pronounced *Kalmdoon*) made, like the book-covers, of pasteboard, and sometimes equally beautiful in their decorations; of those cases may be seen, in one shop, parcels three or four feet high, comprising many hundred, of various patterns, and of all prices from a shilling or half-*riâl* to three or four guineas or *tûmâns*. Out of such heaps I selected thirty, some on account of their particular devices, and others as presents for my friends in England. The *Kalmdân* consists of two parts; one resembling a drawer, from five to nine or ten inches long; generally about one inch in depth and a little more in width. The other is a sheath or cover made to close upon and fit the drawer with great exactness. The last or Miscellaneous Plate shows, in fig. 1, the form of a *kalmdân* as stuck in the

girdle or carried in the pocket. Fig. 2 and 3 represent the parts separated<sup>(17)</sup>.

Of paper, also, many *Sandúkcheh* (صندوقچه) or small boxes, are manufactured at *Ispahán*; so tenacious and adhesive is the *serísh* (مریش), a viscous substance used in their composition, that the pasteboard seems to possess all the strength and solidity of wood. Those boxes in general, are splendidly painted and varnished; some contain, in various compartments on the lids, ends and sides, very interesting pictures executed in the best style of Persian miniature. The common subjects are battles and hunting-parties; but they often exhibit scenes from popular romances, among which the favourite seems to be NIZA'MI's story, The loves of KHUSRAU and SHIRIN.

(<sup>17</sup>) A case properly furnished should contain, I. four or five pens called *kalm* (قلم the Greek and Latin *calamus* and *calamus*). In the Miscell. Plate (fig. 4), a *kalm* is delineated of the real size. The best of these pens are made of the dark brown or blackish *nei* or reed that grows near *Shúshter* (in the province of *Khúzistán* or *Susiana*) and thence denominated *nei Shúshteri* (نی شوشتری). II. The *marakkeb* (مرکب) or ink. III. The *duwát* (دوات) or ink holder (fig. 5) of brass, silver, mother of pearl or other materials, plain or ornamented; a small *kibleh numá* (قبيله نما) or magnetick needle, (which enables the *Muselmán* while praying to direct his looks towards *Meccah*), is sometimes set under a glass in the *duwát* as fig. 5 expresses. IV. A *chákú* (چاقو); this name distinguishes a small knife used for mending pens, from the long-bladed knife called *káred* (کارند). V. A *Mákráz* (مقراض) or pair of scissors, for clipping paper. VI. The *sang sá* (سنگ سا) or whet-stone. Fig. 6 shows the exact form and size of one now before me. VII. The *kateá zan* (قطع زن) fig. 7; a flat and thin piece of horn two or three inches long, on which the pen is laid when its point requires cutting. VIII. The *áb duwát kun* (اب دوات کن) fig. 8; with this little spoon, generally made of metal, wáter is dropped into the *duwát* for the purpose of diluting the ink when become dry or coagulated.

All the fanciful devices above mentioned combine to decorate one *Sandúkcheh* which I procured, but at a price not very moderate; for its cover is enriched with portraits of real and living personages; the king seated on his throne, attended by some of the princes and chief ministers. That a very strong resemblance appeared in the countenances, and that the attitudes, state-dresses and ornaments of the figures were most faithfully represented, was declared by several persons who had frequently been at court; and my own personal observation, soon after, confirmed the truth of their assertions. To illustrate another chapter, I shall lay before the reader an engraving traced from this picture. The box which it adorns is about fourteen inches long, the pasteboard being three quarters of an inch thick. Most *Sandúkchehs* whether larger or smaller are formed nearly on the same model, which is sufficiently described in the last or Miscellaneous Plate, No. 9, showing the form of mine.

The artists who make those boxes and pen-cases, very ingeniously mount small looking glasses also in frames of pasteboard; a traveller finds these extremely convenient as they lie flat and occupy but little space among his clothes. Some are opened like a book, and fastened by means of a hook and catch (Misc. Pl. No. 10). Of others the mirror is occasionally covered by a piece which fits exactly in the pasteboard frame, and is easily separated from it by a person's nail (Misc. Pl. No. 11). These looking glasses are of various

sizes and forms, square, oval or octagonal, from five to twelve or thirteen inches long and proportionably broad. The frames and covers are often neatly painted, and sometimes ornamented with *Khátembandi* (خاتمبندی).

This is a kind of mosaick-work, used also on boxes, small cabinets or chests of drawers, musical instruments and other articles. It consists in various patterns formed by laying minute pieces of ivory, brass, silver, hard wood, and bone stained of various colours, in a bed of such excellent glue or cement, that, as it has been said, the whole is often planed at once like a solid board, and thus no inequality remains among hundreds or thousands of the component particles; this I am almost induced to believe from the perfectly smooth and level surface of some specimens now on my table; one is copied in the Miscellaneous Plate No. 12.

To dispose such a multiplicity of those small diversified materials within a narrow compass, and in patterns of the utmost regularity, was not only an occupation that ensured considerable profit to many artists of *Shíráz* and *Ispahán*, but, served, some centuries ago, as an amusing exercise of ingenuity to persons of illustrious rank. DOWLET SHA'H in his "Lives of the Poets," enumerating the accomplishments of SULTA'N AHMED BEN AVI'S (سلطان احمد بن اویس), who murdered and succeeded his brother HUSEIN (حسین) in the year 1382, informs us that his musical compositions were highly

esteemed ; and “this prince,” says the biographer, “being himself acquainted with many sciences, encouraged them in others; he was the author of excellent verses both in Arabick and Persian; and considered a master in several branches of art; such as in painting and gilding, in making bows and arrows, and in *Khátumbandi*”(18).

That chess, originally an Indian game, has been since the sixth, or perhaps the third century of Christ, a favourite among the Persians, Doctor Hyde of Oxford sufficiently demonstrates in his elaborate “*Historia Shahiludii*,” the plates of which render it unnecessary for me to describe the table and various pieces used in playing. But although the same learned writer has traced *nard* (نرد) or backgammon to ages of still higher antiquity, his account not being illustrated by any engraved representation, I have annexed the form of a *takhteh* (تخته) made at *Isfahán* (Misc. Pl. fig. 13). This is of *chinár*-wood, about twenty inches long and twelve or thirteen broad, enclosed within a frame or ledge that rises half an inch, and prevents the dice from falling over. It is not divi-

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(18) یادشاهی هنرمند و هنرپرور بوده اشعار عربی و فارسی نیکو میگوید و در انواع هنر چون تصویر و تذهیب و قوامی و مهمامی و خاتم بندی و غیر ذلک استاد بودی  
See the *Tezkerreh*, or History of the Persian Poets by DOWLET SHA'H of Samarcand, in his account of HA'FIZ. Perhaps the finest pieces of *Khátumbandi* mosaick ever brought to Europe are those which Sir Gore Ouseley has caused to be inlaid in doors and tables, now forming some of the most rich and beautiful ornaments of his house in London.

ded into two valves, like our European tables; but exhibits a middle space either blank or ornamented with pictures of birds, flowers or human figures, between the right and left painted compartments which contain the marks represented by us as pyramids with acute points; here they are parallel lines filled up with colours alternately dark and light. On the intermediate space above-mentioned the dice are thrown, not from a box but from the player's hand. Such is the form of a *takhteh-i-nard* (تخته نرد) or backgammon table. The men or *muhreh* (مهره) are commonly pieces of wood about one inch and a half in height, sometimes very neatly turned or carved, fifteen being black, the other fifteen either red or white. Fig. 14 shows the real size and form of those that I brought to England. The dice are generally of bone and larger than those now used among us. A knowledge of backgammon acquired in Europe enabled me, almost immediately, to contend with Persians at *nard*; observing, however, that they did not allow to doublets, peculiarly, any advantage beyond their obvious numerical powers.

The Indian game *Pachís* (پچیس) is sometimes played at *Isfahán*, where I procured the *takhteh* or board, made in that city, and represented by fig. 15, (Misc. Plate). It is of *chinár-tree* wood, and in form resembles a cross; mine consists of four pieces, equal in size and so contrived that two by means of grooves may be united with the other two; each piece is ten inches and a half long and above three wide,

divided merely by painted lines, into twenty four compartments square, and one triangular at the end which joins it to the others; thus each piece contains twenty five houses, or *Khúnehs* (خانه) as the Persians call these compartments; and that number is expressed by the name *pachís* given to this game in the language of *Hindústán*. Fig. 16 shows the form of one piece separated from the other three; on each, the compartments are filled with the same colours and exhibit the same ornaments, among which I know not whether we may class the Suns, having neglected to ascertain in what manner the game is played. Eight small shells however, are used, and as many wooden *muhreh* (مهره) or men, four red and four black, each above an inch high and of a conical form, as in fig. 17.

Cards did not seem to be much in use, at least publicly among the Persians, who call them *Ganjafah* (کنجفاه). Two or three packs which I examined in the *bázár* at *Ispahán* were of European manufacture, and had been brought from Russia.

Of pictures very neatly executed in water colours, on leaves of paper either separate, or collected into books, many hundreds were brought for inspection to our tents, and offered daily for sale in the shops of *Ispahán*. Among those I found several interesting, as portraits of remarkable personages; and others as they illustrated manners and customs, representing scenes of frequent occurrence in

domestick life; many were recommended as precious relics of the ancient school, if so we may describe works of two or perhaps three centuries; to me the oldest appeared the best; and such, indeed, the living artists did not hesitate to acknowledge them. Others were chiefly admired for the brilliancy of their colours; and a few, though exhibiting mere outlines, bore, as they deserved, a price comparatively high; for those outlines had been traced by the hand of some Persian Flaxman. There was yet another class of miniature paintings which evinced in the grouping of figures and general style of drawing, considerable skill and ingenuity wasted on subjects the most offensive to a modest eye. Of such painted and outline figures on paper, as may without scruple be presented to the reader, I annex specimens among the Plates of this volume, and an account in the Appendix; but of several offered for sale, those most highly finished were unfortunately of such a description as precludes any farther notice.

Some figures painted in oil-colours on canvass, and nearly of the natural human size, represented those modern beauties who grace the *Harems* of the wealthy and voluptuous. From all that I could learn the fair daughters of Circassia, respecting whom we Europeans have heard or read so much, are confounded by Persians with the lovely damsels of a neighbouring country under the name of *Gurji* (گرجی) or Georgians. These seem to be most generally admired and are conse-



quently sold at the highest prices; while the denomination *Cherkesí* (چركسي) or Circassian is rarely mentioned. But this does not argue an inferiority of charms; taste among the Persians, as elsewhere, differs in individuals, and often appears depraved to a degree which we can scarcely comprehend. A *Khán* or nobleman of my acquaintance purchased, while we resided at *Tehrán*, a Calmuck girl whose broad flat nose, little angular eyes, and, in short, every feature, contributed to form what among us would be reckoned ugliness; yet this gratification of caprice cost the *Khán* as considerable a sum of money as he had paid, on former occasions, for the possession of young females who might have been considered pretty even in France or England.

The oil paintings are of various sizes; the best that I had an opportunity of seeing were from four to six feet long, and from two to three feet wide; the figures in Plate LXI are engraved from two in my own collection, and would sufficiently prove, what other pictures given in this volume serve to show, that female beauty is not much heightened by any elegance of Persian drapery.

I now return to the camp of *Saadetábád*, where we continued every night watching the comet, and listening to the melancholy yelping of a thousand jackals which prowled about the gardens till dawn of day in numerous packs, often rushing close by our tents, but running off with the utmost

speed whenever we attempted to surprise them; two or three, however, were shot by persons who guarded the *tavileh* (طوبله) or place where our mules and horses stood at piquet.

That *Isfahán* abounded in fruit has already appeared from the testimony of ancient and modern writers, amply confirmed by the profusion of our daily desserts in the *Sufreh Kháneh* (سفره خانه) or dining-hall of the palace; while grapes, melons and peaches of exquisite flavour might have been found at all times on the respective tables of the English gentlemen. To this was added, most grateful when least to be expected, during days of excessive heat, the luxury afforded by snow and ice; of which, for a few *púl i síáh* (پول سیاه) or half-pence, enough might be purchased to preserve for two or three hours in its original freshness, a large quantity of fruit, and to cool some bottles of wine or bowls of sherbet.

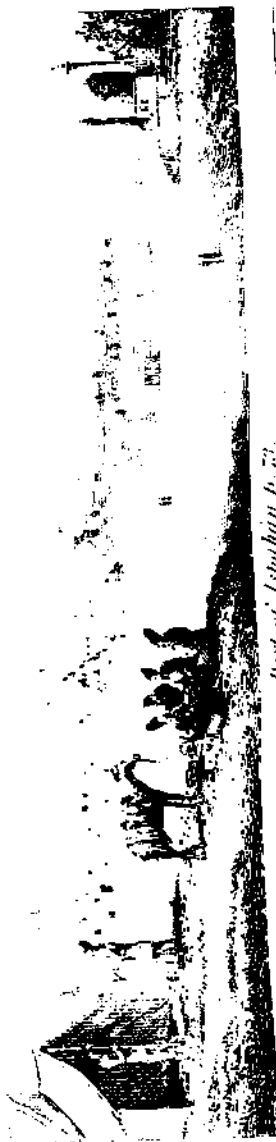
I have mentioned that the thirteenth of October was spent in preparations for the journey to *Tehrán*. On the fourteenth we departed from the gardens of *Saadetábád* or “Mansion of Felicity,” passed over the bridge of *Khájú* through the adjoining *chúrbágh*, *bázárs* and winding streets, and under the gate called *Dervázeh Túkchi*<sup>(\*)</sup>, near which are two

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(\*) In the *Negáristán* of *Ghaffári* I find the name spelt *توكچي* (*Túkchi*); while it appears *تخچه* (*Tukhchi*) in the pages of a work written during our residence at *Isfahán* by a Persian, whose accuracy, however, is questionable.

figures of lions rudely carved in stone, each seeming to have partly swallowed a human head, of which the face, at least, is visible between the extended jaws; from this gate we proceeded along the garden of the *Kúsh Kháneh* (کوشخانه) or king's "hawk-house," within half a mile from which we encamped on a plain northward of the city, and near the source or stream called *A'b i Sháh pesend* (اب شاه پسند) which serves to supply a multiplicity of *canáts* or aqueducts. Our whole march did not, probably, exceed five miles.

Here we remained one week, amused with receiving or paying visits, and furnishing ourselves with various articles for which *Isfahán* has been most distinguished. I explored the ruins of villages scattered over the plain in all directions near our camp; it is said that they once amounted to thirty; and some must have been considerable in size and respectable from the handsome houses which they contained. Although pillaged and depopulated by the *Afgháns* almost a century ago, many of their chambers yet remain, with vaults and stair-cases but little injured; yet no human being is ever seen within their walls except some traveller, who wonders at finding himself alone in places which might be easily rendered habitable, situate not much above a mile from the walls of a great metropolis. It must be confessed that these ruins, composed of sun-dried bricks and mud, appear, like many modern edifices of Persia, to much greater advantage in their outlines on paper than in reality; for the meanness of mate-



*Part of Ispahan p. 73.*



*Mud Ruins near Ispahan p. 73.*





HASSAN KHA'N had been appointed to act as our *Mehmán-dár*; but the great fast of the month RAMAZA'N (رمضان) during which the Mohammedans abstain from eating, drinking, or smoking between sunrise and sunset, was now almost terminated; and no Persian would willingly commence a journey or any other business until the new moon had been perceived. Early on the nineteenth it was publicly and joyfully proclaimed that this event had occurred; the day was therefore considered as an important *éid* (عید) or festival, and devoted by the true believers to gluttony, the delights of tobacco, and sensual gratifications of every kind. Presents were reciprocally given by relations, friends and equals; and offered by servants to their masters with the usual compliment and wish, *éid-i-shumá mubárek báshed* (عید شما مبارک باشد) “may this “holyday be auspicious to you”(21). On these occasions the gifts are not always of much intrinsic value; but a fruit, a flower, or a bit of sweet-meat, serves as a token of esteem or of respect. The twentieth day of October was the last of our residence here.

(21) Or “may your festival be blessed or fortunate.” In the Persian sentence *báshed* appears to have superseded, within two or three centuries, the original, and perhaps more correct term, *bád* (باد). On this form of compliment I shall offer some remarks in the Appendix.

## CHAPTER XV.

### *Journey from Ispahán to Tehrán.*

ON the twenty-first day of October, at six o'clock in the morning we left our camp near the *Kúsh Kháneh* of *Ispahán*, and having marched ten miles and three quarters, arrived within three hours at *Gaz* (گاز). Our road was perfectly flat; with mountains both on the right and left; we passed by many of those ruined villages before-mentioned and, at the second mile, a running stream called *A'b-i-Fazlábad* (اب قلاباد); after which we remarked several *canáts* or subterraneous conduits for the purposes of irrigation, but few symptoms of agriculture until we approached our halting-place, where some extensive plantations of melons, and of the castor and cotton plants were discovered. *Gaz*, it is said, comprises five hundred houses or families; but I think the number exaggerated by that statement; its caravansera is a handsome edifice externally, and constructed of brick not sun-dried in.



the usual manner, but hardened by means of fire to the solidity and perhaps the durability of stone; yet its inner chambers were fallen to decay; our tents however rendered us independent of any accommodation that this building might have afforded. *Gaz*, of which the name is written by Arabian geographers *Jaz* (جر), was considered in the fourteenth century as chief of twelve villages belonging to the district of *Narkhuârsi* (نرخوارسی); this we learn from HAMDALLAH CAZVÎ'NÎ, who adds, that "in this village of *Gaz* (or *Jaz*) a fire-temple had been constructed by *BAHMAN* the son of *Is-*, *FENDYA'R*"<sup>(1)</sup>.

Some unfavourable aspect of the stars, (a ready, and to Persians a sufficient excuse for laziness or procrastination), detained our *Mehmândâr*, *ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N*, until night in the city. Meanwhile his deputy on this occasion, *MUHAMMED BEG* (محمد بیگ) found much difficulty, through some neglect of previous arrangements, in procuring for us and for our horses, the necessary *siûrsât* or allowance of provisions. *Gaz* enjoys a temperate air; the natives reckon it cold; Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose, however, to 75 at half-past one o'clock.

We began our march on the twenty-second at a very early hour; the road was excellent, and with the exception

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(1) و درین ده جز بهمن بن اسفندیار آتشخانه ساخته بود (MS. *Nushat al Culûb*, Geogr. Sect. cli. 2, in the account of *Isfahân*.)

of one inconsiderable rise, uniformly level; and would have presented no other obstacles to wheel-carriages than two or three water-courses. We passed some ruined villages and neglected though handsome caravanseras; and at length after a journey of twenty one miles and a half, reached our tents near *Murcheh-Khúrt* (مورچه خورت), or as the name is softened in pronunciation, *Murcheh Khúrd*(\*). Here is a mud-built castle with towers, and the whole place is supposed to contain about two hundred houses. To these belong some gardens which produce fruits of various kinds, and some fields where cotton and castor, wheat and barley were cultivated. Near the village we remarked a *Caravanserá*, which the *Amín ad doulch's* workmen were, or seemed, engaged in repairing.

On the twenty-third, at five o'clock in the morning, we set out from *Murcheh Khúrt*, after a night so extremely cold that the water was frozen in some of our tents. At ten we alighted near the caravansera of *Aká Kemál páiin* (آقا كمال پايين), or "the lower;" so called to distinguish it from another situate one stage farther towards the north(†). We travelled this day

(\*) But in the MS. *Nuzhat al culúb* (Chap. of Roads and Stages) I find the name written *Murcheh Khúr* (مورچه خور). This place was the scene of a memorable battle fought on the twelfth and thirteenth of November in 1729, when NA'DER SHA'H defeated the Turks and Afgháns.

(†) The Persians seldom take much trouble in giving the true sound to Arabick letters of difficult pronunciation; but generally call آغا or آقا, *Agá*, and often simply *Ad*, as in the well known and once formidable name of A'KA' MUHAMMED, the present monarch's uncle. I remarked that *páiin* (پايين) which distinguishes the first caravansera as "the lower," was commonly pronounced *páiuu*.

fifteen miles and a half, over a flat and dreary waste; the road was good, but destitute of houses, of men, trees, and even of shrubs. We found, however, the solitary caravansera, which owes its foundation and its name to AGA' KEMA'L, (an officer of the *Harem* under one of the *Sefevi* princes) a handsome structure; and here too we saw several masons employed. I was endeavouring to recollect some instance of a publick, or indeed a private edifice in Persia, besides this and the caravansera of *Mürcheh Khúrt*, being rescued from decay by timely reparation, when it was maliciously, and perhaps falsely whispered, that the labours of those workmen had commenced at our approach, and would terminate on our departure; as they were hired merely to excite in the Ambassador such an opinion of the *Amín ad'douleh's* zeal for the conveniency of travellers and the improvement of his country, as might be favourably reported to the king; this artifice, however, seems to me improbable, as it was contemptible and unnecessary; for we had already witnessed daily at *Ispahán* the numerous splendid and useful works devised by that minister and executed at his expense. This day the Thermometer at noon rose to 71; but the night was exceedingly cold.

Our march of the twenty-fourth commenced before six and ended about ten o'clock, when we halted at the caravansera of *Akú Kemál bálá* (آل) or "the upper," having advanced in a northern direction thirteen miles. When nearly half-way we

saw on the left some villages which constitute *Júshghán* (جوشغان), a place celebrated for the manufactory of carpets. Our path was in many spots extremely rough and stony, and every where barren; it is therefore called, as a Persian informed me, the *ráh-e-bíábáni* (راه بیابانی) or "desert road." Its inequalities of surface were numerous, but the hills not very high; and I remarked that most of our ascents from the southern side exceeded by a few feet or yards the descents on the other; thus the general surface appeared to rise in our progress towards the north.

Our tents were placed near a caravansera recently constructed, indeed scarcely finished, by the *Amin ad'douleh*; the old caravansera, about a mile distant, being no longer frequented from an alleged scarcity of water. Yet I found on visiting it, a stream by no means scanty, murmuring near the back of this deserted edifice, which was still spacious and handsome; the stream flowed from an adjoining village where some houses were almost perfect, though none had been inhabited for many years. Here were two large willows, venerable in their decay; and near the new caravansera some younger trees of which I was induced to ascertain the number, a Persian having declared, in the usual mode of vague amplification, "that to him they seemed five hundred, or "perhaps a thousand;" neither he nor I could reckon more than eighty. It was here discussed whether we should proceed to *Cáshán* by way of *Kuhrúd* or of *Sow*; the former was

preferred as affording shorter stages and more convenient halting places for the invalids<sup>(\*)</sup>.

To a day of pleasant temperature (for the Thermometer did not rise above 60) succeeded a night so cold that we were scarcely enabled to defend ourselves by means of additional bed-clothes from the frost which converted into ice much of the water in our *matarrehs* or leathern bottles (described in Vol. I. p. 247; Misc. Pl. fig. 12). Of the large and handsome, but deserted *caravansera*, I made a sketch from which is engraved fig. 18 in the Miscellaneous or last Plate of this volume.

After a ride of fifteen miles we arrived on the twenty-fifth at *Kuhrúd* (كهرود); our path in various places bad and stony led us over many hills, and through one narrow mountain pass or *gardench* (گردن) which would not admit two horses abreast. We saw several rats of an extraordinary size; the *Jerboas* were numerous, and some gentlemen of our party shot hares, partridges and wild ducks. Although the leaves were falling very fast at *Kuhrúd*, the multiplicity of its trees, (baffling my powers of enumeration) and its verdant fields, amply indemnified the eye for that naked and barren expanse over which it had so widely and hopelessly ranged during the last three

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(\*) *Saw* (of which I have never seen the name written in Persian) was said to be a large village with a handsome *caravansera*, about twenty-three miles Northward of *Márcheh khúrt*, and seven or eight miles Eastward of the road that we took.

days. This place is justly celebrated as one of the pleasantest in Persia, and comprehends two villages; *Kuhrúd* giving the general denomination, though comprising but one hundred and fifty houses or families; while the other, *Júinán* (جوینان), is said to contain above two hundred; these are abundantly supplied with water by a beautiful stream which accompanied us during the last half hour of this morning's ride from a place where the roads of *Sow* and of *Agú Kemál* unite<sup>(5)</sup>. The houses situate on the steep sides of a hill, almost seem to stand one upon another. Below is the caravansera; and near it, on a rising ground, the remains of an old castle; between various eminences the valley appears, richly cultivated, and finely diversified with gardens, fertilized by the stream above mentioned, and yielding in great quantities most admirable fruit. We thought the walnuts and apples particularly excellent. From a spot near the ruined castle I sketched part of this village, as in Plate LVIII; but it appears to much greater advantage in a different point of view as accurately

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(5) This "River of *Kuhrúd*" according to HAMDALLAH, "flows from the mountain of *Khánsár*; and having passed through the territories of *Jerbádekán*, *Luristán* and *Kum*, its waters in the spring season are lost subterraneously after a course of thirty five farsangs."

اب قهرون از كود خانسار برآيد بولایت جربادتان و لرستان و قم میگذرد و آبش بهرزه در بهار در مقاره منتهی میشود طولش سی و پنج فرسنگ باشد (MS. *Nuzhat al culúb*, ch. of Rivers). I have here spelt *Khánsár* as in the Manuscript (خوانسار); but in modern works the name is mostly written *Khuánsár* (خوانسار) and the southern Persians invariably pronounce it *Khoonsár*. This town is described as situate in one of the most fertile and beautiful parts of Persia; being about ninety miles north-eastward from *Isfahán*.

delineated by Colonel Johnson in the tenth plate of his very interesting "Journey from India to England," p. 133.

Here the Ambassador encamped as usual; but all the other English gentlemen, and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, found sufficient accommodation at the caravansera; where in my chamber or vaulted cell the Thermometer at two o'clock did not rise above 50. Near this is the green roofed tomb of an *Imámzádeh*, or holy personage whom the journal of MI'RZA' SA'LEH styles SHA'H ZA'DEH HUSEIN son of the illustrious *Imám* MU'SA CA'ZEM; (شاهزاده حسين ولد جناب امام موسي كاظم) "and from the summit of an eminence here," as the same "journalist affirms, "may be seen, in one direction, the "great mountain *Damúvend* three stages beyond *Tehrán*; "and in another the city of *Isfahán* with its adjacent "territories and the neighbouring hills"(6). The village of *Kuhrúd* is a district considered as dependent on *Cáshán*; and according to the "table of roads and stages," given in HAMDALLAH's Geography, is distant from that city eight farsangs(?); our actual measurement would scarcely

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(6) و کوه بلندي واقعست که چنانچه در بالاي آن هرکس ميروند کوه دماوند که سه منزل بعد از طهرانست و کوه و شهر و سواد اصفهانرا مي بيند.  
(MS. Journal of MI'RZA' SA'LEH).

(?) See his Itinerary من كاشان الي اصفهان "from *Cáshán* to *Isfahán*" which thus begins از كاشان تا ده قهروء هشت فرسنگ "From *Cáshán* to the village of *Kuhrúd*, eight farsangs," (MS. *Nuzhat al Cutúb*, ch. of roads and stages).

allow twenty six miles to the road by which we travelled; perhaps another more circuitous was, from some local circumstance, preferred in the time of that author.

The ingenious Chardin thinks it not improbable that, as some European writers have asserted, the valley of *Kuhrúd* was the scene of Darius's last moments (Tome III, p. 88, Rouen, 1723). An examination of this opinion will find its place in a future work better adapted than the present to discussions on subjects connected with the history of Alexander.

On the twenty-sixth we did not leave our *manzil* before seven o'clock in the morning. The road during this day's march was in general bad, rugged and stony, and rendered uneven by numerous hills; but these, for the first three or four miles near *Kuhrúd* were beautifully wooded; and combined with the subjacent valley, its winding limpid streams, the well cultivated fields which they watered, and the thickly planted gardens, to constitute such scenery as even in Wales might be reckoned most "romantick and *picturesque*." Passing by the village cemetery I remarked the image of a lion very rudely carved in stone, like that before noticed at *Dirts*, (Vol. 1. p. 270); and on the slabs covering many graves were chiseled the figures of cypress-trees.

Between the fifth and sixth mile of our journey we came to that great *band* (بند) or dike which SHA'H ABBA'S constructed



for the purpose of restraining and collecting mountain torrents and the water of dissolved snow. This *band* is an immense wall, apparently from forty to fifty feet high between two precipices; a winding path has been cut on the left side, but so dangerous did it seem at one projecting corner of the rock, that Lady Ouseley was induced to leave her *palankin*; and most of us encountered its difficulties on foot. The reservoir or lake formed by this mound was nearly dry; but we heard that the water has sometimes risen so exceedingly as to overflow the wall. One arch, at the very bottom, suffices for the transmission of a moderate stream. As we approached this extraordinary object I sketched the view engraved in Plate LVIII.

We proceeded to *Gabrábád* (كبرآباد) where our tents were pitched; and alighted there after a march of almost four hours; yet the distance from *Kuhrúd* did not by many yards exceed ten miles. Our camp was situate close to the ruins of a mud-built village, once the "Abode of Fire-worshippers," and on that account styled *Gabrábád*; within three quarters of a mile was the handsome *caravansera* which ABU'L HAS-SAN KHA'N and his servants occupied; it had been built in the time of SHA'U ABBA'S by a person named MI'R SA'BER (میرصابر). During the course of this morning's ride, I perceived or imagined in the general surface of the country a gentle declination towards *Cáshán*, but not equivalent to the ascent of former stages; and though we were advancing in a

northern direction, and had arrived at the twenty-sixth of October, Fahrenheit's Thermometer on that day at two o'clock rose to 67; higher by seventeen degrees than it had risen at the same hour on the twenty-fifth.

I walked about our camp from breakfast until dinner time with my gun; but rather in search of antiquities than of game. The ruined village furnished no criterion by which the religion of its founders or inhabitants could be ascertained; it was easy, however, and not uninteresting to trace the gradual process of decay; some houses were yet but slightly affected by the weather or by time; of others the roofs and arches had fallen, and many were half filled with the rubbish of their own walls. Some scarcely rose above the level of their foundations; and several were moulded into hillocks of clay. Near this, the remains of a handsome and commodious bath attracted my observation; it had been well constructed of excellent brick and neatly ornamented with lackered tile-work. The pipes for conducting water and the stoves for heating it might still, without much trouble, have been rendered perfect. But my rambles, although extended four or five miles beyond this place, among the mountains and through the valley, were not recompensed by any thing that wore even the semblance of antiquity, except some vestiges of a stone building near the ruined village. They appear on the summit of a hill whence the whole road to *Cáshán* was distinctly seen, and that city with the long line of gardens behind it;

on days less hazy, mount *Damávand* has often been discerned from this spot. If complete dilapidation be a proof of age those vestiges may boast of many centuries. Their situation would indicate a castle; but on the inconsiderable space which they cover may have once stood a Fire-temple; or, perhaps, one of those edifices wherein the *Gabrs* are accustomed to expose their dead.

We set out from *Gabrábád* about five o'clock on the twenty-seventh, and a little before ten in the morning reached our tents at *Cáshán* (كاشان), after a journey of fifteen miles and three quarters over a country in general flat; through which the road was, in some places rugged and stony. On both sides at various distances were villages; but to me the greater number seemed deserted. As we approached *Cáshán* the Ambassador was welcomed by an *istikbál* very numerous and respectable, comprising the chief *tájers* (تاجر) or merchants, the *ked khudás* (كدخدا) or householders, with all the principal inhabitants of that city; and at their head the *Hákem* (حاكم) or governor himself, MI'RZA' ABU'L KA'SEM (میرزا ابو القاسم) accompanied by AKA' MUHAMMED JAAFER (اكا محمد جعفر), brother of MI'RZA' ZI'N ALA'BEDI'N (میرزا زين العابدين) already mentioned as *Vazír* or minister to the Prince of *Shiráz*. Having been conducted by these great men quite through the *chár-bágh-jedíd* (چار باغ جديد) or "new garden," (a work of the indefatigable *Amín ad'douleh*) we halted at our camp near the old "royal garden," denominated after one of the

*Sefevi* monarchs, *Bágh-i-Sháh* (باغ شاه), and adorned with many stately cypresses.

The oldest accounts of *Cáshán* that I have discovered were written in the tenth century; it appears from the MS. *Súr al beldán* that the city was then small but well supplied with the necessities and conveniences of life: and abounding in fruit; it was infested, however, by scorpions of a black and most venomous kind, that killed all persons whom they stung<sup>(8)</sup>. In the printed "Geography of EBN HAUKAL," (p. 171) those black scorpions are described as very numerous at *Cáshán*, "and another species called *heirárah* (حیراره)." From the MS. *Seir al belád* we learn that in the thirteenth century *Cáshán* was remarkable "for its manufacture of pottery; and the earthenware was, accordingly, sent into various provinces;" and "the apricots of that city," adds the MS. "are extremely delicious, and considered when dried as acceptable presents in distant countries where apricots so excellent cannot be found. But at *Cáshán* are also black scorpions larger than any produced elsewhere<sup>(9)</sup>.

(8) وقاشان شهری کوچک امك بانصب و نعمت و میوه بسیار و در انجا صغی از عقارب سیاه منكر هست كه كرا بكزد بكشد  
MS. *Súr al beldán*.  
In another passage of the same page, the name of *Cáshán* is spelt as at present كاشان.

(9) ظروف سفالین و انهارا در عمل انظرف دستی است فراخ كه بهیچ شهری مثل آن ظروف نسازند و از انجا بلاد دیگر برند و بانجاست زردالو بغایت شیرین انرا خشك سازند و برسم هدیه بسایر بلاد برند از انچه چو آن زردالو بهیچ شهری دیگر نباءد و بانجاست از عقارب سیاه بكلائی انقدر كه در جای دیگر نباءد  
MS. *Seir al belád*. (Clim. IV.)

*Cáshán* (كاشان), says the geographer HAMDALLAH, is a city of the fourth climate; "founded by ZOBÉIDAH KHA'TU'N the "wife of HARU'N AR'RASHI'D, under the zodiacal sign of "the virgin. In its vicinity is a clay-built castle called *Fín*. "*Cáshán* enjoys a warm climate, and is watered by means of "channels from *Fín*, and by the river which flows from *Kuh-rúd* and *Níáser*; and in winter the cold is not so excessive "as to cover those streams with a great quantity of ice; "but there, as at *A'vah*, the water is preserved frozen in "pits or wells until the heats of summer. *Cáshán* is of mid- "dling elevation; among its fruits the melons and grapes are "particularly excellent"<sup>(10)</sup>. Among the reptiles there, HAMDALLAH adds that the "scorpions are very numerous "and of deadly sting, which, however, it is said, they seldom "employ against a stranger"<sup>(11)</sup>.

AMI'N RA'ZI, author of the *Haft aklm* or "Seven Climates;" after a vague and hyperbolical encomium, wherein he compares and prefers the buildings and streets of *Cáshán* to the

(<sup>10</sup>) زبیده خاتون منكرحه هارون الرشيد ساخت بطالع سنبله و بر ظاهر ان شهر قلعه كلين است و انرا فین خوانند هوای ان شهر گرمسیرست و ابش از کاریز فین میرد و رودی که از قهرود و نیاسرست و بزمستان سرما چنان نبود که یخ بسیار بگیرند. اما نیز همچو اوه آب در چاه یخ می بندد تا بینکام کرما باز میدهد و ارتفاعتش وسط بود از میوه اش خربزه و انکور نیکوست

(MS. *Núzhāt al Cúláb*. Geog. Sect. ch. 2.)

(<sup>11</sup>) در انجا عقرب بسیار بود و قتال باشد و کوبند غریب را زخم کمتر زند

MS. *Nuz. al Cúláb*. *ibid.*)

cheeks of lovely damsels and *Houries* resplendent with beauty ; condescends to inform us, in plainer language, that "it is a modern city having been founded under the celestial "sign Virgo, by ZOBEDAH the queen of HA'RU'N AR'- "RASHI'D; and in truth" adds he, "the purity and sweetness "of this place cannot be equalled in all *Irán*, nor even in "the whole world. And there is at *Fín*, issuing from one "rock, a considerable fountain such as the most experienced "travellers have rarely seen or described ; the gardens and "cultivated fields of *Cáshán* are chiefly watered by this "stream ; and destructive scorpions abound among the rep- "tiles of the city, but do not sting foreigners" (12).

Notwithstanding the recent origin here ascribed to *Cáshán*, I am inclined to suppose that queen ZOBEDAH only enlarged or embellished a place already peopled; for the venerable EBN AASIM of *Cúfa* describing the great battle of *Cádesiah*, which in the year 636, destroyed the hopes of YEZDEJERD, the Persian monarch, informs us that "to join the royal army, SHI'RZA'D, "Váhy or governor of *Kum* and *Cáshán*, marched, with twenty

(12) و کاشان از شهرهای جدید است و زیبده خاتون منکوحه هارون الرشید  
نرا بطالع سنبله بنا نموده است بشیرینی و پاکیزگی آن شهر در تمام ایران بلکه در  
جهان شهری نیست—و در فین چشمه ایست عظیم که از یک سنگ بر می آید  
چنانچه سیاحان جهان مثل آن چشمه کمتر نشان داده اند و اکثر زراعت و باغات  
کاشان برین آب است—و از حشرت عقرب قتاله در شهر بسیار می باشد اما بر  
غریب مضرب نمیروانند  
(MS. *Haft Akhbar*, Clim. IV).

“ five thousand troops, cavalry and infantry ”<sup>(13)</sup>. At the subsequent battle of *Nuhâvend*, these cities contributed, according to the same historian, twenty thousand ; a circumstance which may be dated above one hundred years before the existence of Queen Zobeidah. Indeed some have assigned the foundation of *Câshân* to TAHMUR'AS, one of the earliest kings ; and an etymology for its name is offered by an old Persian writer who classes it among the ancient cities. On the subject of its antiquity I must refer to the last article of the Appendix.

Concerning the fruits and the warmth of *Câshân*, our positive testimony can be offered in confirmation of the account above given. We found the pears, figs and grapes delicious, and some of the melons were equally large as exquisitely flavoured. Major Stone and I measured one nearly spherical, which in circumference was two feet and nine inches ; we divided between us and preserved its seed ; but this, from experiments lately made, seems to degenerate in our English climate. Although the mornings and nights were cool, the Thermometer rose between two and three o'clock, both on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth (of October) to 72 degrees ; indeed without the vaulted chambers and cellars (or those subterraneous recesses called *sardâbah* سردابه)

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<sup>(13)</sup> دیگر شیرزاد والی قم و کاشان با بیست و پنج هزار سوار و پیاده  
(MS. Tarikh i Musim e Cûf.)

attached to almost every house, people could scarcely endure the heats of summer in this place<sup>(14)</sup>.

With respect to the scorpions, I can give but a negative testimony in favour of their generosity towards strangers. None of our party suffered from those creatures; yet it was acknowledged by many of the inhabitants that five and twenty or thirty persons had, within the last year, perished by their envenomed stings; to avoid which, bedsteads raised from the floor on high feet were, as I heard, very generally used<sup>(15)</sup>.

Some of our gentlemen visited the fountain celebrated by AMI'N RA'ZI' in the passage extracted from his Manuscript work (See p. 89). They found the garden of *Fîn* a very pleasant spot, and the water most admirably pure and clear; workmen were employed there in preparing a house for the king and his *Harem*. This edifice, originally designed as a summer residence for the king's brother (now dead) HUSEIN KULI' KHA'N (حسین قلی خان), rivalled, it was said, the new palace of *Fattehábád* at *Ispahán* in the glowing colours

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(14) My Journal has thus marked the degrees to which the Thermometer ascended on the twenty-eighth of October. At 7 in the morning, 46; at a quarter past 8, 54; at noon, 69; and at half past 2, 72.

(15) From Pliny, (after Aristotle) we learn that the scorpions on Latmus, a mountain of Caria, while they killed the natives of that country, were harmless to strangers. "In Latmo Carie monte Aristoteles tradit, a scorpionibus hospites non lædi, indigenas "interimi;" (Nat. Hist. Lib. VIII. 59). The subject of scorpions must be resumed in the Appendix.



that enriched the glass of its windows; *Fin* is about three miles and a quarter from the city.

We remained at *Cáshán* from the twenty-seventh until the thirty-first day of October, and had ample leisure to explore the city, which, to me at least, appeared much larger than *Shíráz*, and superior in population and the lively stir of business. *Cáshán* is remarkable for the excellence of its weavers; for its various manufactures of silk and cotton stuffs<sup>(16)</sup>, velvets, and a sort of shawls worn and esteemed in the most remote provinces of the empire; and above all, for its copper-ware, generally tinned or whitened so as to resemble silver. As I rode through the *Bázár-e-misgarán* (بازار مسگران), or "quarter of the copper-smiths;" their ponderous hammers incessantly rising and falling, assailed my ears with a more violent noise than any thing since the first broadside fired from our ship at the Arabian pirates in the Persian gulf. Some of our attendants had, during the whole journey from *Búshehr*, dispensed, even at *Ispahán*, with many culinary utensils, that they might supply their wants at *Cáshán*. Here were several *dík bárs* (دیکبار) so ingeniously contrived and so neatly executed, that they would not injure the cookery whilst they might ornament the kitchen even of an English epicure. The *Díkbár* comprises various articles, from twelve to thirty,

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(16) A man selling striped handkerchiefs at our tents, recommended his goods by declaring, in language familiar to a Persian, "that their colours were as unchangeable as the decrees of fate."

fitting one within another, the outer being a kettle or pot; the price is according to the size and number of those articles, from fifteen to fifty *riáls*, or from thirty shillings to five pounds.

Paying a visit one morning to ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N at the garden-house of the *Chárbágh*, I saw a quadruped, beautifully formed and spotted, which was described by the man who held it, as a young *palang* (پلنگ) or leopard, brought from some place on the road leading to *Hamadán*; but another declared that it was a *yúz* (یوز) or beast of the lynx kind, trained to assist in the chase, and carried, occasionally, on the huntsman's horse. This account I am inclined to believe, as from DOWLET SHA'H in his "History of the Persian Poets," we learn that a place between *Kum* and *Hamadán* was celebrated for the *yúzes* it produced<sup>(17)</sup>. At *Cúshán* were offered for sale, by the heirs of a person lately deceased, some Manuscripts, being, in general, fine copies of works not very rare. This city as a native informed me, contains thirty

(17) "*Feráhán*," says the biographer, "is a district in the territories of *Kum*; "situate between that city and *Hamadán*; and the author of the geographical work, "entitled *Súr al ákálím*, relates, that the vicinity of *Feráhán* affords very fine *Yúzes* "for hunting; and that throughout the world no place furnishes such *yúzes* as *Feráhán*, "whence they are sent as gifts worthy of kings."

اما فراهان قصبه ایست من اعمال قم و در میان ولایت همدان و قم افتاده و صاحب صور الاقالیم می آورد که در نواحی فراهان یوز شکاری خوب بدست می آید که در اقالیم مثل آن یوز نیست و بجهت صلاطین آن یوزهارا بتحفه می بزند (MS. *Tezkirreh*; in the account of JELÁ'L BEN JAAFER FERA'HA'NI').

mosques, twelve publick baths, and ten *madrassehs* or colleges, of which one is a new and very handsome building; the city has also six gates; and its circumference is reckoned equal to one farsang.

During our residence here, a fellow was punished for some offence committed before we left *Ispahán*; where, being the servant of MUHAMMED BEG, (assistant on our march to the *Mehmándár*,) he had not only arrested and insulted an infirm old woman who was going for medical advice to the Surgeon's tent, but exceeded his authority by robbing her of two *riáls*; besides which, he beat the Surgeon's Persian attendant, who had interfered in the woman's behalf; and completed the measure of his guilt by condemning in the grossest terms, all *Farangkis* or Europeans to the infernal regions. These circumstances were represented to the Ambassador, who demanded satisfaction from MUHAMMED BEG; but he connived at the escape and concealment of his servant, swearing that he had taken refuge in a *masjed* or mosque, from which sacred asylum it was not possible to drag him. This excuse he employed while we remained at *Ispahán*, with hopes that in the bustle of a march all offences might be forgotten. But the Ambassador had declared that he would never admit the assistant to his presence unless the culprit should accompany him; many efforts were made, in vain, to soften this resolution; and MUHAMMED BEG perceiving that he must either relinquish the expectation of pre-

sen's, usually bestowed to persons in his department, or resign the offender to justice, despatched a messenger who brought him nearly an hundred miles, by rapid marches, to our camp at *Cáshán*; where immediately on his arrival he was flogged by some stout *ferúshes*, and severely cudgelled by his own master, who indemnified himself by many hearty blows for the trouble which this servant had caused him. The Ambassador thought an example of unrelenting rigour necessary, as the punishment inflicted on a former occasion (See Vol. II. p. 225,) was not found sufficient to repress a spirit of insolence towards Europeans, which had lately become manifest.

After a ride of two hours and a half, we arrived on the thirty-first day of October, at *Nasrábád* (نصراবাদ), a mud-walled town, containing about three hundred houses, with a caravansera, some corn fields and cotton plantations; distant from *Cáshán* ten miles and a quarter; the road was flat and good. About the second mile we crossed a stream which waters the village and gardens of *Ghyath ábád* (غیاثآباد) on the left; a little beyond this we saw on the right *Isa ábád* (عیسی آباد); and near it, on the same side, another village called *Hárún ábád* (هارون آباد) after the great *Khalifah*, to whose name is generally subjoined the Arabick epithet, *rashíd* (رشید), prudent or sagacious, one who leads in the right way.

Half a mile farther, towards the left, and situate on a rising ground, were the trees and houses of *Kheirábád* (خیرآباد); and,

nearly opposite, the village of *Núshábád* (نوشاباد). At eight miles from *Cáshán* we passed on the right *Alí ábád* (علياباد) with its gardens. Of all those villages which I have mentioned, and several others seen this day, *Alí ábád* appeared most flourishing, although the clay-built castle had fallen to decay. Here we saw the tomb of some venerable *Imám-zádeh* or saint, with its green-tiled roof; and a mud-walled place called *Múrchan* (مورجان) now uninhabited, but exhibiting many vestiges of former cultivation. We heard that within eleven years of the *Amín ad douleh's* government, this country had been improved by the construction of one hundred and fifty *canáts*, or subterraneous aqueducts; and that each cost three thousand *túmáns*; thus forming, altogether, a sum exceeding four hundred thousand pounds; which was gently levied by equitable assessments on the various districts in proportion as they benefited by the distribution of water.

*Nasrábád* proved still warmer than *Cáshán*, for at one o'clock the Thermometer rose to 79.

We proceeded early on the first of November to *Sinsin* (سندسین), and encamped there after a journey of ten miles, close to the handsome *caravansera*, another work of the *Amín ad douleh*; erected about three years before at his own expense. The road lay through a sandy waste, so flat that this building was in view during almost the whole march; some remains of villages appeared near the mountains on

our left, while the desert seemed equally boundless as barren towards the right. *Sinsin*, according to report was, in former ages a very extensive and populous village; but the houses are now in a state of ruin. Behind the *caravansera* runs a stream of water, and near it are a few hovels wherein some people reside who watch the cotton and barley fields. Here several partridges were shot; and the Thermometer about noon stood at 78.

From *Sinsin* we marched soon after five o'clock on the second, and arrived at our tents near the *caravansera* of *Pásengán* (پاسنگان) at half past eleven; this was a journey of twenty one miles and three quarters; the road in many places very hilly. At four miles we rode among the ruins of *Deh-i-nar* (ده نار), once a considerable village, but pillaged and depopulated by the *Turcománs*; some walls and even chambers of handsome houses yet remain; and near them on the right, a fine rivulet gushes from an eminence close to the road side. At seven miles we passed a new *caravansera*, denominated from a stream of "brackish water" that runs not far beyond it, the *Caravanserá-i-áb-i-shár* (كاروانسرا آب شور). This also, is a memorial of the *Amin ad douleh's* liberality, and here he has stationed guards for the protection of travellers.

Some inequalities of the road prevented us from seeing, until within a mile, either our tents or the *caravansera* at *Pásengán*; although not only *Kum*, the next stage, was visible,

nearly seventeen miles beyond this place, but even Mount *Damdvand* (دماوند) had been all day in sight, at the distance of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty miles, rising far above the horizon, towards the north-east. The only building or habitation of any kind at *Pásengán*, is, I believe, the *caravansera*; which was founded by a merchant of *Cazvín*, named HA'JI MUHAMMED BA'KER (حاجي محمد باقر); attached to it are two *barkch* (بركه) or reservoirs of water. We found the weather here unpleasantly warm, the Thermometer at one o'clock rising to 84.

Our march on the third of November commenced at five o'clock in the morning, and ended at ten, when we entered *Kum* (قم), having travelled sixteen miles and three quarters; during most of which we had in view before us the gilded cupola of that city's chief mosque or sanctuary; at sunrise it appeared like a globe of fire. About seven miles from the last halting-place we passed a village called *Langrúd* (لنگرود) with a few trees, situate on the right; but more than half the houses had been long deserted and were mouldering to decay. As we advanced, the remains of habitations, gardens, and tombs, became so numerous as to evince a considerable degree of former population; and it was contrived to assemble, from different parts of the country, although now very thinly inhabited, a respectable *ptshwáz* or *istikbál*, composed of well-dressed horsemen, and a ragged pedestrian rabble in proportionate numbers; this crowd was led by HA'JI

HUSEIN BA'BA' (حاجي حسين بابا) the deputy or *nâieb* (نایب) of MĪRZA' ABUL KASEM CA'SHI, (میرزا ابو القاسم کاشی) the governor, then absent. Many compliments having been offered as usual to the Ambassador, we all proceeded towards the city, and our tents beyond it, riding through extensive ruins; at least two thirds of the buildings seemed to have been untenanted for fifty or perhaps an hundred years; they covered a space of some miles, and confirmed the accounts left us by several writers concerning the magnitude of *Kum*.

Yet in the two most ancient geographical treatises that I have had an opportunity of consulting, this city is not described as remarkable for its size. On the contrary, having noticed, as in a passage before quoted (p. 87) that *Cáshán* was small, the MS. *Súr at beldán* adds "and all the cities of this province (*Kúhestán* the mountainous region, *Jebál*, *Irák A'jemí*, or Parthia,) are, except *Raí*, which is very considerable, nearly equal in littleness, one to another." "But *Kum*," as we read in the same work, "is a pleasant place with much verdure; and around it has been constructed a rampart; and it derives water from wells; the trees there are numerous, and the fruits abundant; such as pistachio nuts, filberds, and others; and the houses both at *Kum* and *Cáshán* are mostly built of clay"<sup>(18)</sup>.

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(18) و در تمامت شهرها کوهستان بغیر از ری که شهری بزرگست باقی همه در کوچکی بیکدیگر نزدیک می باشد. ما قم شهر خوش و نزه و سبز است و حرالی



Although EBN HAUKAL's work agrees in general with the *Súr al beldán*, yet we here find a variation, caused probably by one of the thousand errors in that Manuscript from which I published several years ago my translation of the "Oriental Geography;" according to this, (p. 171) "*Kum* has not "any walls," and it adds that, at certain seasons a considerable stream runs by the city gate.

A passage already quoted from the chronicle of AASIM B CU'FI, expresses that the united contribution of troops furnished in the year 636, by *Kum* and *Cáshán*, amounted to twenty five thousand men.

We learn from the *Seir al belád* that "*Kum*, a city in the "land of *Cúhestán*, or the hilly region, is situate between "*Sáveh* and *Isfahán*. It is of considerable size, and abund-  
antly supplied with every thing necessary; but at present," adds this Manuscript," (a work of the thirteenth century) "the city is mostly in ruins, and all the water used there is "drawn from wells"(19). We afterwards read that according

آن سوری برآورده و آب آنجا از چاه می باشد و در آن شهر درختان بسیار و مدیوه و انار  
هست مثل فستق و بندق و غیره و خواها تم و کاشان غالب از کل می باشد  
(*Súr al beldán*). In this old MS. *dirakhtan* is often used as a plural.

(19) قم شهر است بر زمین کوهستان میان ساوه و اصفهان و آن شهر کلانیست  
همه چیز در آن فراوان بشهر گرفته شد و اکنون بیشتر آن شهر خرابست و آبهای  
آنها همه از چاه است  
(MS. *Seir al belád*. Clim. IV.)

to some ingenious authors there is near *Kum* a certain mine of salt, from which, if any person who has not deposited there the price, take any salt away, the ass that carries it shall become lame; that there also, is a mine of gold and silver, which has not been indicated to the inhabitants lest they should neglect their agricultural labours; and a talisman is then noticed, made to guard the citizens from serpents and scorpions, and banishing these reptiles to a neighbouring mountain, where they so abound that no person is able to pass over it.

*Kum*, as we learn from the geographer, *HAMDALLAH*, is a city of the fourth climate; founded under the zodiacal sign *Gemini*; and "its ramparts in circumference exceed ten thousand paces, being by forty more, according to report, than the circuit of *Cazvin*. Its climate is temperate and it "is watered by a stream that flows from *Jerbadekân*"<sup>(20)</sup>; and at *Kum* as at *A'vuh*, adds *HAMDALLAH*, water frozen during winter is preserved for use in pits or wells until the heat of summer dissolves the ice. The water of *Kum* has a slight tendency towards brackishness. Among the chief productions of this place, says he, are wheat and cotton, which grow in great abundance; and of its fruits the best are

(20) دور بارش زیاده از ده هزار کام است گویند بجهل کام بر باروی قزوین  
زیادتست هواش معتدل است و آبش از رودی که از جربادقان می آید  
(MS. *Nuzhāt al Cutūb*. ch. 2.)

pomegranates, pistachios, melons and red figs; the cypress trees are very beautiful. He then describes the people as bigots of a certain *Muselmán* sect; and adds that in his time (the fourteenth century) *Kum* was mostly fallen to ruin; although the ramparts continued for the greater part uninjured.

From the MS. *Haft aklim* or "Seven Climates," we learn that the soil of *Kum* is enriched or sanctified by the remains of several *Muselmáns*, distinguished for their orthodox piety; four hundred and forty four *Imámzádehs* or descendants of the *Imáms* and other persons of religious celebrity, having there found repose; and among their tombs, one is resplendent with divine light, being the burial-place of (فاطمه) **FATIMAH**, sister of the *Imám* **ALI MU'SA AR'REZA'**, (امام علي موسي الرضا). The mild climate of *Kum*, and its excellent fruits are then noticed, "and it is reported," adds the Manuscript, "that aloes, there, does not yield any "odour." (و كويند در آن ولايت عود بوي ندهد).

It is unnecessary to quote some minor Persian geographers, since they merely repeat the words of those writers from whose works I have extracted the passages above given.

That *Kum* is considered as a place of remote antiquity, appears from the lines in **FIRDAUSI'S** *Sháhnámeh*, which represent **CAI KHUSRAU** or **Cyrus** rewarding his favourite generals with the government of towns and provinces; he commanded, says the poet, that to **GU'DERZ**, should be

given a written assignment not only of *Kum* but of *Isfahán*; (بفرمود تا عهد قم و اصفهان<sup>(21)</sup>). A MS. Chronicle in my collection, anonymous perhaps because imperfect, assigns the foundation of *Kum* to CAI KOBÁ'D, the great grandfather of Cyrus, and supposed by Sir William Jones to have reigned about the year 610 before Christ. Some accounts indeed would allow to this city a much higher degree of antiquity; for they attribute the construction of it to TAIMURAS, who may be placed before CAI KOBÁ'D at least two hundred years<sup>(22)</sup>.

Whatever monuments of those early times existed prior to the fourteenth century, were probably destroyed during the horrible visitation of TAIMUR; the ruins at present visible are extensive, and occupy a much more considerable space than the inhabited houses. These, however, in proportion to their numbers, contain more handsome females, if I may

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(<sup>21</sup>) *Kum* is mentioned once again (and, I believe, not more often) in the *Shúhnámeh*, where we find it described as belong'g. with *Isfahán*, to the second of those four portions which constituted the empire of NU'SHIRAVÁN, according to his division in the sixth century of our era; دَر بَهرِ زو بد قم و اصفهان

(<sup>22</sup>) Many circumstances indicate CAI KOBÁ'D to be the Cyaxares of our historians, although Chronologers differ much in their opinions respecting this Median sovereign, (See Scaliger, Usher, Prideaux, Jackson, &c.) From a passage of Æschylus (*Mýdos yap hñ o pýros*, &c. Persæ. 762), Sir William Jones declares it evident that the first king commemorated there by the Tragedian is Cai Kobad, "whom the Greeks "call Cyaxere." (Hist. of Pers. prefixed to Nadir Shah). *Kum* seems to occupy the site of ancient *Chauon* (*Χαυον*), mentioned by Stephanus (de Urbib.) and probably is the same with Ptolemy's *Choana* (*Χοανα*), Lib VI. c. 2.

judge from those that appeared on the walls and in the streets, than either *Shiráz* or *Isfahán*(<sup>23</sup>).

That *Kum* has been fertile in religious excellence we learn from many MSS. besides the *Haft Aklm*, before quoted, (p. 102) which notices, in general, *four hundred and forty-four* personages, who flourished here and died in the odour of sanctity, whilst other works very formally record their names and authenticate their miracles; but of these the reader must not expect from me a more particular account; even now, this place, according to report, abounds with men the most pious; although it is paradoxically asserted that their women are not by any means of a character corresponding(<sup>24</sup>).

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(<sup>23</sup>) The families resident at *Kum* do not amount to above two thousand, as a native of that place acknowledged, nor even to seventeen hundred, in the estimation of a well-informed traveller; yet when Chardin visited this city about one hundred and forty years ago, it boasted of *fifteen thousand* houses. Of the numerous *Madrassés* or colleges which in former times embellished it, all, I believe, have fallen to decay; one has been lately built by the present king; this edifice is decorated with lackered tile-work, and contains in the inner court a *hawz* or reservoir of water, with a small garden at each of the four corners, and a bath, also a *khalwet* (خلوت) or private apartment to which the Monarch may retire after the performance of his *stáret* or religious devotions at *FATIMAH's* holy Tomb. Of twenty handsome mosques once crowded by the pious *Kumites*, two or three only have been saved from ruin.

(<sup>24</sup>) From a shrewd *Mazándérání* who seemed to hold in contempt the reputed sanctity of *Kum*, I learned that the principal inhabitants, even the *Molás* or priests of this city, entertain such an heretical fondness for spirituous liquors that they keep in their houses the strongest arrack, professing to use it merely as a remedy against the stings of scorpions. A scandal of the same import was whispered respecting the true-believers of *Cashán*.

Here we remained during the fourth day of November, when the morning was cold, dark, and cloudy; and the sun scarcely perceptible; a circumstance in Persia of very rare occurrence. The Thermometer at eight o'clock was down to 52; at ten it rose to 60, at noon to 68, and soon after three it stood at 78.

We discovered that the saints of *Kum* had not wholly composed those crowds which welcomed us on our approach towards this city. To the *istikbál* of inhabitants had been joined many *Iliáts* from a neighbouring *ordú* (اردو) or camp, and various travellers belonging to a numerous *Káfilah* (كافله) or caravan, of which the mules and camels were reposing outside the walls; people also had been brought from distant villages to augment the multitude. We purchased here a thousand walnuts (*girdú* گردو) for one *riál* or about two shillings; and for the same price were sold five large chickens or hens.

I sketched from a spot near our tents the holy tomb with its golden *gumbed* (گنبد) or cupola; (See plate LXII). This is the building which derives celestial splendour from the body of FA'TIMAH deposited within it, according to the *Haft akúm*, above quoted, (p. 102). At the sanctuary of this mosque, where the most atrocious criminal may screen himself even from royal authority, ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, late Ambassador at the English court, took refuge several years

ago, and saved himself from the king's anger during four days; when, although it was forbidden to supply him with food, the women who came on *ziâret* or visits of devotion, to the consecrated shrine of FA'TIMAH, brought him clandestinely a little bread and water; meanwhile, by the intercession of a powerful friend, he was forgiven. It is natural to inquire what offence he had committed; his only crime was being the nephew of HA'JI IBRA'HIM (حاجي ابراهيم), whom the king had put to death.

From some ruins near a cotton plantation not much beyond our camp, I made a view of the *Kuh-e-Telesm* (کوه طلسم) or "Mountain of the Talisman;" distant in a north-western direction about eight or nine miles. To this spot the snakes and scorpions were by præternatural art banished from the city as a Manuscript already quoted has informed us; according to one story, however, for there are many traditions attached to the mountain, its talisman had not an object apparently so beneficial; but was constructed that those who might endeavour to ascend the eminence should never return; and no person has been found so adventurous as to attempt it since some fatal experiments made by order of SHA'H ABA'S. It is said that from whatsoever quarter this mountain may be viewed, the aspect presented is always the same; and if any opinion can be formed from three sketches which I made at various distances while passing it on the eastern side, this popular report is not altogether

without foundation; to the two *Imámzádeh's* or saints tombs, and other ruins included in the annexed view (Pl. LXII), we may apply the observation made (p. 72) on some similar remains of mud-built edifices near *Isfahán*; that they appear to greater advantage on paper than in reality. Under their shade were sitting several travellers; some jokes with much laughter circulated among them, and most of the women exhibited their faces without reserve.

On the fifth we proceeded from *Kum* to *Pul-i-delác* (پل دلاک) or the "Barber's Bridge," a journey of fourteen miles and three quarters; by a road in general good, over a *Kaffah* or barren country, then dry but covered with a crust of salt and sand<sup>(25)</sup>. Near the bridge, giving its name to the *manzi* or halting place, is a small *caravanserá*; but we occupied our tents, pitched a little beyond it, as they appear in the annexed view (Pl. LXII), which I sketched on the southern bank of the river. This is, at some seasons, a considerable stream; but the water is always brackish; we saw in it, however, many fishes, and one, almost a foot long, was taken near the bridge. Water more palatable, or what the Persians call *áb-i-khúrden* (آب خوردن water for drinking) was found in a well, nearly two miles distant; with this, although not perfectly pure, we replenished during the night our

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(25) *Kaffah* (كاف) as a Persian wrote the word and explained it to me, signifies a salt desert; *sakhrá* (سحره) a plain without salt.



*matarrehs* or leathern vessels, hearing that at the next stage, none even so good could possibly be procured. A few *Miäts* with their flocks were wandering near this place, which affords no habitation besides the *caravanserä*. In the front of this edifice the entrance or middle part is built with well-burnt brick ; the other walls are of stone.

The bridge derives its name from a *delüc* (دلک) or barber, at whose expense it was constructed. A tradition relates that some king or prince one day refused to avail himself of this work, however useful, because it had been founded by a person so mean ; and although the river was then running violently, being increased by mountain torrents, he rode through it on horseback, whilst many of his attendants who had plunged in after him, were overwhelmed by the stream, and perished. This bridge is strong ; well built of brick and paved with stone. Near it the banks are covered with bushes and shrubs ; they particularly abound in barberry trees, and reeds, very long, straight and beautifully tufted or feathered at the top. Among these, in the evening, Colonel D'Arcy and I traced, for two or three miles, the river's course, until warned by one of our Persian servants that this copse was a favourite haunt of wolves and lions. Although armed with double-barrel'd guns we did not prolong our walk ; several tortoises appeared on the water, and some birds of the teal and wild-duck kind. The salt desert about our camp furnished many petrified shells, and other marine pro-

ductions. We found the weather extremely sultry ; Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 84 at one o'clock after noon.

From *Pul-i-delâc* we marched on the sixth before five in the morning, and arrived at *Hawz-i-Sultân* (حوض سلطان) or the "Monarch's Reservoir," about ten, having travelled twenty miles and one quarter over a salt desert. During the first farsang we encountered some ascents and declivities ; after that, we entered on the extensive *Kivir* (کوبر), for so is called this, or any tract of ground, which at certain seasons from rain or snow becomes a marsh where travellers frequently lose their way. On arriving at *Hawz-i-Sultân* we found our tents pitched near a stone built *caravanserâ*, which is ascribed to SHA'H A'BA'S, like the adjoining *Hawz* ; a reservoir so deep and spacious that the water collected in it during winter, supplies amply all caravans, and occasional travellers of the subsequent summer ; and indeed, we thought it less offensive than the spring water brought from the last stage in leathern *mesheks* and *matarrahs* ; all our *siûrsât* or allowance of meat, bread, eggs and butter, also the barley for mules and horses, had been provided at *Kum*. The Thermometer at half past three o'clock, stood at 79.

I walked a few miles into the desert surrounding our camp ; it scarcely yielded nourishment to a thistle ; and the only living creatures visible were lizards. The hills beyond *Tehrân* appeared fully in view ; particularly Mount *Damâvand*, crowned with eternal snow.

We left *Hawz-i-Sultán* soon after four on the seventh, and arrived at our tents near *Kunar-i-gird* (کنارگرد) about eleven o'clock; the wearisome march of this morning was twenty-four miles and one quarter; by a road not always bad, but crossing one of the most dreary wastes, where the only variety was an alternate succession of saluginous plains and barren hills over which we did not pass without some difficulty. Of this desert the greater part bears, and not inappropriately, the portentous name of *Melek al mowt deréh* (ملك الموت دره) or "Valley of the Angel of Death."

Having emerged from this dismal region, we rode, near the close of our journey, three or four times through a winding stream called *Rúd Kháneh i Carege* (رودخانه کرچ) or the river of *Carege*, which, as the capaciousness of its bed testifies, must be, at another season, very considerable; and its water is reckoned excellent. Near this we passed a *caravanserá* and the village of *Zián* (زیان), which seemed to contain eighty or an hundred houses; about half a mile farther we alighted at our tents not far from the village of *Kunár-e-gird*, where the present king has erected a *caravanserá*. Here we saw a few storks; and admired some trees, as objects that had seldom occurred during the last forty or fifty miles; and there were several remains of old walls and tombs, scattered around the camp.

Soon after two o'clock the Thermometer rose to 82; and about six in the evening a violent wind came on suddenly

from the west; blowing down some of our tents; tearing others, and involving all in clouds of dust; it continued to rage with equal fury during a great part of the night. We learned that the people call it *Bād-i-Shahriār* (باد شهريار) or the "Wind of *Shahriār*" from a pleasant village so named, with good gardens, situate eighteen or twenty miles westward of *Tehrán*; and it is said to blow at stated hours, for three, seven, or nine days together.

From anecdotes related by some Persians both on the march and after our arrival in camp, it appeared that the nocturnal fears of travellers have peopled the dreary *Valley of the Angel of Death* with imaginary monsters, who delight in misleading, terrifying, and often destroying the descendants of Adam. Thinking it more probable that the place afforded game, I inquired from one man as we rode through the haunted scene, about antelopes, partridges and hares; all these, he declared to be *kheily kam* (خیلی کم) very few, exceedingly scarce; adding however, that *Ghúles* were here but too numerous. Although Eastern tales had furnished me with some vague ideas of those malignant dæmons, I asked my ingenious companion what they were; *Ghúles*, answered he, are *joonavár* (so he pronounced *jánvār* جانوار) creatures having life; beings that can assume the human form, but generally render themselves hideous with horns, tails, and formidable claws or talons. "That they abounded here five or six hundred years ago," said another Persian.

with much solemnity, "is one of those circumstances acknowledged throughout the whole world; but latterly, from some cause unknown, their appearance has not been frequent."

At six o'clock on the eighth we began to march, and at half past nine reached our camp near *Cahrízek* (چهریزك), a village of about three hundred houses, distant from *Kunár-igird* eleven miles; the road was stony and bad, over barren plains and rugged mountains; during the ride of this morning we suffered much from the *Shahryár* wind, which was extremely cold, and blew with such violence that several *ferúshes* could scarcely contrive to pitch one tent.

When we had ascended a steep hill three or four miles from *Cahrízek*, the ultimate object of our destination, *Tehrán*, presented itself to view, appearing some farsangs beyond our camp; and still farther than the city we could discern the *Kasr i Kájár* (قصر تاجار), a royal palace, at the foot of a mountain, one of the immense range denominated *Alburz* (البرز) bounding the plain towards the north, and extending, as we heard, to *Cazvin*, *Sultáníah*, and *Tabríz*, on the west, and to *Khurásán* on the east; an account sufficiently agreeing with *HAMDALLAH*'s written description, which shall be quoted in the Appendix.

The ninth day of November terminated our journey. We left *Cahrízek* early, and having proceeded a few miles, met

the *istikbál* advancing from *Tehrán*; it consisted of multitudes on foot, and about three hundred horsemen, of whom thirty or forty carried long lances; at the head of all rode MUHAMMED ALI KHA'N (محمد علي خان) the *Amír al omrá* (امير الامرا) or "Chief of the Nobles," accompanied by MİRZA' MUHAMMED A'LI (ميرزا محمد علي) the *Vazír* or minister of prince HASSAN ALI' MİRZA' (حسن علي ميرزا) and other personages of high rank, magnificently dressed, and mounted on fiery chargers. With them also came Mr. Sheridan, in whose care the late envoy, Sir Harford Jones, had left the various records of his mission.

Near the road was a spacious and very splendid tent wherein coffee and *caledns*, fruits and sweetmeats had been provided. Here the Ambassador with most of the English gentlemen halted, whilst Lady Ouseley, Lieutenant Willock, Mr. Sharp and I went on, with a guard of ten sepoy dragoons and twenty Persian musketeers; we passed among the considerable ruins which I shall hereafter more fully describe, of ancient *Rai* or *Rey*, supposed to have been *Rages* mentioned in the book of Tobit; and within an hour and a half reached the capital. Soon after our arrival the Ambassador followed, and having been again feasted, joined us at the *Amin ad douleh's* house.

The distance between our last stage, *Cahrízék* and the gate, called *Derwázeh i Sháh abd-al-aazím* by which we

entered *Tehrán*, was found to be nearly twelve miles and one quarter; and the whole journey from the *Kúsh-Kháneh* of *Isfahán*, two hundred and forty-two miles, according to actual measurement made with the wheel or perambulator.

In this space, so much was naked desert without a vestige of habitation; and so scantily peopled were the few cultivated parts; that the hyperbole of a tradition recorded by NIZA'MI appeared, more than ever, ridiculously extravagant. Describing the state of Persia in the fourth century, when it flourished under BA'HARA'M GU'R, the poet says (in his romance entitled *Haft Peiker* هفت پیکر or the "Seven Forms") "I have heard that from *Ispahán* to *Rai*, the houses were "contiguous like reeds growing closely together; so that if a "blind person were willing, he might go from the flat roof "of one house to another, the whole way between *Rai* and "*Isfahán*;" thus, in the oldest and best of four fine MSS ;

از سپاهان شنیده ام تاري	خانه در خانه شد تنیده چوني
بام بر بام اگر بدي خواهان	گوري از ري شدي باصنهان

NIZA'MI, however, conscious that in his own time (the twelfth century) this tradition might be reasonably doubted, divests himself of all responsibility for the truth of it, and refers his reader to the original relater ;

گر ترا این حدیث روشن نیست      عهده بر او نیست بر من نیست

## CHAPTER XVI.

### *First Residence at Tehrán, and visit to the Ruins of Raï or Rages.*

**A**LTHOUGH the King had been for some days absent on a hunting party, at the time of our arrival in *Tehrán*; we found the city filled with princes and noblemen; ministers; great officers of state; and others who held, or wished to hold employments about the court. There were also many military commanders of high rank, and the agents of those *beglerbegs* (بيکلبیگ) who governed distant provinces, and thought it necessary to retain friends as spies at the residence of their sovereign. The splendid and frequent cavalcades formed by so many distinguished personages when they passed even from one extremity of a street to the other, and their lofty titles which at every corner assailed our ears, would have sufficed to convince us that we had reached the *pái-takht* (پای تخت) or “Footstool of the Throne,” the seat of empire and fountain of honour.



Arrangements were now made for our introduction to the Monarch immediately on his return, which he had fixed, as the *Vazírs* declared, for the thirteenth day of this month. Meanwhile he sent to the Ambassador a very flattering *Khúshámedy* (خوشامدی) or "welcome," with some of the royal *shikár* (شکار) or game; three antelopes (*ahú* اهور) and fifty *kabks* (کبک) or partridges, killed by his own hand; a circumstance which considerably enhanced the value of this present, and entitled the bearer to a recompense not less than the wages of half a year; these indeed, it was whispered, would be, according to custom, deducted or witholden<sup>(1)</sup>.

I devoted at this time two or three mornings to an examination of *Tehrán*, having previously searched my collection of passages extracted from Persian geographers, for some information concerning its ancient history. Their accounts, however, are but scanty; nor can much be expected on the subject of a place, which, when the vast metropolis, *Raî* (ری) or *Rages*, covered, according to all reports, and the evidence of its extensive ruins, so many miles or leagues on the adjacent plain, was probably considered as among the suburbs; and we may suppose that *Tehrán* increased in size and popu-

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(1) Respecting this custom see an anecdote related in Vol. 1. p. 207. But I must acknowledge that on one occasion at *Tehrán*, when the king sent ten fine *ahús*, his servant most obstinately refused twenty gold *tumáns* which were offered to him by the Ambassador's order; so positive was the royal prohibition, that he feared to incur the loss of his nose or ears, or perhaps of his head, by disobedience.

lation as the parent city fell into decay. "*Tehrán*," says HAMDALLAH, who wrote in the fourteenth century, "is a town of some magnitude or importance; and in the pleasantness of its climate and water is preferable to *Raï*; which, however, it resembles in natural productions; and formerly all the necessities of life were found at *Tehrán* in great abundance"(<sup>2</sup>). The *Amír* FAZLALLAH having mentioned various anecdotes of Alexander (the Great) adds "thus also respecting the place and circumstances of his death there are contradictory reports; some saying that he expired at *Babylon*, or, according to other traditions at *Raï*; many are of opinion that this event occurred at *Tehrán*; or, as several have related, at *Shahrzúr*"(<sup>3</sup>). These passages would induce us to believe that *Tehrán* was independent of *Raï*; and the same inference is made, by a most ingenious writer (Mr. Inglis in his notes on Morier's Travels, Vol. I. p. 400) from the Theodosian Tables, which describe the town called *Tahora* to be situate with respect to *Rhages*, nearly as *Tehrán* is with respect to *Raï*.

(<sup>2</sup>) طهران قصبه معتبرست و آب و هوايش خوشتر از ري است و در حاصل مازند  
 ان در ما قبل انجا كثرتي عظيم بوده  
 (MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*. ch. 2.)

(<sup>3</sup>) همچنين در موضع مرك و چكونكي ان نيز اختلاف كرده اند بعضي گويند كه  
 در بابل بوده و بروايت انست كه در ري بوده است و گروهى برانند كه در طهران بوده  
 است و بعضي گفتند كه در شهرزور بوده  
 (MS. *Assah al Tuárikh*.)

According to some intelligent natives, *Tehrán* occupies a space, enclosed within ramparts, of one farsang in circumference; and this is the only instance that I can recollect wherein a Persian estimate of measurement, population or wealth, did not considerably exaggerate the true calculation; to me this statement seemed below the reality; and I should rather extend it to four or perhaps to nearly five miles. These walls include the *Areg* (ارگ) or citadel, which contains the *Diván Kháneh-i-Sháh* (ديوان خانه شاه) or *Derb i Kháneh* (درب خانه) as the royal residence is often styled<sup>(\*)</sup>. One of the *tálárs* (تالار) or great open-fronted halls in this edifice, is richly decorated with gilding, painting, and *A'ineh-kári* (اينه كاري) or inlaid-mirror-work; and supported by two fine pillars which KARI'M KHA'N (كريم خان), of the unfortunate *Zend* (زند) family, had caused to be constructed at *Shiráz*. The *Areg* comprises quarters for the *Keshekchis* (كشكچي) or soldiers; and many extensive *dest* (دست) or ranges of apartments, such as the *Defter Kháneh*, (chamber of records) (دفتر خانه), the *Sandúk-Kháneh*, (صندوق خانه) (chest or trunk house), where money, splendid robes, shawls, and other valuable articles are deposited in boxes; the *Emáret-i-Khúrshíd* (عمارت خورشيد) or "Palace of the Sun;" a handsome

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(\*) And sometimes *Derb i Dowlet Kháneh* (درب دولت خانه) as in the MS. *Aalam Ará'i Abbási* (dated A. H. 1025, A. D. 1616). I know not any earlier instance of the *b* inserted after *r* in the first word, which is properly *der*, "a gate;" used to express the royal court or palace. In Vol. I. (pref. p. XVI) I have quoted on this subject the books of Daniel and Esther, Herodotus, Xenophon and Plutarch.

building in which FATEH ALI SHA'II sometimes receives Ambassadors ; his private chambers constituting the *Khalwet Sháhi* (خاوت شاهي) and *Anderún Shúhi* (اندرون شاهي); of which one compartment is called *Emáret-i-Servistán* (عمارت سروستان) or "Palace of the Cypress grove;" and another the *Gulistán* (گلستان) or "Bed of Roses." Here too is the royal *Harem* (حرم) or dwelling-place of the king's numerous wives and their female attendants ; and many of the younger princes are allowed to occupy certain rooms within the *Areg*, which contains ten baths, two or three gardens, besides several *hawz* (حوض) and *deriúchch* (دریاچه) or reservoirs of different sizes ; all surrounded by a wall with towers, and a deep ditch. Near the gate of this citadel is the *Jebbeh Kháneh* (جبه خانه) an armoury or arsenal, where persons are constantly employed in cleaning and repairing *tofangs* (تفنگ) or muskets ; *tapánchchs* (طپانچه) or pistols, (so the name was written ; but pronounced *tapoonchek*) and *zembúreks* (زنبورک) or swivel guns which are discharged from the backs of camels ; here also are kept some *túp* (توپ) or pieces of heavy cannon.

The gates of *Tehrán* are six in number ; the mosques and colleges, said to be from thirty to forty ; the publick baths three hundred, and *caravanseras* equally numerous. Of the population I heard various reports ; the streets seemed full of people ; and it is computed that the city contains between forty and sixty thousand inhabitants, whilst the king, his courtiers, chief military officers and guards are there ; but that in summer, on his going, as for several years has been

his custom, to the camp of *Sultánúh*, none remain at *Tehrán* but those whom ill health, or poverty, or some particular business do not allow to leave it; even the meanest trader or mechanick, escaping from the heats and infectious vapours of this capital, contrives, during two or three months every year, to breathe the pure air of *Shemírán* (شمیران) or some of the neighbouring villages. From those villages the city is abundantly supplied with poultry, eggs, butter, and fruit of various kinds; especially most excellent *tút* (توت) or mulberries, for which *Shemírán* is remarkable.

The different *bázars* exhibit many well-furnished shops; but some streets although the king, his ministers and other great men are daily witnesses of the circumstance, would disgrace by their pavement the meanest town or village. I have seen an illustrious *Khán* almost thrown, in a crowded procession, from his horse, whose fore feet had sunk, with a sudden and perpendicular descent, into one of those round holes or openings which mark the channels of *kanáts* (plur. تنوات sing. قنات) or subterraneous aqueducts. These are numerous; and near the city run some small streams besides the river *Caredje* (کارچ) of which the water is highly esteemed.

*Tehrán* owes much of its greatness, beauty and strength to the tyrant AGA MOHAMMED uncle of the present king. Yet some Persians say that SHA'H TAHMASP (who died in the year 1575) surrounded it with walls. The desert reaches to its

very ditch; within the inclosure were formerly several gardens; but since the city has become so populous, houses are found more profitable than trees or flowers; and in few parts of the empire do so many handsome and commodious buildings appear on the same space of ground. Here every man of rank and fortune, all who aspire to the sovereign's notice, endeavour to procure a dwelling; the rent therefore, and the price of land, elsewhere comparatively trifling, have risen here so considerably, that, as I understood, *Tehrán* in these articles of expense, nearly equalled any European metropolis. It is scarcely necessary to mention that our powerful and wealthy friend, the *Amín ad douleh*, second minister of Persia, had in this city a spacious mansion; he resigned it, however, for the Ambassador and gentlemen of the mission; removing with his attendants to another exactly opposite, while workmen were employed in preparing two houses allotted for our habitation<sup>(5)</sup>.

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(5) An ichnographical account of the house (AMÍN AD DOULEH'S) in which we first lodged at *Tehrán*, shall be given in the Appendix; which, with a sketch of its front engraved in Pl. LXIII, will convey some idea of what may be styled a Persian nobleman's town residence. In the middle appears the *tálar* or open hall, called also *Diván Khánéh*, the chamber of assembly, or place for the reception of visitors; this we made our *Suffreh Khánéh* or breakfast and dining-room. On the right, a handsome room of which the large square window fills one end, was appropriated to Mr. Gordon; that corresponding on the left, to me. A detached edifice comprising some private apartments called the *anderún* or "interior," which I could not include in this view, served Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley; and another separate building at the back, accommodated Mr. Morier; while the rooms situate on both sides of the great court, were occupied by Major D'Arcy, Major Stone, and other English gentlemen. It must,

Having taken possession of my chamber, (in the *Amin ad douleh's* house) I learned from a servant that its last tenants had been members of the French Embassy under General de Gardane; and this information was confirmed by various sentences and ciphers traced on the walls; there were, particularly, some verses written in a most beautiful hand<sup>(6)</sup>.

Although the weather was now cool, the Thermometer not rising above 56 on the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth of November, we were much annoyed by moschitoes (*pasheh*) (پشه) or gnats of considerable size. Here as at *Shiráz* and *Isfa-*



not be imagined that the front delineated in this sketch, is immediately presented to the publick; a high brick wall conceals it from view, and those only can see the house who enter the court or garden before it.

(<sup>6</sup>) These I accurately copied, and have ventured to translate, although not much acquainted with the modern style of orthography which they exhibit;

*“ Les rois De L'antiquité  
Netes que Des herot Desteé  
fuient la nege comme les irondelle  
Pour heut la victoire enniver  
navoit point Delle mais  
napoleon marche malgré la graille.”*

“The kings of ancient times were only summer heroes, avoiding snow like the swallows. For them, victory in winter had no wings; but Napoleon marches forward in spite of the hail.” Here also were several lines of SAADI'S and JA'MI'S poetry, scratched in the rudest Persian characters; and a few original compositions, of which the following tetrastich will probably be accepted as a sufficient specimen:

نویستم بر سردیوار خانه      بماند از من مسکین نشانه  
کر پرسند آن مسکین کجا رفت      بگو بگریخت از دست زمانه

“Let that which I have written on the wall of this house, remain as the memorial of me, a wretched creature; if it be asked, whither is that wretch gone? say, he has “escaped from the power of adversity.”

*hán*, I bespoke the services of book-sellers, money-changers, silver-smiths and others, through whose means rare manuscripts, or ancient gems and medals might be procured.

News arrived (on the thirteenth) of a battle fought near *Iraván*, in which the Russians, it was said, had suffered much from the Persian artillery, under the direction of Captain Lindesay, an English officer. Meanwhile, the king and his son, *HASSAN ALI MI'RZA'* (حسن علي میرزا) having terminated their hunting excursion, a very active negotiation commenced respecting certain forms necessary on the Ambassador's first introduction at court; for he had resolved on presenting with his own hand, the British Monarch's letter to *FATEH A'LI SHAH*; while the *Vazírs* insisted that it should be transmitted through them, according to the usage of Persia, established, as they declared, above five thousand years. The king himself, though he expressed a strong desire to see Sir Gore Ouseley, regretted that he could not possibly receive the letter directly from him at a publick audience; but to remove all difficulties, and spare the feelings of his ministers, he fixed on the fifteenth for a private interview, and consented that it should be then delivered to him by the Ambassador. Accordingly, about four o'clock on the day appointed, Sir Gore Ouseley and Mr. Morier, Secretary of Embassy, attended by the Sepoy dragoons, having their swords drawn, the royal standard of England flying, and trumpets sounding, proceeded to the palace, and were welcomed with much



affability by the king. He did not occupy one of his magnificent thrones, as on days of high ceremony; but sat on a carpet richly worked with gold, near which was placed a chair for the Ambassador. Having received the letter, according to previous arrangement, and a very valuable diamond ring, FATEH A'LI SHA'H repaid the gift with many flattering compliments.

On the eighteenth at eight o'clock in the morning, we went to return the *Amin ad douleh's* visit; and having ascended a flight of stairs, were conducted by him to a room which, though small, was exceedingly pretty; the ceiling neatly painted with figures of birds and flowers disposed in *Arabesque* patterns; the centre, however, being a human face, apparently feminine, yet designed, as the golden rays of glory indicated, to represent the sun. The cornice was of looking-glass; and with the same showy substance were lined two *ták-cheh* (طاقچه) or niches, and a false fire-place; in one recess was the portrait of a beautiful Georgian girl; in another, of a handsome *birish* (بیریش) or beardless boy; a large window chiefly composed of coloured panes, wholly filled one end of this chamber, which, though not above nineteen feet long, and thirteen or fourteen broad, exhibited eight doors, splendidly ornamented and varnished.

Some person mentioned the Caspian sea; and two *A'zdd-máhi* (ازاد ماهی) as specimens of its fish, were presented for our

inspection on a silver tray; they had been dried and slightly salted; each seemed about two feet long, and of a kind resembling salmon. Having returned home, we found at breakfast that their flavour was excellent; for the hospitable *Amín ad douleh* had sent them to the Ambassador; and at dinner we were feasted with fresh trouts, brought from the river *Jájerúd* (جاءرود).

A few days after, we deposited in the Armenian cemetery, with such funeral honours as could be conveniently bestowed, the body of an Artillery sergeant (named Spears), whose death had been caused by a disease originally felt at *Isfahán*, and rendered mortal by the journey<sup>(7)</sup>. The place of his interment was close to a small *charták* (چارطاق) or four-arched monument of brick erected over Monsieur Romieu, a French gentleman; and near the more recent and humble grave of a Russian<sup>(8)</sup>.

Returning from this melancholy ceremony our cavalcade encountered a procession formed on a very different occa-

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(7) I learned from the surgeons who opened Serjeant Spears's body, that they found the liver perfectly sound; but could not discover any vestiges of the spleen; while some obstructions appeared, and an incipient mortification in the bowels.

(8) "Nous visitons le tombeau de M. Romieu, Adjudant General et Envoyé en Perse; quatre piliers de briques et un petit dôme le recouvrent." (See M. de Gardane's "Journal d'un Voyage," &c. p. 69; Paris 1809). When we visited the tomb of M. Romieu it was falling to ruin.

sion; the celebration of an *arúsy* (عروسی) or nuptial festivity. The bride whose form was concealed by a white sheet of fine texture, rode on horseback in the attitude habitual to men throughout all countries and to women in the east; on her head was loosely thrown a red handkerchief or veil, seemingly of crape; her numerous female companions were, as usual, completely enveloped in their *châders* (چادر), all except two; of whom one was extremely old and ugly; the other a beautiful though very dark-complexioned girl. The same horse carried her and a middle-aged man; she seemed neither flattered nor offended at our notice, but shewed her interesting face with as much unconcern and as little impudence, as any European beauty.

The 23rd of November had been fixed for our publick introduction at court; but the alleged indisposition, whether affected or real, of MÍ'RZA' SHEFIA (میرزا شفیع) the chief *Vazir*, or minister for foreign affairs, prevented it; and we learned, on the 25th, that the king had just set out on another hunting party, which would probably engage him during three or four days. In the mean time, our society was increased by the arrival of Captain Lindesay from *Tabriz*, where he had commanded, and admirably trained, according to the English discipline, a troop of Persian horse-artillery, in the service of ABBA'S MÍ'RZA'. It was the Ambassador's wish, in consequence of that Prince's request, to have immediately sent Major D'Arcy and Major Stone, along with Captain Linde-

say to *Tabriz*; but the king would not consent that any of those officers should leave *Tehrán* without *khelaats* (خلعت) or dresses of honour, to receive which he expected their attendance at the palace.

We all paid our respects on the 27th, to prince A'LI SHA'H (علي شاه) who resided in the *Areg* before described; his coat was of a dark green colour and plain; but on his arms he wore splendid *bázú bands* (بازو بند) or bracelets, studded with jewels; the handle of his dagger, or *khanjer* (خنجر) was equally rich; and his coronet blazed with diamonds, emeralds and rubies; he appeared to be seventeen or eighteen years of age, and conversed most graciously with the Ambassador, asking questions and making remarks that evinced a considerable desire of information, and great activity of mind. A'LI SHA'H, and the prince royal, ABBA'S MI'RZA', are sons of one mother<sup>(9)</sup>.

As we entered and returned through the *Meidan* (میدان) or chief square of the *Areg*, I counted above forty pieces of cannon, mounted on carriages which would probably have

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(9) Hitherto accustomed to hear Persian spoken with the southern accent, considered at *Shiráz* and *Isfahán*, and even in many places of the north, as *kheyly shirín* (خدای شیرین) extremely soft or melodious, my ear was surprised, and I confess not very agreeably, by the broad, though more correct, sound, which ALI SHA'H gave to the *a*, before *n*, in such words as *Irání*, and *Isfahání*. These an Italian would have pronounced exactly as the prince; while we had learned to express them as if written (by an Englishman) *Iroony*, *Isfahoony*; or (by a Frenchman) *Irouni*, and *Isfahouni*.

been shattered by a single discharge. We observed under the principal *tálár* or open-fronted hall of the palace, outside, some reliefs in marble, representing combats of beasts and similar subjects, sculptured with more spirit and justness of proportions than I had expected in the works of a modern Persian artist. Much inferior in execution and design were several oil-paintings attached to the walls of A'LÍ SHA'H's apartment.

The thirtieth was at length appointed for our presentation to the king; and accordingly, at one o'clock on that day, we proceeded in full ceremony to the royal residence, where a guard of about two hundred men, (chiefly, as we understood, Russian prisoners), received us at the *Meidán* or parade, with arms presented, according to the European style of military compliment. We then advanced as far it was allowed to ride on horseback; and having alighted at an inner gate of the *Areg*, walked through it, and were conducted by several officers along various narrow passages, to a small room, where we found MOHAMMED HUSEIN KHA'N (محمد حسين خان) surnamed MARVI (مروى) a personage of very high birth and exalted rank, with other great men<sup>(10)</sup>; here chairs had been provided for our accommodation; they were

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(10) Of these, one was ILLAHYÁ'R KHA'N (الاهيار خان), whom the king once caused to be shut out naked, during a whole night of incessant snow, as a punishment for having, on some former occasion, refused his Majesty admission into a castle.

of dark-coloured wood, having high backs and large knobs; and much resembled those which, from illuminated missals and other Manuscripts, appear to have been fashionable some centuries ago, in France and England. I remarked that MARVI's chair, whether assigned to him as the seat of honour, or accidentally occupied, was distinguished from the rest, by a higher back, rising in the middle to a point, like the apex of a triangle.

Here we were treated with coffee and *calcáns*. The same officers then led us through a court where we saw, in an open hall, the celebrated *takht-i-marmer* (تخت مرمر) or "Marble Throne," of which the materials were brought from *Yezd*; it exhibited many handsome reliefs carved by the ingenious person of whose sculpture I possess and have already described a specimen, (Vol. I. p. 232, Pl. XII). We passed through two or three other courts and some long passages, containing soldiers and attendants dressed in an extraordinary manner; their clothes being spotted over with golden pieces of money, sequins and ducats; and many wore helmets of uncommon appearance. We at last entered that building in which was the hall of audience; and having shaken off our slippers went in about twenty yards, making profound obeisances, as instructed by our conductors, at certain intervals from the spot where first it was possible that the king could discern us; then forming a line near the *hawz* or reservoir in front of the presence-chamber, we per-

ceived his Majesty seated on the *takht-t-tâous* (تخت طاوس) or "Peacock-throne;" and when the master of the ceremonies announced the English Embassy, we distinctly heard the usual *khúshamedid* or "welcome," uttered by the royal lips.

Having entered the hall of audience, the Ambassador took his seat on a chair placed at the distance of about two yards from the door, and five or six from the throne, in a direction almost diagonal; but rose after two or three minutes and severally presented us; an office which, as we understood, the *Vazirs* had heretofore insisted on performing. As each gentleman was introduced by name, the Monarch said something highly flattering and gracious with a courtly and dignified air. We then arranged ourselves in a row behind the chair immediately near which the Ambassador continued to stand during the remainder of this interview.

Next the throne, which occupied a corner, not the center, of the room, were two little princes, five or perhaps six years old, who stood immovable as statues, the whole time of audience, displaying a gravity of demeanour and solemnity of countenance, that would have become the most aged and venerable of their father's ministers. More remote from the throne, but in the same line, were five other princes, the eldest and tallest being next, at an interval of two yards, to the little boys above mentioned: this was HASSAN ALI MI'RZA', seemingly twenty years old: close on the right,

was ALI SHA'H, to whom we had paid our respects some days before: near him stood a younger prince and then two others; all stationed according to age and size, this royal rank ending with one of eight or nine years.

On the same side but in a recess formed by large windows, appeared three *Mastowfies* (مستوفی) or secretaries; these were on our left hand as we stood behind the Ambassador's chair; while on our right near the door, were four of the principal *Vazirs* or ministers, with ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, who had accompanied us to the palace. Beyond them and extending towards the left side of the throne, was a row of five or six officers; among whom one held a most beautiful crown or *taje* (تاج), apparently not inferior in the lustre of its jewels to that with which the Monarch's head was so magnificently decorated; another of those officers bore in his hands the scymetar of state; a third held the royal bow in its case; a fourth, the shield; and one a golden tray or dish filled with diamonds and different precious stones of wonderful size and dazzling brilliancy. Of the king's dress I could perceive that the colour was scarlet; but to ascertain exactly the materials would have been difficult, from the profusion of large pearls that covered it in various places, and the multiplicity of jewels that sparkled all around; for the golden throne seemed studded at the sides with precious stones of every possible tint, and the back resembled a sun or glory, of which the radiation was imi-



tated by diamonds, garnets, emeralds and rubies. Of such also, was chiefly composed the Monarch's ample and most splendid crown; and the two figures of birds that ornamented the throne, one perched on each of its beautifully enamelled shoulders.

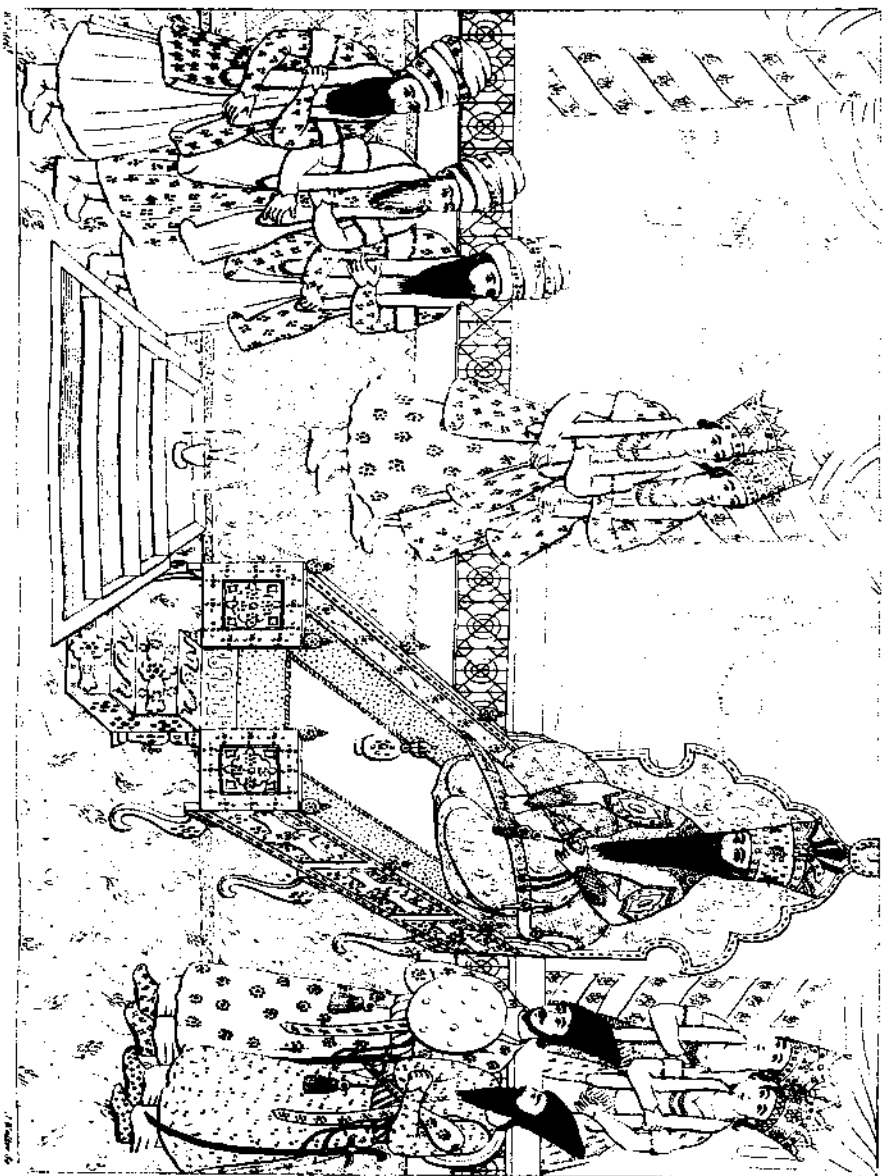
It was easy to recognise in the handsome and manly countenance of FATEH ALI SHAH, those features which I had seen represented by several delineations. Portraits of their king may be found in every town among the Persians; large and painted on canvas; or small, on leaves of paper; on the covers of looking-glasses, on *kalmáns* or pencases, and on the lids of boxes; even the most rudely executed presenting, generally, some similitude. All, at least, agree in rendering justice to the royal beard; of which, I could not discover, that any picture, as it was natural to suspect, had exaggerated the uncommon length and copiousness. Of this beard, stained always with the blackest dye, as of the king's person, an idea, sufficiently accurate, may be formed from the engraving published by Mr. Scott Waring, in the account of his "Tour to Sheeraz<sup>(1)</sup>," and from the miniature painting on a *sandúkchek* or pasteboard box in my collection, of which (See p. 64) I promised to lay a copy before the reader. This is given in Plate LXIV, faithfully traced from the original pic-

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(1) From a Persian picture; but Sir Robert Ker Porter in the frontispiece to his *Travels* lately published, has given, from a fine drawing made by himself, a strong and spirited resemblance of the Persian Monarch's countenance.









ture of the same size, without the slightest correction or extenuation of its defects, which all who admire just proportions and perspective must acknowledge to be numerous. It will serve, however, infinitely better than any description that I am capable of composing, to explain some circumstances of the royal presence chamber: it exhibits what words cannot represent, a likeness of FATEH-ALI-SHA'H, and the sable honours of his beard; it shews most exactly the fashion of his clothes, the form of his crown and the triple plume that surmounts it; of his *bazúbands* or bracelets, and of his sword, encased in pearls and gold: it expresses also, his attitude; that indeed generally of all Persians when sitting.

He occupies in this picture, not the *takht-i-táous*, (its birds and other particular ornaments being here omitted) but a seat much resembling it in make, in the steps and in brilliant appearance: another throne, of which I have forgotten the name; for he possesses, like the ancient *Iránian* Monarchs, several of those regal attributes, each distinguished by an appropriate title. The artist has depicted with minute accuracy that cushion, almost covered with pearls, which is usually placed behind the king, who kneels or sits on a cloth equally rich in its embroidery. On the floor is spread such a carpet as we daily saw in the apartments of great men, bordered with one of those *nammeds* (نمد a kind of fine soft felts), before mentioned, having a coloured pattern. Beyond this we perceive a wooden frame of open.

work ; this is generally twelve or fourteen inches high, and serves as a fence to rooms open in front. The columns and fountain belong, as a native of *Tehrán* informed me, to a *tálár* in the "*emáret-i-gulistán*," or "Palace of the Rose-garden;" but the painter's imagination has supplied the distant landscape. I can bear witness however to the scrupulous correctness with which he has delineated every article of dress, worn by the personages introduced on this occasion. The four princes, of whom two are seen on the king's right, and two, a little behind, on his left hand, we find distinguished by coronets,\* exceedingly splendid, but without those heron's feathers, which peculiarly designate the imperial crown. Near the fountain stand three *Vazírs*, habited in their court-robcs ; these as I had often occasion to remark, are, both in winter and summer, lined or at least trimmed, richly with fur. On their heads they wear the full-dress turbans, of fine Indian shawls ; among these *Vazírs*, *MI'RZA' SHEFIA* (میرزا شعیب) the prime minister, is conspicuous in the middle ; his beard, which from age we may suppose naturally white, being, through some senile caprice, stained of a dusky orange, or yellowish red colour. On his left is the *Amín ad doulah*, and on his right, *MI'RZA' ZEKI*. Opposite the *Vazírs* and near the throne, are two of those pages or attendants, whom, in my account of our audience I have styled "officers;" one holds the royal *siper* (سپر) or shield ; and one the *gurz* (گرز) or mace of state ; these men have the common *kuláh* (کلاه), or black lamb-skin caps, of which

the best are said to be brought from *Bokhárá*; such coverings are almost universally worn, except on days of ceremony, even by the king and princes.

This explanation of the picture, and the copy made from it, (in Pl. LXIV) will, I trust, sufficiently illustrate the description already given, of our presentation at court, and first publick interview with the *kibleh-i-aalum* (قبلة عالم) as that Monarch is entitled “towards whom all the world turns with veneration;” the mighty *Sháhinsháh* (شاهنشاه) or “King of Kings;” according to the lofty style assumed by his predecessors.

We remained in the royal presence about twenty minutes; during which time FATEH ALI SHAH conversed most graciously with the Ambassador; and having received from a kneeling servant, the state *Caleán*, rich in the lustre of jewels, he inhaled its smoke but for a moment, and gave back this precious instrument of Asiatick luxury. The room in which he sat, was spacious and handsome, disfigured however, by glaring oil-paintings of considerable size and very mean execution; two large English mirrors contributed much to its embellishment. We retired, bowing at certain intervals towards the throne, on our return through the garden, while within a possibility of being seen by the king; then resuming our high-heeled slippers, or *kafsh* (کنش) we walked along courts and passages, and under narrow door-ways, crowded with servants, guards, and officers of the palace, and great



*kháns* or lords ; some men, whose office I neglected to inquire, held, each in his hand, a sceptre or slender wand, nearly four feet long, and apparently of gold enameled green ; with the figure of a bird at top, as large as a real sparrow, and made of emeralds, rubies and other jewels.

The first of December was dark and foggy ; such as even in England would have been reckoned a true winter's day ; on the second, which was of equal gloom, much rain fell, while the Thermometer, at its highest degree, did not rise above 52.

A fortnight had now elapsed in fruitless endeavours to adjust, between Sir Gore Ouseley and MI'RZA' SHEFIA, the ceremonial, or rather, the priority of visiting. This crafty *Vazir* had devised many stratagems, by which, as he vainly hoped, the Ambassador might be induced to wait first upon him ; but whatever concessions Sir Gore would willingly have made in his private character, he positively refused to comply on this or on any occasion, where his acquiescence might lessen the dignity of that Sovereign whom he had the honour to represent. It was then suggested that both parties might, as if by accident, meet on neutral ground in the *Amin ad douleh's* garden, and enter the door of his house together ; but this contrivance, also, was rejected by the Ambassador ; reminding those who mediated in the affair, that A'BU'L HASSAN KHA'N, late envoy to England, had received the first visit from our ministers ; and insisting unequivocally,

on a similar compliment, from **MI'RZA' SHEFIA**. This, the old *Vazir* assured the king, would be such a disgrace as he had not suffered during the diplomattick services of forty years. At length he consented to become the Ambassador's guest; and, on the second, partook of a grand dinner, given at the house lent for this purpose by the *Amin ad douleh*; it being much more splendid, large and commodious, than that immediately opposite, in which we lived. About seven o'clock in the evening, **MI'RZA' SHEFIA** with the other ministers arrived, and the entertainment began; during which the *Amin ad douleh* chose the least conspicuous place; appearing as humblest of the company, to shew that he did not, this night, consider himself master of the feast. Here, in the course of much animated conversation, **MI'RZA' SHEFIA** evinced considerable acquaintance with the manners, customs, religious opinions, and even politicks of the chief Christian nations; he acknowledged the vast superiority of European, compared with Asiatick inventions; and seemed particularly delighted at the description of our post-offices, and the arrangements made for transmitting letters by mail-coaches; this introduced the subject of wheel-carriages, and finally of Persian roads; on mentioning which, the *Vazir*, thinking of their general state, shrugged his shoulders with a look of despondency; fingered his beard, and appeared to resign, but most reluctantly, some ideal projects that he had conceived for the benefit of his country.

At nine o'clock on the third, we all accompanied the Ambassador to M'IRZA' SHEFIA'S house, situate beyond the *A'reg*; there was much rain, during the time of our ride and of our visit. We were treated in the usual manner with *caleáns*, sweetmeats, and coffee. Returning about noon, we met one of the king's elephants; (his Majesty, we understood, possessed six or seven others); it was an immense creature, perfectly obedient to a diminutive rider. The fifth, after some rain at an early hour, proved very fine, and sunshine succeeded to the clouds of three or four days.

On the sixth we removed to the two houses which had been prepared for our reception; and "furnished" according to the Persian definition of that expression; for some carpets were spread on the earthen floors. We had brought, however, from England, beds, chairs, tables and writing-desks, and were soon well established in our respective apartments; at breakfast and at dinner we all assembled, every morning and evening, in that house which became the constant residence of Sir Gore and Lady Ouseley; but to the Secretaries and other English gentlemen were assigned the various chambers of a mansion nearly opposite, once the dwelling-place of M'IRZA' BA'BA'. Here I occupied during several months, a very handsome and spacious room, the flat roof of which commanded a most extensive prospect; and enabled me to sketch the view of Mount *Damávand*, and part of the great *Alburz* range, seen over the houses of *Tehrán*; as

engraved in Plate LXIII<sup>(12)</sup>. The walls of this room exhibited patterns comprising branches and leaves, flowers of vivid colours, and birds of variegated plumage; disposed with considerable taste and painted with much neatness. To this a smaller room was attached by means of stairs, which led also to a *sháh-nishín* (شاه نشین), a kind of gallery or orchestra. Among its gilded ornaments, appeared a scroll or label, containing the words "*Yádgár-e-Mírzá Bábá*" (یادگار میرزا بابا) "a memorial of MÍ'RZA' BA'BA'," the late unfortunate proprietor of this mansion; concerning whom, we heard it related that having incurred the king's displeasure by some irregularity in his accounts, or alleged defalcation of money, he was punished with death; his ample fortune being, at the same time, confiscated. I was much mortified one day, overhearing MÍ'RZA' BA'BA's son, (whose feelings, probably were blunted by adversity), soliciting permission to enter the very house which had been his father's and should have been his own, that he might offer a manuscript for sale to an English stranger. The fate of its former master threw a cloud of melancholy around this dwelling; but it was, for another reason, regarded by many Persians with almost superstitious dislike; it had been the scene of a very dark transaction. This, although recent, for it occurred within a few

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(12) At certain times, the summit of this great mountain was concealed by clouds; so that it could scarcely be distinguished from the adjoining heights; and its appearance might have completely deceived a draughtsman who had not seen it on a clear day.

years, was variously described; I shall collect and briefly state from several accounts, the principal circumstances in which most agreed.

A powerful chieftain named SA'DEK KHA'N (صديق خان), head of the turbulent *Shekáki* (شكافي) tribe, had surrendered himself to the general of FATEH ALI SHA'H, (lately proclaimed king on his uncle's death), a promise having been solemnly given "*that the prisoner's blood should not be shed.*" The unhappy chief, however, was immediately sent to *Tehrán*, and imprisoned in a small room, or, as some relate, a vaulted cellar, of the house since occupied by us; there, exhausted with fatigue and faint through want of food, he soon forgot his sorrows in sleep; from which it would have been happiness, had he never awoke; for several masons were employed to fill up, with stones and mortar, the only passage by which he could possibly have emerged into the light of day; enjoyed the sight, or even heard the voice of human beings. I know not whether the imagination most fertile in pictures of complicated misery, could easily assign to any mortal a state much more capable of overwhelming the firmest mind with absolute despair. To many men, the privation of liberty; the pangs of excessive thirst and hunger; and, above all, the extinction of hope, would probably have rendered death most welcome; yet according to report, it was found, on opening after some weeks the place where SA'DEK KHA'N's body lay, that he had vainly endeavoured to prolong existence

by gnawing, as was horribly evident, the flesh from both his arms!<sup>(13)</sup>.

Let us turn to other subjects ; the kind visits and polite congratulations with which we were now favoured by our acquaintances ; and the little presents of sweet-meats, flowers, fruits, and loaves of sugar which Lady Ouseley received, as the *Manzil mubárek* (منزل مبارك) or usual tokens of felicitation sent to those who occupy a new place of residence. About this time, also, Major D'Arcy, Major Stone and Captain Lindesay, were honoured by the king with *khelats* or dresses of ceremony, and proceeded to join the army of ABBA'S MÍRZA', the prince royal, at *Tabriz*. We partook on the seventh of a magnificent dinner at MÍRZA' SWEFIA'S house, to which we rode, about seven o'clock in the evening, by the light of many *fánús* (فانوس) or lanterns, made of paper or linen, in such a manner, that the various folds might be compressed to a thickness not exceeding two or three inches, and again protracted to the height of twenty.

An account of this feast may serve, with very little variation, to describe the other sumptuous entertainments at

(\*) Of the thousand atrocities imputed to AGA MOHAMMED KHA'N, uncle of the present king, some, we must hope for the honour of human nature, are exaggerated in the narration; but others are so strongly confirmed by the evidence of numerous witnesses still living, that it is not reasonable to doubt them. Among these, is his inviting a rival chief to debate on terms of reconciliation, AGA' MOHAMMED having sworn on the sacred *Korán* that he should be escorted before sunset to his own camp; the tyrant kept his word, but the chief was sent back dead.

which we attended. Our slippers having been left outside the door of a large and handsome room illuminated by means of lamps and candlesticks placed on the floor, the usual salutations and welcomes, and all the regular series of inquiries concerning health, and thanks for the honour conferred in visiting, began immediately on the Ambassador's entrance; were continued while MI'RZA' SHEFIA conducted him to a corner, and did not end for some minutes after we were all seated on *nammeds* spread over the splendid carpet, close to the walls<sup>(14)</sup>. The guests were then furnished with *caleéns*; mostly their own and by their own servants; for on these occasions the *Pish Khydmet* (پیش خدمت) or *valet de chambre* generally accompanies his master, to prepare and present the implements of smoking, and to hold the slippers for him when taking leave. Coffee, without milk or sugar, was next introduced by the servants of our host; one bringing on a tray several fine china cups without handles, each in a fillagree receptacle, silver or silver gilt, of the same form; another man, from a large coffee pot, filled three or four cups; of these MI'RZA' SHEFIA took one and handed it to the Ambassador, who sat on his right. The servants having distributed coffee to every person, collected the empty cups and retired; *caleéns* were again presented; and to them succeeded tea in porcelain cups, larger than those which had contained the coffee, but without

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(14) Of our respective places the order will appear from a plan (if so it may be styled) given in the Miscellaneous Plate, fig. 20.

saucers. After this appeared what in Europe would have constituted the *dessert*, but was here the forerunner of dinner; apples, pears, melons, the grains of pomegranates in bowls, ices and sweetmeats, placed before us on capacious trays. These having been removed, after ten or twelve minutes, preparations were made for the display of a more substantial meal; while from sitting cross-legged on the floor so long, my situation had already become irksome.

The servants now held before us silver basins having covers grated or pierced with open-work in several places; and ewers or *úftábah*, (See Vol. I. p. 405, Miscell. Pl. fig. 13) resembling large coffee pots with spouts, from which they poured on our hands lukewarm water; this, contaminated by each persons washing, fell through the grated covers and disappeared; the basins were then transferred to other guests for the purpose of similar ablutions. Next were spread on the carpet before us, and close to our knees, long narrow *sufreh* or strips of flowered linen or chintz, the *lháshyeh* (حاشية) or borders of which contained in small compartments, some Persian verses, inculcating hospitality towards strangers, and gratitude to God, for the blessings of abundance. On these strips the bread was placed; it consisted in circular cakes, large as our common dinner-plates, flat and not much thicker than a crown piece. A multitude of servants then entered, bringing various trays which they laid down near the cakes of bread; each tray containing, at first, only five or six bowls



and dishes of lamb, fowl, fish and vegetables, besides two or three ample basins of fine porcelain ware, filled with different sherbets; in each a long handled wooden spoon or ladle, such as has been before described (Vol. II. p. 53) floating on the surface. Those trays were so placed that one accommodated two guests; and between the trays were supernumerary dishes, or lofty pyramids of rice in its various forms, as *chillaw* (چلو) boiled simply; or as *pillaw* (پلو) mixed with meat and fruit, highly seasoned with spices, and enriched with unctuous sauces, at once sweet and acid.

The plan, or sketch, or view (for it is difficult to name rightly such a thing) which, I delineated immediately after my return, will serve perhaps better than any verbal description to introduce the reader into the midst of our entertainment; (See Misc. Pl. fig. 20). Here, near the door, several attendants appear standing within the room; others waiting on the steps without. On the left, of a person entering, are seated the English gentlemen; on the right many Persian guests; and opposite the door, our host, with the *Amín ad douleh* and five or six other men of high rank, *Vazírs* and great officers of state; *MÍRZA'SHERFIA* himself, being at the extremity of this row, next to the Ambassador. I have distinguished by oblique strokes the *nammeds* on which we sat from the *sufrehs* or pieces of chintz; these are partly covered with the round trays and intermediate dishes, while the lamps and candlesticks are seen disposed along the floor, but not without symmetry of arrangement. The *shamaadáns*.

(شمعدان generally pronounced *shamdoon*) or candlesticks were of silver, and the tallow candles which they contained, very thick and above four feet long; the *cherághdāns* (چراغدان) or lamps were also, apparently, of silver; and their light was supplied by *pieh* (پیه) or grease.

Having laid before us the trays already described as amply furnished, the servants were, nevertheless, employed for a considerable time in loading them with additional bowls and dishes of viands prepared according to various modes of culinary art: these were placed over or between the first, and others over them; so that at last, the pile accumulated on each tray, amounted to fifteen or sixteen; and with the intermediate *pillaws* and *sherbets*, there must, I think, have been, before the conclusion of our feast, above three hundred china bowls and dishes at one moment on the floor (See p. 22. note 3). The variety of viands can scarcely be supposed equal to this multiplicity of dishes. I could easily perceive that the two or three trays nearest on both sides, agreed almost wholly in their contents, with that more immediately before me. The meat was chiefly saturated with oil, or fat liquefied, of which in some instances the unctuousity was corrected by an admixture of vegetable acids.

But of whatever kind the meat or the cookery, many little circumstances of negative and positive inconvenience, concur to render even the most splendid feasts of this country,

tedious, and in some respects disgusting to an European. The want of chairs obliged us to sit on the floor, in awkward attitudes that cramped and benumbed the legs. Being without knives or forks, we necessarily grasped with our fingers not only solid pieces of flesh, but even moist and clammy substances. The want of cups or goblets or drinking glasses rendered it expedient to use the wooden *káshúks* or spoons that floated, as before mentioned, on the sherbet. To those spoons no reasonable objection could be made had the number been sufficient; but one generally served for two guests, and sometimes for three; each, after a draught, replacing it in the bowl. For plates the only substitutes were those flat round cakes of bread already described; of these it did not appear that much was ever eaten; but such bones and fragments were collected on them, as would, in France or England, have been removed during the meal, by a servant. On those cakes of bread, too, I noticed many of the Persians wiping, from time to time, the greasy fingers of their right hands; the left not being employed on these occasions. They, when preparing to eat, stooped forwards, kneeling, until their heads were nearly over some dishes, which the long beards of several almost touched; and I have often been surprised at the ingenuity which they evinced in scooping from a gelatinous mass, with the first finger only, or the first and second united, exactly such a quantity as they required for a mouthful; studiously contriving that their clothes should not be defiled by any particle.

Towards the close of this feast, a lamb, roasted entire, was brought to MÍRZÁ SHEFIA; on his recommendation of it to the Ambassador, two or three servants immediately tore the limbs and joints asunder, using in this simple operation their hands alone; which being stained, according to custom, with the reddish-brown tint of *henna*, excited some suspicion of dirtiness, not perhaps altogether false. With their hands alone, however impure they were or seemed to be, those servants also restored to their places in the bowls and dishes, any meat, fish or rice, that had fallen on the cloth; while their skirts, as they passed to and fro in crowds along the floor, which scarcely afforded room for their feet between the trays and lamps, often flapped against the *pillaws* or into the bowls of *sherbet*. Such trifling accidents were probably inevitable; none more serious occurred; and our venerable host, although a man of impaired vision, had acquired the habit of observing instantaneously and could indicate to his servants by a nod, any little want or embarrassment of a guest, even the most remote, without interrupting for one moment either his own or another person's discourse.

The trays and their contents were at last removed; and next, the chintz *sufrehs* with all the morsels of bread, meat and rice, that had been scattered on them. Basins were then brought and ewers containing lukewarm water strongly impregnated with the perfume of roses; this was poured on our hands as at the former ablution. *Caleáns* which had

begun, now terminated the feast; and we, having smoked and chatted for a few minutes, took leave of the Persians, received our slippers from the servants who waited near the door, and returned on horseback, as we had gone, by the light of *fánús* or lanterns. The entertainment which I have just described was enlivened, without the help of wine, by facetious anecdotes and sallies of wit; the powers of agreeable conversation MÍRZÁ SHEFLA seemed to possess in a very extraordinary degree; and his manners would have been reckoned easy and polished at any court in Europe.

It had been settled that on the eighth of December Lady Ouseley should pay her respects to the principal or favourite queen; her, at least, whom the king had appointed to receive the presents brought from England; a preference most flattering where rivals were so numerous; for she was surrounded by beauties in a *hharem*, which, according to reports not reckoned extravagant, contained eight hundred females of every description; all equally the slaves of one despotick lord, to obtain whose favour was the sole study of their lives<sup>(15)</sup>. At eleven o'clock Lady Ouseley proceeded to the

(<sup>15</sup>) Persons who had listened to the whispers of scandal, insinuated that those fair competitors, in their contest for the Monarch's smile, often employed means the most unjustifiable; and had sometimes endeavoured to secure the glorious prize even by the sacrifice of a rival's life. Whether he loved her most who now enjoyed the dangerous rank of favourite, or another beautiful queen (the mother of ABBA'S MÍRZA' and prince A'LÍ SHA'H) was long a question undecided among those who inquired into the

*áreg* or palace, being conveyed in her palankeen by several Persian *feráshes*, who, according to the king's directions, had been previously instructed in the manner of carrying that vehicle; the Indian bearers, unable to endure the cold of this northern climate, having set out on their return to Bombay. She was accompanied, as on a similar occasion, by her daughter; and one of her English maids followed her in a *cájáwah*; (See Vol. I. p. 251; Misc. Pl. fig. 16). Many inquiries had previously been made by persons sent from the palace, concerning the kinds of refreshments most pleasing to Lady Ouseley: it was asked whether she usually smoked the *caleán*, or preferred tea to coffee; at the same time the king graciously intimated, that a chair should be provided for her accommodation, although the queen would sit, according to custom on a carpet. At her return Lady Ouseley told us that having been conducted with much ceremony into a large room, of which the floor was covered with cloth of gold, she found there the royal favourite who was a very handsome woman, an infant prince her son, and thirty or forty female attendants, all profusely decorated with jewels. Soon after her introduction, coffee and sweetmeats were presented on trays of solid gold. The queen smoked; but a *caleán* was

mysteries of the *Harem*. But certain circumstances attending the death of one, which left the other indisputably pre-eminent, excited suspicions that demonstrated, at least, the probability of actions imputed by classical historians to some ancient princesses of this country.

not offered to her visiter, who had declared herself incapable of enjoying the intended honour. The maid was led to an adjoining chamber; where after some refreshment, every article of her dress became the object of minute examination to the ladies in waiting, who evinced as little delicacy in gratifying their curiosity as those of *Shiráz*, before noticed, (Vol. II. p. 53). Meanwhile Lady Ouseley delivered a miniature picture of our Queen Charlotte, and her letter, to the Persian Queen, who received them with much grace and affability; the picture was set in diamonds computed to be worth several thousand pounds; the letter was splendidly illuminated, and a translation had been annexed by the Ambassador. This *zan-i-sháh* (زن شاه) or “king’s wife,” (like one already mentioned) seemed much encumbered by the drawers or pantaloons which she wore; their stiff embroidery of pearls almost crippling her legs. She bestowed many caresses on little Janie during this interview which lasted about half an hour.

MÍRZÁ SHEFIA, with four or five other personages of distinction, paid, on the tenth, a long visit to the Ambassador; they all drank, and appeared to relish highly, some essence of peppermint diluted with water. MÍRZÁ SHEFIA had heard, or read, and talked much to us, of a certain miraculous medicine that could not only remove all corporeal infirmities, but restore to extreme old age, the powers of active and vigorous youth. He conversed also on literature;

and antiquities; contriving to introduce a very flattering compliment to me on the subject of some translations which I had made, several years before, from the Persian language; and of which ABÚL' HASSAN KHÁN had, too favourably, spoken to him. In the mean time, although a month had now elapsed since our arrival at *Tehrán*, no progress had been made in the work of negotiation; nor could the Ambassador, either by his example or remonstrances, stimulate the *Vazírs*, or accelerate the tardy process of Persian diplomacy. They seemed inclined to procrastinate, and glad of any circumstance that served as a pretence for delay; every hunting party of the king furnished them with a plausible excuse; for in his absence, they said, no business could possibly be transacted. These excursions were frequent, as FATEH ÁLI SHÁH, like most members of the *Kajár* family, and of other northern tribes, preferred an erratick to a settled life; a village to a city, and a tent to a palace. Although much snow had fallen about this time at *Tehrán*, several antelopes (*áhú*, اهو) and mountain goats (*buz*, بز) were killed by the king; and we partook, at dinner on the twelfth, of some excellent venison, part of the royal *shikár* (شكار) or game, sent as a present to the Ambassador.

We were introduced on the thirteenth to HASSAN ALI MÍRZÁ (حسن علي میرزا), younger brother (by the same mother) of HUSEIN ALI MÍRZÁ, the prince of *Shiráz*. He asked many questions on various subjects; and inquired after



his "uncle" the king of England. The Ambassador having mentioned the Prince of Wales, he said it was the auspicious *tália* (طالع) or fortunate destiny of the Persian Monarch, to have such a *beráder-zádeh* (برادرزاده) or nephew. We sat with him about twenty minutes, and retired, observing the usual ceremonies, through a small court and garden of which the walls exhibited, in arched recesses or niches, the painted representations of cypress trees.

Next day we visited MÍRZÁ ABD ALWEHÁB (میرزا عبد الوهاب) a man of distinguished learning; eminent for his skill in divinity, metaphysics, the Arabick language, and for the exquisite beauty of his penmanship; we found him prepared to receive us in a room well warmed with a large *mankal* (مقتل) or chafing-dish of burning charcoal (See Misc. Pl. fig. 19). I had before remarked that amidst crowded companies he generally appeared absorbed in mental devotion or meditation; his head inclining to one side and his eyes closed; on this occasion, however, he evinced the most polite attention, and his conversation was equally pleasing as instructive; he talked of books and of geography; made many inquiries on the subject of theology, (the *ilm illahi* علم الاهی or "divine science") and the various sects of different religions; wishing that all mankind were of the same faith; he declared his intention of seeking knowledge at a new source by studying English; and mentioned that he was engaged in the composition of a miscellaneous work, which he proposed to entitle

the *Ganjíneh i Neshát* (كنجدنه نشاط) or "Treasury of Delight." Respecting the *Turki* (تركي) or *Tátár* (تاتار) language, he said that it comprised two principal dialects; the *Turki Jaghatái* (تركي جغتاي) which he considered as the *ásel* (اصل) or pure original tongue; and the *Turki Rúmi* (تركي رومی) spoken at Constantinople, and throughout all Greece and Asia Minor; derived from the *Jaghatái*, but corrupted with a multiplicity of Arabick, Persian and *Iúnáni* (يوناني) Greek or *Ionian* words. A topick on which MÍ'RZA' ABD AL WEHA'B was particularly eloquent, must not here be omitted; the late French Embassy, a numerous body of very ingenious men, had furnished him with one favourite subject of encomium, Monsieur Lamy, a gentleman whose praises I have heard celebrated by many other Persians.

We proceeded to the house of FARAGE ALLAH KHA'N (فرج الله خان) a nobleman of military habits; with much apparent frankness of character, and a simplicity of manner, whether real or affected, nearly bordering on bluntness; he began, however, like the most insincere of his countrymen, by offering to the Ambassador, his house and garden as a gift, or *píshkash* (پیشکش). Knowing the person whom we had last visited, he proclaimed aloud his own consummate ignorance of metaphysicks, theology and philosophy; muttered something about his contempt of hypocrisy and the cant of pedantry; "all abstruse sciences, said he, I leave to such persons "as my friend ABD AL WEHA'B; the sword and musket are

“sufficient for me. Returning at night from court, I seat myself in this corner, and direct the *khánendeh* (خواننده) “*sázendeh* (سازنده) and *raks-kunán* (رقصکنان) the vocal and “instrumental musicians, and the dancers, to amuse me until “I fall asleep; of what value is all the learning of MÍ'RZA' “ABD AL WEHA'B? I prefer the sounds of a *sehtáreh* (سهتاره) “or *Kamáncheh* (کمانچه) a guitar or violin.” He then ironically poured blessings on those pious *Muselmáns* who religiously abstained from wine; and with much humour censured all drunkards; the health of some men, he was willing to allow, claimed in this respect a little indulgence; and for his own part, the grapes of *Shíráz* had furnished him with medicines during three and thirty years. To gratify MÍ'RZA' SHEFIA he had lately forsworn them, but his spirits began to suffer a considerable depression and now required exhilaration; ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N had mentioned to him some *shráb* (شراب) or wine of Madeira *chchel sáleh* (چهل ساله) “forty years old,” which the Ambassador had brought to *Tehrán*; of this he plainly hinted that a few bottles would be a most acceptable present. He generally spoke in Turkish to his servants, and was, as I learned from one of his acquaintances, a kind and gentle master; his favourite attendant seemed to be a young Russian who assisted in handing us the *cateáns* and coffee; him he always addressed by some very coarse and opprobrious term; often styling him *Kurmsák* (a word explained in Vol. II. p. 542) or *Káferbacheh* (کافرچه) “offspring of an infidel.” Entertained by his pleasantry

and impressed with favourable sentiments of his good nature, we left FARAGE ALLAH KHA'N; he was not, however, without enemies; and some talked of cruelties lately perpetrated by his order near *Tabriz*, where many villages had been burnt and the unresisting inhabitants massacred.

We returned, after this, the visit of MOHAMMED A'LI KHA'N, the *Vazir* or minister of Prince A'LI SHA'H; he mentioned some extraordinary mineral productions which he had observed near *Cáshán*; and a rock in the same neighbourhood exhibiting seventy wells, or pits, of which he was not able, with a long stick and his extended arm to reach the bottom; he spoke also of other wonders visible at this place; but from his description I could not ascertain whether they should be classed among natural or artificial curiosities. When we admired the extreme delicacy and elegant forms of his sherbet spoons, he assured us that he had once possessed many of which the bowls, although elastick, were much more flexible; thin as paper, and nearly transparent; and that he had seen the leaves of a book made from similar materials, *chúb-i-gulábi* (چوب گلابی) or pear-tree wood. He shewed us a piece of sculpture very ingeniously executed on ivory by a young and self-taught artist; it represented in relief, the present king's portrait, and some other figures, among which were Armenian *Púdrés* or priests with the hog or *gurúz* (گراز), usually delineated by Persians who hold that creature in abhorrence, as an ensign of the Christian religion,

This minister complained that no one could be found in *Tehrán* capable of repairing and regulating his three French watches. We had heard complaints on the same subject in every other part of the country.

The next visit was that which we paid to MĪ'RZA' MU'SA (میرزا موسی) a native of *Mázenderán*, and governor of *Gílán* (گیلان). This province, situate on the shores of the Caspian sea, he described as covered with trees, astonishingly numerous, but not of considerable size; and he contradicted some who had affirmed that the fish, which constituted a principle article of diet there, was unwholesome food. Of *Astrakhan*, he said, the Persian name was *Hashtarkhán*<sup>(16)</sup>; and his account of the difficulties which opposed a traveller among the stupendous mountains, the forests and torrents of *Mázenderán* (or Hyrcania) almost extinguished the desire that I had long felt, and shook my resolution of exploring that region on a journey to the Caspian sea. The room wherein MĪ'RZA' MU'SA' received us was decorated with several pictures of beautiful Georgian women, in various dresses, and of one effeminate boy.

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(16) From other Persians I learned that the name was sometimes written هشترخوان (*Hashtarkhuán*), but more correctly حاجي ترخوان (*Haji tarkhuán*). The name, however, is spelt حاجي ترخان on a silver coin described in Mr. Fraehn's "Numophylacium Orientale Pototianum," p. 58. This work, of which but a few copies were circulated, is remarkable as the first Latin book printed in the University press at Casan; for we read p. 75, "preli latini Universitatis Casanensis primitiæ sunt;" it was published in 1813.

Two other visits must yet be recorded; one we made at the house of MI'RZA' YU'SUF (میرزا یوسف), who entertained us chiefly with a discourse on vaccination, and his dread of the small pox; a disease by which his son, (nine years of age) had lost one eye. He told the Ambassador, to whose infant daughter the cow-pox had lately been communicated, that after his example he should send another child next day to the English surgeon for inoculation. But he was induced, by the prejudices of his wives, to reject any innovation; and by the bigotry of some *Mulás* or Mahomedan priests, to refuse even a blessing from the hands of Christians; the small pox was at this time fatal to hundreds; his child soon after took it, and died.

Our series of ceremonious visits terminated at the house of MI'RZA' ZEKI', fourth *Vazir* or minister of state; him I have before mentioned as the Ambassador's *Mehmándár*, who accompanied us from *Shíráz* to *Isfahán*. He related an anecdote which served to exalt the *Amín ad douleh's* character, already very high, in our estimation. It appeared that within a few days, the king by a command indicating some displeasure, had required his son HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA' prince of *Shíráz*, to attend immediately at the court of *Tehrán*. So much had *Fárs*, the province governed by this prince, been impoverished during the oppressive administration of NEBBI KHA'N, that he found it impossible to raise one hundred thousand *tumáns*, due to the royal treasury; there was still a

deficiency of twenty thousand, without which he feared to present himself before the king. Yet as the order for his appearance was peremptory, he had set out, bringing with him (as some said) the queen his mother, once a favourite of FATEH A'LI SHA'H, that she might intercede for her son. He, meanwhile, recollecting the *Amin ad douleh's* many generous acts, wrote a letter to this minister, expressing regret for having on former occasions been his enemy; stating the pecuniary embarrassment, and requesting the loan of twenty thousand *tumans*, for which sum he inclosed a formal bond. This deed the *Amin ad douleh* sent back with a polite answer to the prince, and instantly declared himself responsible for the twenty thousand *tumans*.

Returning from MI'RZA' ZEKI'S house, we met in a narrow street some of the king's elephants; our horses seemed in general much alarmed, and many of them which were Arabian, absolutely trembled with fear at the sight of those enormous quadrupeds.

About this time a poor man who had before solicited employment in the Ambassador's service, came to my room, along with his wife and daughter, intreating that I should recommend them to Lady Ouseley; the woman was muffled in her *châder* (چادر), but not so completely as to conceal age and ugliness; the little girl, seven or eight years old, was pretty, and without a veil; she presented me an orange; the father

a common flower; and the mother an apple on which had been impressed the form of a leaf, resembling our fern<sup>(7)</sup>; all these were the prelude to their request; the child stared with wonder and apparent delight at the painted walls of my apartment, and still more at some drawings which I was then finishing; my writing-desk, camp-bed, and other European articles of furniture; while the woman, to interest me in her behalf, swore with strange inconsistency, *be ser i Ali* (بسر علي) "by the head of A'LI" that in her heart she was a Christian.

Our servants on the 25th of December, having learned that we solemnized Christmas day, presented to many of us, flowers, oranges and sweetmeats, with the congratulations and wish, thus expressed on such occasions among themselves, *Idc-i-shumá mubárek báshed* (عید شما مبارک باشد) "may your festival be auspicious!" And these words we heard a thousand times interchanged on the 27th, when the Persians celebrated their *Idc-i-kurbán* (عید قربان) or "festival of the sacrifice," which was announced by drums and trumpets early in the morning; several guns were fired at noon, and multitudes of people flocked outside the city walls to the *Kurbán gáh* (قربان گاه) or "place of sacrifice," where a camel was killed

(7) Apples thus marked are sold in the bazars for a trifle; to make this impression, a leaf of some flower or shrub is glued or fastened with a thread on several parts of the fruit while yet growing; the apple gradually ripens, and all that the sun reaches becomes red; the parts covered by the leaves remaining of a pale green or yellow colour.



with the usual formalities, in commemoration of the victim substituted by Abraham for his own son.

The new year (1812) commenced with the arrival of a *kásed* (كاسد) or messenger from *Búshehr* who brought letters announcing the great success of our arms in various parts of the East Indies, and, particularly, the capture of Java.

We now from our house distinctly heard, almost every hour of the night, various sounds of musical instruments and voices of singers, in different quarters of the town. Although extremely active in preventing riots, and prompt in arresting those who walk the streets after a certain time; the officers of police allow the inhabitants to indulge at home in convivial amusements. Those nocturnal feasts cause no fatigue to those who sleep during a great portion of the day; and “the Persians,” as Dr. Johnson observes, (in *Rasselas*) “are a “nation eminently social.” When a moment can be stolen from care or business, they sit on the flat roofs or in the chambers of their houses with musicians and dancers, frequently drinking wine to excessive inebriation, and perfectly heedless of tomorrow; happy in this “blindness to the future,” there are not many who ever seem to recollect the precarious tenure by which they hold their properties and lives. At this time weddings were more than commonly numerous; several of the *arúsis* (عروسی) or nuptial processions passed by our gate; the bride, whom several women conducted to a

bath adjoining, appeared always wrapped in a white sheet; having on her head a reddish coloured veil, or handkerchief; before her went six or eight men with pipes and drums; and some *túties* or buffoons, and boys dancing with uncouth and ridiculous gestures; the gay train was closed by the young couple's friends and relations. The people were now eager for festive enjoyments as they anticipated the gloomy days of *Muhharrem* (محرم); when to honour the memory of HUSEIN and HASSAN, the martyred sons of A'LI, every pleasure must be suspended, and all assume the outward garb of sorrow.

On the third of January, a young sepoy dragoon died; his disease was an affection of the liver which did not, however, evince itself by any symptoms until the day before his death; and Sir Gore Ouseley whose health had lately suffered two attacks, was now reduced to an alarming state of weakness. The king sent A'BU'L HASSAN KHA'N to inquire after him and requested that Mr. Cornick the surgeon might attend at the palace with a daily report of his situation.

Soon after this, prince HUSEIN A'LI MI'RZA' arrived from *Shiráz*; and on the 14<sup>th</sup> we paid him our respects; he declared himself much pleased to see us again; talked of the great benefit that his teeth and gums had derived from a dentifrice (of pulverised charcoal) which Mr. Sharp had given him; and affected considerable satisfaction at being once more an inmate at his father's court; although we knew how reluc-

tantly he had obeyed the summons that forced him from *Shíráz*. When the Ambassador complimented him on the healthiness of his looks after a fatiguing journey, "it proceeds," replied he, "from my happiness in being allowed "to approach the king."

Returning from the palace I found two ragged mendicants standing at my door; they had certificates, and a letter written in Italian, addressed to all pious Christians, and signed by some bishops, representing the bearers as good catholicks, *de la nazione Caldea*, on their way from *Selmás*<sup>(18)</sup> to India; "fallen through the cruelty of the barbarous Persians "into extreme and lamentable poverty." "*Caduti per la crudelta dei barbari Persiani in una somma e lagrimevole poverta.*" Those papers were shown to the Ambassador, who granted pecuniary relief.

The *Muhharrem* or first month of the Muhammedan year commenced on Friday the 17th of January. On this day, or rather on the night immediately preceding it<sup>(19)</sup>, the

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(18) *Selmás* سلماس a city of *Azerbijdán* near the lake of *Urmiah* ارومیه, or as it is twice named by FIRDAUSI in his *Sháh náme*, the *degyâr-Khanjesht* دریا خنجهشت or "Lake of *Khanjesht*. The Geographer HAMDALLAH describes *Selmás* as a considerable city, of which the inhabitants were (in his time) Muhammedans of the *Sunni* sect, and always at war with the *Curds*, their neighbours. To the adjacent Lake of *Khanjesht* he assigns a circumference of forty-four farsangs.

(19) The Persians seems to consider the evening before an *ide* عید or festival, as, in fact, the beginning of it; thus although their Sabbath is properly Friday, they suppose it to commence at sunset the day before; this reminds us of Genesis, ch. I, v. 5. "and the evening and the morning were the first day."

Persians began to celebrate those doleful rites by which they commemorate the death of HUSEIN, the son of ALI, and grandson of their prophet. These solemnities continue ten days (styled in Arabick *ushûr* عشور from the number عشر ten) on each of which a portion of the melancholy story is publicly recited in the streets of every town, by priests and others, to crowds of people who express their sympathy and grief not only by groans and sighs, but by howls of very suspicious loudness; violent beating of breasts; rending of garments, and even tears, which many, by annual practice, have taught to flow at will. Individuals, lamenting events that happened in a distant country, above eleven hundred years before, appeared to have suffered the recent loss of a parent or a child, or to mourn some other private and domestic calamity; all affected a negligence in dress; a depression of countenance and a whining tone of voice in which they uttered frequently the ejaculation "*Yá Husein!* (يا حسين) *Yá Hassan!* (يا حسن)" with many direful imprecations on those concerned in the martyrdom of their favourite saints. But whatever some enthusiasts might have really felt, I knew two or three Persians who, in secret, laughed at this "mock-ery of wo," although they seemed, externally, to participate in the general affliction.

Of this *Muhharrem* (for the solemnities are so denominated after the month) ten acts, performed on so many successive days, constitute, I believe, the only Persian exhibition that

can be styled dramattick; for we must not dignify with such an epithet the low buffoonery or the disgusting obscenity of gesticulation and language displayed, to amuse the vulgar and the profligate, by *lúties* and their boys. Those scenes describing the distresses of HUSEIN and his family, are called the *tauzieh* (تعزية); three or four of them I saw imperfectly and accidentally; but was fortunate in witnessing with other gentlemen, by express invitation, two of the principal, complete, and represented in the best style; the first at MI'RZA' SHEFIA's house, the other in presence of the king. We were entertained by the prime minister, on the 23rd, at night, with a very interesting portion of the tragedy, which many Persians of high rank attended. Under a spacious tent or awning spread outside the windows and illuminated by torches, HUSEIN and his family were supposed to dwell; the women chiefly occupying a *takht* or raised platform made of boards; they and the men were clothed with much propriety in Arabian dresses. A *Mulá* who occasionally supplied the place of a chorus, began by chaunting in a solemn *recitativo* the general subject of this evening's act, from a written paper; the other performers, also, assisted their memory with a similar help. The principal circumstances were the marriage of SEKI'NAH (سكينة HUSEIN's daughter) and the death of KA'SEM (كاسم), who immediately after the nuptial ceremony, had been obliged to leave her, his cousin and his fair bride, to join in an attack upon the enemy, by whom he was slain. The representation consisted of what may be

termed several scenes, connected and explained by the recitation or chaunt of the *Múlá*. The *Artsi* (عروسی) or wedding; the hostile challenge; the bridegroom's farewell; his departure on horseback, accompanied by many warriors fully armed and clad in coats of mail; his mangled corpse brought back from the field of battle by his friends, and the women's lamentation over it. Although the lovely SERIK'AN was personated by an impudent boy and the elder female characters by men, while the books or papers which they held, tended to dissipate any illusion, yet some incidents and expressions in the course of this simple drama, proved exceedingly affecting; and I could give credit to MIRZA' SHEFIA and a few other spectators for the sincerity of their tears. On the court walls and on the roof of an adjacent building, twenty or thirty women and young girls had assembled; and from my seat in the open window I distinctly heard them sobbing in melancholy sympathy with the widowed bride, and, suddenly, tittering at the awkward motions of those men who represented the female personages.

But the grand catastrophe, the death of HUSEIN, was reserved for the 25th, when we saw it acted at the palace in the *Meidán* or square, which exhibited more valuable decorations than, probably, ever graced an European theatre; for the king had lent on this occasion, thousands of his most precious and brilliant jewels; he beheld the exhibition from a room over the gateway, close to which a tent had been

pitched on the walls and carpets spread for the Ambassador and his party. There we took our places, about noon; enjoying a perfect view of the square which was lined with musketeers, *yeshouls* or constables, *ferúshes* and other royal servants; its walls being covered with many hundreds of women, mostly wrapped from head to foot in their white *châders*. A space of ground, enclosed and divided by a canvass *seráperdeh*, represented the habitations of HUSEIN, his family and the few brave companions that remained faithful to him; the scene was the desert of *Kerbela*; here, during nine days they had supported a miserable existence, surrounded by their enemies, the ferocious troops of YEZÍD, who interposed between them and the Euphrates, obstructed every supply of water from that river, or the wells in their vicinity; and thus involved them in all the anguish of excessive thirst.

This act commenced with a solemn procession, some men carrying on their shoulders the prophet's coffin or *tábút* (تابوت); on this hung a pall of gold-embroidered cloth blazing with the lustre of diamonds, emeralds and rubies; next was led before us the horse of ALI AKBAR (HUSEIN's eldest son recently killed) or of KA'SEM (his nephew before mentioned). A thousand arrows appeared to bristle in this noble steed; the inner garment lately worn by its unfortunate rider, was then displayed; pierced in many places and stained with blood. Now the colloquial part begins, recited or chaunted, as at the former exhibition, from written papers; the women

address many pathetic speeches to the arrow-stricken horse ; and utter loud lamentations at sight of the bloody garment ; their distress, meanwhile, arising from the want of water, becomes intolerable. One hero gallantly undertakes to procure them relief ; he sallies forth ; is opposed, fights bravely, but is overpowered and slain. ABBA'S, the brother of HUSEIN, then resolves to try the perilous adventure ; he clothes himself in complete mail ; girds on his scymetar ; grasps his lance, departs amidst the benedictions of his grateful friends, and having succeeded in filling a leathern *meshek* at the river, fights back his way through crowds of foes, but is intercepted, wounded, and deprived of the water, just as he brings it within view of those who so much want it. HUSEIN himself at length prepares to go ; his sister ZEINEB (زينب), his daughter SEKI'NAH and his infant son, endeavour by their tears, entreaties and forebodings to dissuade him from this enterprise of desperation. A herald of the enemy is introduced with due form ; he proposes terms ; HUSEIN indignantly rejects them ; and his charger is led out. The women renew their solicitations with much weeping ; some faithful warriors offer to devote themselves for his safety ; but convinced that Providence has already decreed whatever must befall the son of ALI and of FA'TIMAH (daughter of the prophet) he declares his intention of rushing amidst the hostile ranks. Next appear the *Jinn* (جن) or *genii*, whose chief the *Sháh e Jinn* expresses his readiness to assist him ; he with thanks, declines any supernatural aid, unless immediately



from God. The little *genii* then pay homage to HUSEIN and kiss the feet of his horse; he rides forth; many cavaliers are seen galloping about the plain in coats of iron mail, with shields and lances; quivers full of arrows and bows in cases. HUSEIN is environed by the soldiers of YEZID, and taken prisoner, dismounted and beheaded with a *khanjar* or long knife, by SHAMER (شمس). The tent of HUSEIN is demolished and burnt; his women seized and carried off in black *cajavahs* on camels; and finally, a lion comes from the desert and scatters earth on the dead bodies, and on some detached heads of those who had been martyred in the holy cause. Thus ended the tragedy: for a subsequent scene which I shall hereafter notice, did not appear materially connected with the death of HUSEIN.

I was exceedingly gratified by this performance; for it not only conveyed a most accurate idea of the Arabian dress and mode of warfare, but filled the imagination with a picture which, in many respects, I am inclined to think, represented not unfaithfully, our own age of chivalry. The introduction of heralds; the challenges of knights, if so may be styled the Saracenic warriors; their single combats; their military pomp and array; coats of mail, shields, lances and banners; the armour and caparisons of their horses, and many other circumstances, seemed to me almost exactly such as I had seen delineated in our emblazoned Romances, and other illuminated Manuscripts which describe the manners and customs

of European nations soon after the crusades<sup>(\*)</sup>. As on the former occasion, young men and boys were clothed like females; but the reader has, perhaps, wished to inquire under what form the *genii* appeared. They were children, probably nine or ten years old, dressed in black garments, their faces, heads and shoulders being covered with red handkerchiefs; all held drawn swords; their chief, the *Sháh e Jinn* or “king of the Genii” was taller than the others; he wore armour, carried a bow, quiver and shield, and had, like his attendants, a red handkerchief thrown over his head. A person in the skin of a wild beast, moving awkwardly on his hands and knees, performed the part of a generous lion, by scattering dust on the martyr’s bodies; and the heads which at first seemed waxen or wooden, and sticking in the ground, I perceived, on a second glance to be animated; the eyes and lips moving; they appertained to men who from enthusiasm in the cause, had voluntarily submitted to a partial interment, and remained above three hours thus buried to the chin in earth. Some Russian prisoners had been hired, or compelled, to represent the soldiers of YEZID; and, on the death of HUSEIN, could scarcely escape by galloping at full speed, from a shower of stones, which the mob pelted at them in rage against the enemies of their saint; SHAMER, by whom he was decapitated,

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(\*) This dramatick celebration of the *Muharrem* was instituted in the middle of the tenth century, by SULTA'N MOZZAD'DOULAH. (See D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* in *Aschour*). The first crusade was undertaken near the close of the eleventh...

suffered more especially from the violence of their fury; and I saw him receive many hearty blows and kicks, amidst innumerable execrations. At length appeared the prophet's coffin or *tábút*; and in the procession were led some horses richly adorned with the king's jewels; one particularly, of which the face was almost covered by a splendid mask or veil composed chiefly of diamonds; two men, held under this horse's head a large and fine white shawl, to catch any of the precious ornaments that might become loose.

After this a very extraordinary dance was performed by eighty or an hundred athletick men, of whom several were naked to the waist; some held in their hands swords and long-bladed knives, and had either actually cut themselves (as is generally the case) in different parts of the body, or had with paint, exceedingly well imitated on their skins, the appearance of bleeding wounds. A certain tune regulated the measure of this dance under the direction of a man who, beating time with a wand, chaunted all the while in a loud voice the praises of MUHAMMED and his family, particularly of A'LI whom he frequently invoked by the exclamation "*Ái Shír-i-Khudá!*" (ای شیر خدا) Oh! lion of God!" Several among the dancers joined in this hymn or song, striking together in perfect cadence, two pieces of hard wood, each in size and shape like the half of a large orange; the action was violent, although they did not rise very high from the ground, rather jumping forward, with one leg advanced before the other, and then

retreating suddenly; but there were a few, who passed between the others, according to a regular and preconcerted movement; the manly figures of those actors, the clashing of swords and daggers, the striking together of the wooden pieces, and the chaunting of their hymn or song, in which several females raised their voices, induced me to imagine that this performance, partly religious and military, might resemble, in some respects, the Salian dance among the ancient Romans.

A pompous and tedious enumeration of the king's titles, with many benedictions, closed this entertainment, and we returned to our houses through streets and *bázárs*, where all the shops were shut, and but few persons visible. Two fellows, however, having on the way, insulted Mr. Sharp, were reprov'd by ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N; they then directed their insolence against him for espousing the cause of a *Sag-i-Farangki* (سک فرنگی) "a Christian dog, or an European;" next morning they were brought by an *yeshawal* (یساول) or constable, to the Ambassador's gate, where some stout *ferashes* immediately inflicted thirty or forty blows on the naked soles of their feet. An attempt had been made to substitute a poor and innocent stranger for one of those offenders, the handsome and impudent favourite of some great man; but our servants knew the real culprits, who had been repeatedly guilty of insulting the English gentlemen.

During several days of January the weather proved mild and fine; on others it was cloudy and tempestuous; much.

rain and snow fell. The Thermometer from noon to two or three o'clock was generally up to 45, 46, 47, and (twice) to 48.

On the second of February at noon I proceeded to the palace, followed by a considerable number of *firáshes* and other servants, carrying on *kháuchehs* (خواجه) or trays, various presents from the Ambassador to the King; shawls, lace veils, pieces of cloth, watches, guns, a service of fine china; very beautiful cut-glass chandeliers and lustres; two bottles of cinnamon oil; English gun-powder, telescopes, and other things. I was accompanied by ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N, and received at the palace gate by the *Amín ad douleh*, two or three other noblemen, a treasurer and gentleman-usher of ceremonies, who all very carefully perused the list of presents, which the Ambassador had written; they then conducted me into the court opposite a small *tálár*, or open fronted room, where the king was seated, plainly dressed in a dark coloured coat and holding in his hands a string of pearl beads; after several obeisances ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N and I were directed to advance within five or six yards of the *tálár*. The usher then proclaimed "that the *Ilchi* (ایلچی) or Ambassador had sent his "brother to the foot of the throne with offerings for the sovereign of the world." Then a *píshkash-nevís* (پیشکش نویس) or "Registrar of presents," read with a loud voice the catalogue of articles, which, at this time, the *ferúshes* were employed in bringing into the court, and placing before the king; who looking at me, graciously said *khúshámedi* (خوشامدی) "you are wel-

“come,” and *bíá pish*, (بیا پیش) “come forward;” I advanced a little and he inquired with much kindness after the Ambassador’s health; paid me some compliments on understanding Persian, and on having translated (as he had heard) fifty manuscripts into English; and after a few minutes conversation during which the presents were not mentioned, he, by a slight inclination of his head, made the signal for my retiring. **ABU’L HASSAN KHA’N** attended me to the door, but returned to superintend the more minute inspection of each separate article that had been sent. Although most of these were rare and valuable and to hundreds who saw them in the outer courts must have been objects of admiration (as was afterwards acknowledged); yet not one Persian ventured either to praise or disparage; because the king had not hitherto expressed his opinion, according to which theirs must be always regulated.

I remarked on this occasion, as on former visits, in all the outer passages and squares of the palace a strange confusion of common fellows; soldiers, *ferúshes*, and others among whom the ministers and *kháns*, when wrapped in *báránís* (بارانی) or “rain coats” were chiefly distinguished by the shawls twisted round their caps; but from that inner court where the king actually sat, this multitude was excluded; there prevailed solemn ceremony; and, until the usher had been authorised to speak, most perfect silence.

We frequently amused ourselves with excursions to the neighbouring villages, and in seeking hares, snipes, wild-pigeons and partridges, on the plain and amongst rocks and marshes near the ruins of *Raï* (ري); a city which by its ancient magnitude and celebrity, is fully entitled to our consideration, and claims some pages here as a memorial.

It has been already mentioned that we passed among considerable ruins on our approach towards *Tehrán*, from which they are not distant in some places above four miles, although extending, in different directions, more than twice as far; the plain at least is irregularly covered, for a considerable space, with tumular masses of clay, and fragments of brick-built edifices representing, most inadequately, that venerable city of which the name as written by Greek geographers, *Rhaga*, or *Rhageia*, may be easily discovered in the modern softened pronunciation of *Raï*; while local circumstances sufficiently indicate it to be the *Rhages* described by Arrian, whose words I shall hereafter have occasion to quote<sup>(21)</sup>. It appears contemporary with Nineveh and Ecbatana, in the book of Tobit; which, though of apocryphal authority among the biblical records, must be considered as an ancient composition, and

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(21) By some obscure writers the name of *Rhages* or *Rages*, has been corruptly given to that city of Mesopotamia, which the Arabians called *Roha* رها, or with the article رها *Ar'roha*, and the Greeks, *Calli-rhoe* Καλλιρων and *Edessa* Ἐδεσσα—"sic etiam apud Albertum Aquensem, apud Villerianum Tyrium et Oliverium Scholasticum in historia "regum Terræ Sanctæ *Rhages* et *Ragès*, &c. See Bayer's "Historia Osrhoena et Edessæ ex numis illustrata." (Petrop. 1734, p. 12).

in its Persian geography may be supposed not liable to the charge of inconsistency. We therein read (ch. 1. v. 14) that Tobit travelled from Nineveh to "*Rages a city of Media*;" and this journey was performed, according to our best chronologers, above seven hundred years before Christ.

That *Ragau*, noticed in the book of Judith (ch. 1. v. 15), is the *Rages* of Tobit, I am inclined, after some hesitation, to believe with two learned writers<sup>(22)</sup>; how far that book may be regarded as historical authority my present object does not lead me to inquire; it is merely quoted on this occasion as, at least, a work of respectable antiquity<sup>(23)</sup>.



(<sup>22</sup>) Dr. Wells (Geogr. of the Old Test. Vol. III. p. 197. Lond. 1712) and Dean Prideaux (Connex. of Old and New Test. Vol. II. p. 718. Lond. 1749). They have not assigned their reasons for adopting this opinion; neither does the text specify *Media* as the region in which *Ragau* was situate; the resemblance of names, however, may be supposed to favour the identity; and it is not, perhaps unreasonable to place in *Media* the scene of a great battle wherein a king of that country was defeated by invaders who likewise took *Ecbatane*, the capital and other cities of *Media*. This, notwithstanding some chronological embarrassments, Prideaux has described as an event of the year 656 before the commencement of our era; (Vol. I. p. 49). The vanquished monarch was Arphaxad whom Nabuchodonosor took "in the mountains of Ragau; and smote him through with his darts, and destroyed him utterly that day;" (Judith ch. 1. v. 15). By Archbishop Usher, Prideaux and others, the king of Assyria, here called Nabuchodonosor, is regarded as the Sarsuchinus of Ptolemy (Cauon. Regum); and Arphaxad as the *Deiokes* Δειοκης of Herodotus. I have already observed (Vol. I. p. 49) that this Median sovereign is **DEHAK** (دهاک) as properly written in a *Pahlavi* manuscript) whom the modern Persians and Arabians call **ZONAK**, **DHONAK**, &c.

(<sup>23</sup>) The Syriac version of Judith (Walton's Polyglott. Vol. IV) has *Dura* (ܕܘܪܐ) for *Ragau* (ܪܒܐ) in the fifth verse (of chap. 1) which is thus rendered according to our English bibles; "Even in those days king Nabuchodonosor made war with king



*Rhages* is memorable for the halt of Alexander during five days; when, having so far traced Darius, he there, as Arrian relates, desisted from the pursuit; a circumstance which may be dated in the year 331 before Christ<sup>(\*)</sup>. After this mention of *Rhages* we are surprised on finding the original construction (κτίσμα, ἐκτισμένη) of *Rhageia* and *Rhaga*, ascribed by Strabo (Lib. XI. c. 18), and Stephanus Byzantius, (in Ραγα) to Seleucus (Nicator), who accompanied, and survived Alexander; and was first monarch of the dynasty called from him Seleucidan. This appearance of anachronism has induced Bochart (Sac. Geogr. Lib. II. cap. 14), Vaillant (Arsacid. Imper. Arsaces II), and other ingenious writers

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“Arphaxad in the great plain, which is the plain in the borders of Ragau.” From the Syriac therefore it would appear (unless we suppose one name erroneously written for another) that those ancient monarchs first contended in the plain of *Dura*, and that Arphaxad was afterwards taken and slain “in the mountains of *Ragau*,” for so we read in the twelfth verse of ch. 1. according to the Syriac translation. Whoever composed the book of Judith, is severely treated by Ludovicus Cappellus, as a “nugator” and “fabulator;” he styles him “hominem plane infantem et stupidum,” &c. and accuses him of a geographical error in describing the plain of *Ragau* as situate near the Euphrates and Tigris (Comment. in Vet. Testam. p. 577, Amst. 1689). But this we also find in the latin Vulgate; “Nabuchodonosor Rex Assyriorum qui regnabat in Nineve civitate magna, pugnavit contra Arphaxad et obtinuit eum in campo magno qui appellatur Ragau, circa Euphratem et Tigrim;” (Judith 1. 6). The Greek Septuagint and our English version are free from this error.

(\*) Alexander arrived at Rhages (or *Rai*) on the eleventh day of his march from Ecbatana (or *Hamadân*); and Rhages, adds the historian, is distant from the Caspian Straits, a journey of one day, to those who travel with the same expedition that Alexander used in leading on his troops; Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Ράγας ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. Διεχέει δὲ ὁ χωρὸς οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πύλων ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μίας εὐδαιμονοῦντι ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. &c. (Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. Lib. III. c. 20).

to offer an emendation or correction of the Greek geographer's words in their respective versions of the passages to which I allude; and for *founded* they would read, as more accurate, *repaired*, *restored*, or *rebuilt*. We find *Rhages* one of the *Heparchies* or prefectures of Media, and furnishing the principal winter quarter to Antigonus's army (about the year before Christ 314 or 315); as we learn from Diodorus Siculus; "τους δε στρατιωτας επιδιειλεν εις απασαν την σατραπειαν, και μαλιστα εις την επαρχιαν την προσαγορευομενην Ραγας." (Lib. xix.)

This city, to whomsoever its origin may be due, Nicator denominated *Europos* according to Strabo (Lib. XI, c. 18), who adds that the Parthians call it *Arsakia*. "Raga," says Stephanus of Byzantium (in Ραγα), "was named *Europos*; and afterwards *Arsake* (or *Arsace*) from Arsaces "king of the Persians;" him we are authorised to believe the second Arsacidan Monarch, or *Tiridates*, entitled the great; who died after a long and honourable reign, two hundred and seventeen years before Christ<sup>(25)</sup>.

(25) We find on various medals of the Arsacidan kings, bearing Greek legends, the initial letter A denoting that the place of coinage was *Arsacia*. Vaillant has engraved and described a brass medal of his own collection, which exhibits the head of Artabanus the fourth, (last monarch of the Parthian race, with the numeral characters ΙΙΥ; besides the initial A of *Arsacia*. Having ascertained by the numerals that this coin was struck in the year 480 of the Arsacidan era, (or of Christ 224) he seems to consider it as, perhaps, the latest of its class; the monarch whose image it bears having been overthrown soon after, and his dynasty in Persia extinguished. This is not among the coins of Vaillant respecting which Corsini, Frœlich, Pellerin, Eckhel and others have expressed some doubts.

But the ancient name was not forgotten; and seems in the second century of our era to have resumed its right. Athenæus (Lib XII) informs us that the Parthian kings made *Rhages* their place of residence during the vernal season; and Isidorus Characenus describes *Raga* as greatest of the Median cities; (ων μεγίστη των κατα την Μηδιαν η Ραγα. *Mansiones Parthicæ*); among which he also enumerates *Charax*; this, however, and *Rhagea* are placed by Ptolemy in *Parthia*, while he assigns *Europus* and *Arsacia* to *Media*, and, even distinguishes these, one from the other, by the difference of longitude and latitude<sup>(26)</sup>. Pliny (vi. 25) classes *Europus* and *Arsacia* among the cities of *Parthia*; and Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiji) speaks of them as belonging to *Media*. This separation, distinction or confusion, has been noticed by Bochart (*Geogr. Sacr.* II. 14) and others; that most learned critick also Saumaise, (*Salmas. Plin. Exerc. c.* LV) pronounces *Ragæ*, *Arsacc* and *Europus* to be the same; and this opinion is adopted by D'Anville and our best modern geographers. The difficulty of reconciling those apparent inconsistencies will perhaps be removed, when we consider that the Arsacidan kings very soon overstepped the narrow limits prescribed to their original country by nature, and extended the Parthian sceptre over eighteen great provinces, among which were *Media the upper*, and *Media* (surnamed from the

(26) According to his fifth table of Asia, however, (Lib. VI. c. 2) *Ragiane* (Ραγιανη) is properly placed in *Media*; *Raghan* appears to have been an ancient Persick name for *Rai*; (See Auquetil's "Zendavesta;" (Tome I. part 2, p. 269).

city) *Rhagian*<sup>(27)</sup>; thus becoming so powerful as to vie in dominion with the Roman rulers of the west, while they themselves governed the eastern world<sup>(28)</sup>. It does not there-

(<sup>27</sup>) *Pariañ*, *Ratiane*, according to the manuscript of Isidorus Characenus, altered into *Matiana* by the translator, in Hudson's Minor. Geogr. Vol. II. p. 6. But I have already indicated (see note 26) a division of Media called *Ragiane* by Ptolemy; and remarked that *Raghan* is said to have been the old Persian name of *Rai*; and readily adopt Salmasius's correction of the *Ratiana* or *Matiana* in Isidore's work, above quoted; reading with that critic *Ragiana*: "Dua Mediae—superior et inferior, quae et *Payiañ* dicta ab oppido Rhagis," &c. (Flinian. Exercit. cap. LV).

(<sup>28</sup>) Καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ ἔρχονται τοσαύτης γῆς, καὶ τοσούτων ἔθνων ὥς τε ἀντίπαλοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τροπον τινα γεγονασί κατὰ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, (Strabo, Lib. XI. 12). "Parthi penes quos, "velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta, nunc Orientis imperium est," &c. (Justin. Lib. XXI. cap. 1). Even with this equal division they do not seem to have been always contented; but, (in the words of an ingenious historian) "the twang of their "bow-strings sounded as far as Rome, and (as the Roman writers confess) frequently "struck a terror into the capital of the world." See Lewis's "History of the Parthian Empire," &c. Oct. Lond. 1728; pref. p. 1. TABRI like Justin above quoted, divides the world between the Parthians (or *Ajém*), and the Romans or Greeks (*Iunánian*). "Know," says he, "that after the death of Alexander *Dhu'l Keracín*, or "the two horned, all the Greeks of his army returned to Greece, and the world was "divided into two portions. From the banks of the Tigris (or *Dejleh*) on this side to "the river Oxus (*Jaihún*), on the borders of *Turkistán* or Scythia, all was under the "Parthian dominion;" he then enumerates the provinces, *Irák*, *Bábel*, *Isfahán*, *Kahistán*, *Rái*, *Jebál*, *Tabristán*, *Gurkán* and *Khurasán*, forming that great empire; all these, adds he, belonged to the *Molúk táwayef* (ملوك طوایف) or kings of various tribes; there being "a king in every city, and a nobleman or chief in every village;" (بهر شهری ملکی و به دهی مهتری) each independent of the other. But on the western side from the Tigris, part of *Irák*, as far as *Mauaul*, *Jezirah* (or Mesopotamia) *Cifáh*, *Bádíeh*, or the desert, *Shám* or Syria, *Hejaz*, *Misr* or Egypt, *Iunán*, and *Iemen* (Arabia Felix) to the borders of *Maghreb* or Africa, were governed by *Iunánian* or Grecian sovereigns, the relations or partisans of Alexander. The first part of this quotation (to the word "dominion") is thus expressed in my oldest copy of TABRI'S MS Chronicle; and with little variation in the other three.

اگاه باش كه از پس ذوالقرنین لشكر او را يونانيان همه در يونان شدند و جهان بدو  
نيمه شد اما از لب دجله اربين سوي تا لب جيحون كجا حد تر است همه  
مملكت بجم بردي

fore in such an instance as this, seem to me very surprising that foreign writers should confound two provinces immediately bordering, and subject to the same monarch; in Strabo's time many districts, even as far as the Caspian Straits, the Aragi and Tapuri, were reckoned portions of Parthia, though originally of Media<sup>(29)</sup>. Orosius and Æthicus declare that the Media of Scripture was that country generally called Parthia<sup>(30)</sup>.

If there still exist, among the ruins at *Raï*, any vestiges of those buildings that constituted the city in its most early age; or, if the works constructed by Seleucus and his Macedonian followers, (perhaps in the Grecian style of architecture) have not totally perished; the remnant escaped my research, and may be supposed hidden beneath those masses of brick and earth, which, as I have already mentioned, are seen scattered along the plain for several miles, at unequal intervals; some, possibly, the relicks of edifices, raised on substructures of more ancient and more beautiful workmanship, and of more solid materials. But whatever they may conceal, those heaps, like the fragments of walls interspersed among them,

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• (29) Σχεδόν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ μέχρι Πυλῶν Κασπίων, καὶ Ἀραγῶν καὶ Ταπυρῶν, ὅντα τῆς Μηδαίας προτερον (Lib. xi. c. 12). With good reason Casaubon and others would for *Arhagi* read *Rhagi*, (dropping the first letter); and suppose that Strabo alludes to *Rhagæ*.

(30) It is sufficient to quote one of those two writers, who agree, almost exactly, in their words on this occasion. Orosius (Lib. 1. cap. 2) says "Generaliter Parthia, dicitur, quamvis Scripturæ Sanctæ universam sæpe Mediam vocant."

offer externally so little to gratify the eye, that of many delineations which I made in different points of view, the sketch engraved (plate LXV) uninteresting as it may be thought, seems least unworthy of being presented to the reader. He must, however, recollect, that I have hitherto alluded only to absolute ruins; for of *Rai*, the inhabited village, called *Sháh Abd al Aazím* (شاه عبد العظيم) is said, apparently with truth, to be a portion. This pleases the sight with its verdant gardens amidst the dreariness and desolation immediately around; it enjoys the benefits of a handsome old mosque, and the tomb of a celebrated Muhammedan saint; it possesses, also, what the profane may, perhaps, think almost as great a blessing, some baths, several shops, a *bázár*, and at least two *cáravánsérás*; in which, though not much above four miles distant, it is usual for those who undertake a journey from *Tehrán* on the great southern or *Isfahán* road, to halt the first night; and, if pious *Muselmáns*, to solicit protection from the entombed saint before mentioned. This village of *Sháh Abd al Aazím* seemed sufficiently populous for its size; containing probably from three to four hundred families, or even more according to some calculations. Here are still shown the remains of a tower, from which, as tradition relates, the reports of victories, or other auspicious tidings, were communicated to the inhabitants of *Rai* by a red flag, displayed on its summit; but this building does not exhibit any marks of remote antiquity.

Reverting to the ruins, we may perhaps consider as among the most ancient, those ramparts and turrets on a rocky

mountain that closes and commands the plain at its Eastern extremity, offering a situation so favourable for defence, and so well circumstanced with respect to water, that those who first fortified *Rhages*, *Rageia*, or *Rai*, whether before or after Alexander's visit, must naturally have availed themselves of its local advantages in the erection of a citadel. To this fortress the walls which I have delineated in the sketch (Pl. LXV), evidently belonged, and they now bear the name of *Kalaa-i-Rai*, (قلعه رای) "the castle or citadel of *Rai*"<sup>(31)</sup>. Those walls and towers are constructed of brick and clay; the lower parts being in a few places fronted and strengthened with stone. But of whatever age may be the materials of those buildings, or of the tumular masses that appear scattered for many miles along the plain; or whatever treasures of remote antiquity may be concealed within those heaps; one object only, among all that I examined, can with certainty be pronounced a work of art more ancient than the *Muhammedan* era.

This is a sculptured tablet which, until discovered by Mr. Gordon, no European traveller seems to have observed. It

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<sup>(31)</sup> But in the sketch is comprehended a small part only of those fortifications; as they extend considerably both on the plain, and over the rugged sides and summit of the hill; which is said by tradition to derive many of its asperities and inequalities from earthquakes, here in former times very frequent, and often overwhelming the inhabitants of *Rai* beneath the ruins of their own houses. This local tradition is supported by the authority of Persian writers, and tends to confirm what Diodorus (XIX) and Strabo (XI) have said respecting those convulsions and abrasions of the earth, (*payas*, *payas*) from which *Rhages*, according to them, derived its name.

is carved in the usual manner of the *Sassanian* ages, on a face of the natural rock or mountain imperfectly squared and smoothed for the purpose; its situation among the ruined walls of the old castle will appear from the first sketch (pl. LXV); and in the second I have delineated its sculpture more particularly from a near inspection, having ascended to it by a fissure of the hill on the right side. It represents an equestrian figure, which from the strong resemblance to heads on medals, and other likenesses of SHA'PU'R, especially those at the place bearing his name, I do not hesitate to declare a memorial of that vain monarch<sup>(32)</sup>. That it commemorated the victory obtained over Artabanus, or ARDAYA'N, last *great* sovereign of the Arsacidan dynasty, (for under him several petty princes entitled kings, (see note 28) governed in distant provin-

(<sup>32</sup>) He appears of the human size; advancing at full gallop to close combat; armed with a spear of which, according to relative proportion, the shaft nearly equals his wrist in thickness; a quiver hangs by his right thigh; the globular ornament of SHA'PU'R's crown, so conspicuous on his medals and on other monuments, is here also visible. But the whole sculpture, though not deficient in spirit of design, is indistinct; and to me seemed rather an unfinished work, than one that had been defaced either by violence of man, or the gradual decomposition of the stone. The artist perhaps abandoned this undertaking, having found the rock not favourable to more minute execution. Of the antagonist, whom it was most probably intended that SHA'PU'R should transfix with his lance, the form does not appear to have been ever traced; and of his horse, the head only can be discerned, in faint relief. Over the tablet which contains the Persian monarch's figure is a square of smaller dimensions (see pl. LXV) and seemingly adapted for an inscription; but I could not perceive on it the vestiges of any letters. My sketch comprehends, what indeed was scarcely worth delineation, the second horse's head; it would otherwise have been rendered superfluous by Mr. Morier's excellent drawing of SHA'PU'R's figure, (Trav. Vol. II. p. 100). This sculpture is at the distance of about five miles nearly S. S. E. from *Tehrán*.



ces); I was induced on the first examination to suspect, as *Rai* appears to have been his capital; and, according to various manuscript records, he was slain in a battle near that city<sup>(23)</sup>. But one seeming incongruity opposed itself against my first conjecture. The defeat of Artabanus (A. D. 226) is ascribed by all writers, Grecian, Roman and Oriental, to Artaxerxes, called also Artaxares, or *ARDASHI'R*; and from the loose phraseology of many Persian historians it might almost be infer-

(23) The MS. *Tārīkh Guzidoh* informs us that "*ARDASHI'R*, proceeded to fight with "*ARDAVA'N* and slew him after the battle, in the vicinity of *Rai*, (or a little on the "outside of that city"). و بکنک اردوان آمد و او را در ظاهر ری بعد از محاربه بکشت. The same terms respecting the scene of action ظاهر ری are used in the MS. *Lubb al Tu'arikh* and *Tarikh Kipchak Khāni*. According to *MIRKHOND'S MS. Rauzet al aefū*, the battle was fought on a plain called *Hormuzjān* (محرای هرمزجان); and so we read in most copies of *TABRĪ'S MS. chronicle*, from which *MIRKHOND* seems to have learned the name; this, however, in one copy of *KHONDAMI'R'S MS. Ilabib al Seir* is written *Hormuzān* (محرای هرمزان), probably through mistake. The plain we might suppose connected with *Hormuz* in *Kirmān*, or with *Rām Hormuz* in *Khūzistān*; but such an association can scarcely be accommodated to the direction of *ARDASHI'R'S* marches; for having subdued, says *TABRĪ*, many princes in the south he sent a messenger to *ARDAVA'N*, king of *Jebāl* (the province in which *Rai* is situate) challenging him to fight at a certain time on the plain above mentioned. He then advanced from *Pārs*, and at the place appointed defeated *ARDAVA'N*, after which victory he proceeded to *Hamadān*; or, as *FIRDAUSI* says, returned to *Pārs*. It is not by any means probable that the Parthian monarch would consent to meet his rival in a place so distant from the seat of his own immediate government as *Rām Hormuz* in *Susiana*, or *Hormuz* in *Carmania*, at the extremity of *Persia*; and that the battle was fought near *Rai*, his capital, appears from *FIRDAUSI* who mentions the troops at that city; (ز لشکر هر انکس که شد سوی ری) and represents *ARDASHI'R* as going immediately after the victory to *ARDAVA'N'S* palace "in which he remained one month or "two months;" (به ایوان او بود تا یکدوماه) and then "the illustrious hero directed "his course from *Rai* to *Pārs*, (سوی پارس آمد ز ری نامجدوی). In a preceding line of the *Shāh nāmeh* we learn that *ARDASHI'R* had gone, when a child, to the court of king *ARDAVA'N* at *Rai*, (بدرگاه شاه اردوان شد بری).

red that the Parthian Monarch fell by his conqueror's hand. Yet the crown represented in this sculpture, the hair, the dress and figure of the personage wearing them, so plainly indicated SHA'PU'R, that for a moment I accused the artist of having flattered him at the expense of his father ARDASHI'R, or of having given to the father, his son's form and attributes. But it soon appeared to me certain that the figure was SHA'PU'R's, whomsoever the artist intended for his antagonist<sup>(34)</sup>; that prince, according to TABRI, led the van of his father's army in a most memorable conflict of which, not improbably, the scene was near this spot where now we behold the sculpture; and slew with his own hand DA'RBENDA'D (داریابند or DA'RBEND) the *Vazir* and chief general of ARDAVA'N. Yet I do not believe that the monuments of SHA'PU'R's glory were designed to represent him engaged in personal combat with any foe less illustrious than a sovereign. One copy of TABRI's chronicle might be supposed to imply, that SHA'PU'R actually slew ARDAVA'N; against this statement, however, there is a multiplicity of manuscript authorities, according to which the Parthian monarch was either killed by some unknown adversary in the promiscuous rout;

(34) The *Rhagian* sculpture may be regarded as one of those monuments by which SHA'PU'R hoped to perpetuate, through various regions, the fame of his personal valour, and of his distant conquests; nor does it seem necessary to suppose that this memorial celebrated a combat fought immediately on or near the spot; his triumph over Valerian we have already seen commemorated in the vicinity of *Cázerún* (Vol. I. p. 235) and at *Dúrúgerd* (Vol. II. p. 146); places very distinct one from the other, and both widely separate from Edessa, the real scene of that Roman Emperor's defeat.

or by ARDASHI'R himself; or at his command after the battle, and in his presence, by the ignoble hand of an executioner<sup>(35)</sup>.

We must now consult a few notices respecting *Rai* found in Eastern geographical manuscripts. The *Sûr al beldân* (written in the tenth century) describes it as more abundantly supplied with the necessaries and luxuries of life than any other city between *Irâk* and *Khurâsân*. From *Baghdâd* eastward none exceeded it in size, except *Nishâpûr*; but *Rai* was better peopled; it occupied a square of one farsang and a half, the houses being mostly constructed of clay; some of brick and

(35) Many Persian historians merely state that ARDAVA'N was defeated in battle by ARDASHI'R, and slain: thus BEIZA VI says اردشیر با کان ویر هلاک کرد BENA'RETI اورا بقتل رساند Sa'DUK ISFAHANI اردوان بقتل آمد Mi'RKHOND در حرب اردشیر کشته شد BAKHTA'VER KHA'N اردوانرا بکشت. But TABRIZI relates that ARDASHI'R having pursued and overtaken ARDAVA'N, slew him; then alighted from his horse and dashed out the fallen monarch's brains with his *gurzeh* (گرز) or mace, as one MS. relates; or as another, by kicking him with both feet on the head. و لگد بر صری همزد بر دویای تامغزش از سر بیرون آمد. That rare MS. the *Mujmal al Tuwârikh* describes ARDASHI'R's conduct as still more barbarous; for "when in battle he had killed ARDAVA'N with his own hand, he drank of his blood, and trampled on his neck, having crushed his head with blows."

و چون اردشیر اورا بدست خویش بکشت اندر حرب خونش بخورد و بر گردنش بایستاد بعد از آنک سرش بلکد پست کرد

FIRDAUSI however informs us that, overwhelmed with a shower of arrows, ARDAVA'N was seized by a warrior named KHERA'D or KHERA'M, as in one copy of the *Shâh Nâmeh*, (بدست یکی مرد خراد نام), and led captive before ARDASHI'R, (بدژحیم فرمود شاه اردشیر), who commanded an executioner (جهانجوی بردش اسیر) to cut him in two at the waist with his *khamsar* or long knife. (تختیر میانش بدو نیم کن.) I shall not here endeavour to reconcile these accounts with the *Aprabavon per avatpei tou basileas* of Agathias, (Lib. II.) nor the *σφαττειναι* of Herodian, (Lib. VI.) nor with what other writers, Greek and Latin, have recorded on this subject.

mortar; in another passage *Nishápúr* itself is not excepted; for we read that “from *Irák* to the eastern extremity of *Islám*, “or the regions inhabited by *Muselmáns*, there is not any city “larger or more opulent and flourishing than *Rai*.”

و از عراق تا آخر شهرها اسلام از طرف مشرق هیچ شهری معبودتر و خیر و خصب و مال و نعمت اهل آن بیشتر و بزرگتر از ری نیست

But even then the greater portion of *Rai* was in a state of ruin; بیشتر آن شهر خراب است. The remainder of this description so nearly agrees with EBN HAUKAL's words that a reference to the printed “*Oriental Geography*” (p. 176) of that traveller will here suffice. It may be observed that the MS. *Súral belád* adds some titles of pious *Muselmáns* entombed at *Rai*; a circumstance which I should not have noticed, but that among them is enumerated ABD AL AAZI'M, the saint before mentioned (p. 181) whose monument is held in superstitious veneration, and occupies what a Persian on the spot assured me was traditionally regarded as the very centre of the ancient city; while this holy personage's name is now, almost exclusively, bestowed on all that remains inhabited of *Rhages*, *Rageia* or *Rai*.

Such was the state of this venerable capital in the tenth century of our era, and the nineteenth or twentieth from the date of its foundation, according to Persian geographers, who relate that it was first built by king HU'SHANG eight or nine hundred years before Christ. In the MS. *Athár al belád*, or *Seir al belád* (Clim. IV) an account of *Rai* is given by ZACARIA.

who lived in the thirteenth century. He mentions HU'SHANG as its founder; but adds that some have ascribed its origin to *Ráz* (رَاز) the son of KHURASA'N; hence a person of this place is denominated *Rázi* رَازِي<sup>(56)</sup>. The adjoining mountain contains mines of gold, as report states, but the profit of working them was not equivalent to the trouble and expense; this mountain, called *Tabarrak* (طَبَرَك) is a naked rock without any verdure. The inhabitants of *Rai*, says ZACARIA, construct their houses so that the entrances should be extremely contracted, dark and difficult; for numerous bodies of troops are constantly passing through this great city on their march to different provinces; if hostile they proceed at once in search of plunder; and even if soldiers of the friendly side, they rush into houses and commit violent acts of insolence and outrage. In the wells at *Rai*, precious jewels and pieces of gold coin are frequently discovered; the remains of treasures formerly buried<sup>(57)</sup>; for this city has always been the residence of power-

(56) A tradition noticed in the dictionary *Burhán Kátib* (under رَازِي) assigns the origin of this city to two royal brothers, *RAI* and *RA'Z*; between whom it was agreed that the place should bear the name of one, and an inhabitant of it be called *RA'ZI*, in commemoration of the other.

(57) The MS. dictionary *Jehángíri* (in the word زَاكَمَن *zahmen*) relates that a poor man who resided at *Rai* in a house called *Zahmen*, dreamed one night that he should find a treasure at Damascus; he immediately went to that city and wandered about for a considerable time; at length a person inquired his business there; and having heard of the dream, began to laugh and said, I also many years ago dreamed that a treasure was concealed in a certain house at *Rai* called *Zahmen*, but I placed no faith in such intimations; the poor *Rázi* immediately returned, dug up the ground in his

ful monarchs; and in the year 614 (A. D. 1217) some pits were opened which contained extraordinary *dinárs* (دينار عجميه) or golden coins, but of what ancient sovereigns could not be ascertained. This city has been repeatedly destroyed by war<sup>(38)</sup>. It abounded with mulberries, figs and grapes, and yielded a kind of clay, exceedingly soft and pleasant, used in washing the head; (کلی که بان سرشوند و در غایت ملایم باشد); and sent as a rarity to other places. The comb-makers of *Rai* excelled in their useful art; a particular sort of wood brought from *Tabristán* furnished them with materials. Two religious parties, both *Muselmán*, filled the city with discord, and sometimes quarrelled even to bloodshed.

The geographer *HAMDALLAH* relates that *Irák Aqjem* comprised forty cities and towns; four being preeminent; *Isfahán*, *Hamadán*, *Kum* and *Rai*. In praise of these he quotes some verses, concluding with an assertion that *Rai*

house, and found so much gold that he became an opulent citizen. *ASJEDI* (عسجدی) a poet of the eleventh century, thus alludes to this anecdote "I am going for a treasure from *Rai* to *Demeshk* like the proprietor of *Zahmen*."

من زری بهر کنجی سوی دمشق      ملایم همیو صاحب زهمن

(ان مدینه چنگ بار خراب کشته بشمشیر) (39) Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who flourished about 1160, (a century before *ZACARIA*), and visited Asia, informs us that "tis now about fifteen years since they (the northern Turks, or perhaps Calmucs) collected a most powerful army, and coming into Persia took the great city *Rai*, which they smote with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed, and carried back the spoil thereof with them to their deserts." (Geraus's Translation of Rabbi Benjamin's Travels, p. 130, Lond. 1784).

was once unequalled throughout the whole world. A *tumán* (تومان) or district was denominated after it, and in this says he, there was not, formerly, any other city, but now (in the 14th century) *Rai* is ruined and *Verámín* (ورامین) represents it as the chief town. *Rai* has been styled from its antiquity the *Sheikh al belád* (شيخ البلاد) the venerable elder, or parent of cities; its air is warm, confined on the north side, and very impure; the water also is unwholesome; and the place has been afflicted with the plague. *Rai* was founded by the prophet Seth, augmented by king HUSHANG, and repaired by MINUCHHR. It was ruined, and again rebuilt; and became a city of great importance; in circumference its ramparts extend twelve thousand paces. "To *Rai* belong many towns and territories; such as *Shahryár*, *Sávek-belágh*, the district of *Ghár* and of *Feshábúiah*, and *Shahnám*, and *Siürkerrah*; all places well inhabited and flourishing; *Rúdibár* of *Kesrán* also appertains to *Rai*; in the time of *Gházán Khán* it was attached to *Rustamdár*. The work entitled *Maajem al beldán* describes *Rai* as so extensive and populous during the reign of BAHMAM GUR, that it was connected with *Isfahán* by the meeting of their respective gardens" (39). HAMDALIAH, after some particulars of

(39) و شهری ولایت و شهر بسیار در تحت دارد مثل شهریار و ساوخ بلاغ و ناحیه غار و ولایت فشاویه و شهرنام و صیورقج همه معمور و آبادان بود و رودبار قصران نیز از توابع ری است و در عهد غزن خان تعلق برستمدار گرفت در معجم البلدان آمده که ری در زمان بهرام کور چندان آبادان بود که باغستان ری و اصفهان بهم پیوسته بود

little interest, notices the two streams which supplied *Rai* with water; one on the western side from the district of *Tangjeh* (تنججه); the other running northward of the castle; he states that the inhabitants were a wine drinking, worthless and faithless race; thinking contemptuously of all but themselves; at length the population decayed, and during the Moghul invasion *Rai* was completely ruined (بکلی خراب شد); he adds, however, that under GHA'ZA'N KHA'N it was partly rebuilt and repeopled.

I shall next select some passages from the account of *Rai*, given by AMI'N AHMED, surnamed *Rāzī* (being a native of that city) in his MS. *Haft Aklim* or "Seven Climates." Having noticed different reports concerning its foundation by RA'Z, HU'SHANG and SETH, he enumerates as existing at *Rai* in the time of AL MAHADI BILLAH, colleges and schools, 6,400; baths, 1,360; mosques, 46,400; water mills, 1,200; caravanseras, 12,700; *minārehs*, (steeple or towers), 15,035; ice-houses, 450; *canāts* or subterraneous conduits of water, 13,091; besides rivers and other streams; the *mehilluhs* (مهله) or districts of the city were 96; each containing 46 *kúchehs* (کوحه), and in each *kúcheh* were 40,000 houses, besides 1,000 mosques; in each mosque were 1,000 lamps, of gold, silver,

(MS. *Nuḥat al Culūb*. Geogr. Sect. ch. 2). To confirm this most extravagant statement respecting the extent of *Rai* in BAHRA'M's time, our author might have quoted the verses of NIZA'MI, already printed in this Volume, p. 114.



or other valuable materials; and these were lighted every night. Of inhabited houses "the aggregate number amounted to eight thousand thousand three hundred and ninety-six."

و جمیع خانپای هشت بار هزار هزار و سصد و نود و شش که مردم می نشستند

Our author notices the frequent depopulation and ruin of this city by the sword and by earthquakes, (ان شهر بقتل عام و زلزله ویران شده) and its restoration and flourishing state until the time of CHENGIZ KHA'N "when seven hundred thousand respectable persons suffered martyrdom there" (40). He then celebrates the fertility of soil, and luxuriant crops, and admirable fruit with which God has favoured the land of *Rai*; but he abstains from further praises, fearing the charge of partiality towards his native city; but as good and evil may be found in all places, he acknowledges that the air and water of *Rai* were not reckoned salubrious; and that feverish agues prevailed there, but in a slight degree; he quotes some verses of KHA'KA'NI, and an anecdote relative to the unwholesomeness of *Rai*, borrowed from HAMDALLAH; and he defends the character of his compatriots from the accusations of that geographer and of others; and he concludes by informing us that his birth place having never recovered from the ruinous



The author هفتصد هزار نفر از مردم صاحب اعتبار بدرجه شهادت رسیده اند (40) probably exaggerates a massacre which deprived *Rai* of half its inhabitants in the year 1221, when the city was delivered up to CHENGIZ KHA'N's general by the *Shīfī* sect; and he put to death almost every person professing the *Hanīfī* doctrine, regarded by the other party as heretical.

visitation of CHENGIZ KHA'N's army, its rank as chief seat of government, had been divided between *Tehrán* and *Verámin*.

MI'RZA' SA'LEH in his brief MS. Journal, confesses that respecting the population of *Rai* much "has been said and "written not wholly free from the marvellous style; this place "was frequently thinned of its people by massacres and "overwhelmed by earthquakes, and became a scene of desolation, although it once contained sixty thousand thousand, and, six hundred and ninety-six inhabited houses"<sup>(41)</sup>.

But for allowing to this city a very ancient origin, the geographers can adduce most respectable authority. TABRI informs us that king JEMSHÍD having fled from the usurper ZOHAK was concealed at *Rai*; where also king MÍNU'CHEHR was born, as we learn from the same historian; these circumstances refer us to the eighth century before Christ. In the seventh we find AFRA'SIA'B with his Scythian or *Turanian* warriors invading Persia; and of various memorable transactions that occurred at this time, the scene is laid by FIRDÁUSI at or near *Rai*. In this city AFRA'SIA'B triumphant first assumed the imperial crown of Persia (كلاه کیانی بسر بر نهاد) as that poet says; and there he put to death his brother

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(41) و آبادی ری در آنجا گفته و نوشته اند که خالی از غارت نیست و ولایت مزبور چندین بار بقتل نام و زلزله خراب شده شصت هزار هزار و شش صد بود و شش خانه مسکون داشته

IGHRI'RETH (اغريرث) who had set at liberty some illustrious Persian captives, as we read in the MS. *Jamiau al hekáyât*. The works of FAZLALLAH CAZVI'NI, MI'RKHOND, his son KHONDEMI'R, SA'DEK ISFAH . 'NI and other historians make frequent mention of *Rai* in the accounts of this period. To trace through a long succession of ages all the events for which it has been remarkable would dilate this chapter to a disproportionate extent. It must, however, be observed, that of Alexander's visit to Rhages (commemorated by a Greek writer quoted in p. 176) the Persians have an ancient tradition, rendered imperishable by their famous poet NIZA'MI, who in the twelfth century composed his extraordinary *Secander námeh* or history of the Macedonian conqueror.

Some of the preceding pages have shown that whether denominated Arsacia, Europus, Rageia or *Rai*, this city was a favourite residence of the Parthian kings, and may have been considered as their capital. Here, according to TABRI (the oldest Persian historian whom I can quote), ASHAK, (اشك) or Arsaces, a descendant from Darius, collected an army, and assisted by those petty princes (above mentioned p. 179, note 28), who had started into power on the death of Alexander, turned his arms successfully against ANTAKHASH (انطخش) or Antiochus; and (about 256 years before Christ) was acknowledged by his numerous coadjutors, as their chief or sovereign, although each retained, independently, his territory and power with the title and semblance of royalty.

This recognition of supremacy justified the Parthian monarchs in assuming or reviving the lofty title "king of kings," which appears on pieces of money stamped for the Macedonian colonies of their empire, with Greek inscriptions, many being coined at Arsacia or *Rai*; from the mint of which city probably issued other pieces, better adapted, in their legends and symbolical devices, to circulate among the Persians; there are now in my collection some silver coins of this class found near the ruins of *Rai* whilst I resided in their vicinity<sup>(42)</sup>.

An extraordinary numismatical anecdote is involved in the history of this place and of a celebrated hero whom it produced; BAHRA'M (بهرام), called on account of his surprising strength, and the uprightness and *dryness* (or hardness) of his person, *chúbín* (چوبین), as if "formed of wood." He was descended, says TABRÍ "from the royal princes and chiefs of *Rai*, "and no man of his own time surpassed him in valour." The important services which as a general, he had rendered

(42) See two of these coins noticed in Vol. I. pp. 117, 285, 439; and delineated in the Misc. Pl. nos. 35 and 36. Two bronze coins, also of this class, from other collections, I have endeavoured to explain in a little essay before quoted, "Observations on some medals and gems," &c. (Sect. VII). Respecting the Arsacidan coins bearing Greek legends, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, "king of kings," &c. See Vailant's "Arsacidarum Imperium sive Regum Parthorum Historia ad fidem numismatum accommodata," &c. In saying that the Parthian monarchs revived a lofty title, I am authorized by Strabo (Lib. XV), who, describing the tomb of Cyrus, informs us that according to Onesicritus, it exhibited two inscriptions, one Greek the other Persian; both signifying "I, Cyrus, the king of kings, lie here;" *Ενθάδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κύρος βασιλεὺς βασιλευν*.

(in the sixth century of our era) to his sovereign HORMUZ (or Hormizdas) having been requited by insult, every soldier of his army felt and resented the injustice, and renounced their allegiance to the king, who resolved to send against them his son KHUSRAU (surnamed PARVIZ or APARVIZ). But the wily BAHRA'M contrived to set the prince at variance with his father; for having caused to be coined at *Rai* an hundred thousand *direms* (درم) or pieces of silver money, bearing the image and superscription of KHUSRAU, he gave them to some merchants, that they might be circulated at *Madaïen* (or *Ctesiphon*) where HORMUZ then resided, declaring that they had been struck by order of the young prince. This circumstance excited violently the rage of HORMUZ; as among royal privileges the right of coinage was guarded with most vigilant jealousy; and his son, although innocent, fled into *Azerbuijân*, and there took refuge in the great Fire-Temple. The money struck by BAHRA'M is very particularly described in some copies of TABRI's chronicle. Two, of the four which I possess, contain the following passage; "and BAHRA'M commanded that an hundred thousand *direms* should be coined at *Rai*, stamped  
 " with the figure of PARVIZ; and in the time of the ancient  
 " Persian kings, it was usual to inscribe on one side of a *dirém*,  
 " the king's name; as now, (among Mohammedans) the name of  
 " God, or of the prophet, is written on one side; and on the  
 " other, the title of the *Khalifah* or prince of the country;  
 " thus, among the heathen Persians, both faces of a coin exhibited the king's resemblance; one representing him seated

"on a throne, with the crown on his head; and he appeared  
 "on the other, mounted on horseback, holding a spear in his  
 "hand" (<sup>43</sup>). From the first sentence of a chapter relating  
 the history of BAHRA'M, we are justified in ascribing this  
 passage, not to TABRI himself, but to the learned *I'azir*, nearly  
 contemporary, by whom his chronicle was, fortunately, trans-  
 lated into Persian, the original Arabick being now supposed  
 to exist only in fragments (<sup>44</sup>); yet the description, although  
 seemingly very accurate, is in my opinion extremely doubt-  
 ful; as no coins of the Sassanian family have hitherto been  
 discovered to which we can by any means apply it. Few

(<sup>43</sup>) و بغرمزد تا بري اندر صد هزار درهم زدند و بريزرا نقش بر انجا کردند و  
 بوقت ملوک عجم رسم چنان بودي که بر یک روي درم نام ملک کردي چا که  
 اکنون بر روي درم نام نویسند و بر یک سوي نام خدای و دیگر نام پیغمبر و یک سو  
 نام خلیفه و امیر آن شهر بوقت عجم هر دو روي درم مسکرا گشته بودي از یک  
 طرف ملک بر تخت نشسته و تاج بر سر نهاده و از یک طرف ملک بر اسب  
 نشسته و نیزه بدست گرفته  
 MS. *Tarikh-i Tabri*.

This coinage of silver money in the prince's name, while his father was still living, is  
 noticed by NIZAM<sup>MS</sup> (درم را سکه زد بر نام پرویز) in his poem on the story of K. USRAU  
 and SHIRIN.

(") The chapter to which an allusion is here made, begins thus: "and MOHAMMED  
 "IBN JAFIR (surnamed TABRI) has not detailed the entire history of BAHRA'M  
 "CHUBIN; but I have found it completely written in the chronicles of the ancient  
 "Persians, and shall here relate it accordingly."

و محمد بن جریر حدیث پیرام چوبین تمام نگفته است و من بکتاب اخبار عجم  
 تمام یانتم بگویم

Numerous additions of this kind which occur in various parts of the work, give consi-  
 derable value to the Persian translation of TABRI's chronicle; yet a perfect copy of  
 the Arabick original would be a most important acquisition. BAHARA'M is called  
 Varamus by our historians.

Mohammedans, perhaps few Asiaticks, have ever devoted their attention to the minute ramifications of antiquarian research; and I think that this passage betrays a confusion of different medals belonging to the earlier dynasties. There is, however, a certain class of Persian *direms* more common than any other and very rudely executed, on one side exhibiting the head and name of KHUSRAU, (if many years ago in the Essay entitled "Observations on some Medals and Gems, &c. Sect. VI;" I deciphèred their inscriptions rightly); and on the reverse a fire-altar with two human figures as supporters; the device generally adopted by his ancestors. Several of these *direms*, procured in various towns of Persia, are now before me; and it is possible that one of two, (see Pl. LIX, figs. 1 and 2) found near *Baghdád* (not far from *Ctesiphon* or *Maduén*), and representing KHUSRAU as a young man, was among the hundred thousand spurious pieces struck at *Rai*; although it is probable that, as the prince ascended his father's throne soon after, he would be delineated with an appearance equally juvenile, on his own legitimate coin.

I return from this digression to observe, that *Rai* produced before the Arabian conquest, as we may reasonably believe (for it was long a royal residence) many celebrated kings and warriors besides MINUCHEHER and BAHRA'M, above mentioned; and among several districts in Persia claiming the honour of ZERA'TUSHT's or Zoroaster's birth, (more nume-

rous than those which in Greece contended for Homer's) *Rai* supports its pretensions on no feeble authority<sup>(\*)</sup>.

Even in the degenerate herd of its *Muselmán* citizens, some ingenious men have appeared whose names deserve a more particular notice than the extent or nature of this work will allow me to bestow; lawyers, poets, alchymists, astronomers, and physicians. I omit the whole mob of its *Mohammedan* saints, as they contributed little to the promotion either of literature or of science.

This place and its inhabitants have been by various writers made the subject of encomium and of satire, in prose and verse. The *Díván* of KHA'KA'NI (composed in the twelfth century) alludes to them very frequently; and contains one poem of more than twenty couplets, each ending with the name of this city. But the ancient celebrity of *Rai* has induced me to protract this chapter far beyond the limits originally prescribed.

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(\*) Anquetil du Perrou declares that "twenty different places contended for this glory;" "vingt endroits differens se disputent cette gloire," (*Vie de Zoroastre*, p. 5, in *Zendavesta* Tome 1. part. 2de). "ZERA'TUSHT was born, according to MOHSAN, "in the district of *Rai*;"—"the ritual introduced by ZERA'TUSHT a native of *Rai* in "Persia." See Sir William Jones's fifth and sixth anniversary discourses in the *Asiatick Researches*. MOHSAN, whom he quotes, (surnamed FA'NI فانی the evanescent or perishable) is generally regarded as author of that extraordinary work the *Dabistán* (دبستان), printed in the original Persian some years ago at Calcutta.



## CHAPTER XVII.

*Excursion to the Caspian Sea, through the province of Mázen-  
derán; and return to Tehrán.*

THE narrative of my travels must now be resumed; and I shall describe the particulars of a journey from *Tehrán* to the Caspian Sea. This was performed in the months of February and March, 1812, when I passed through *Fírúzkúh* and the forests of Hyrcania, to *Sári*, once the capital of that province and called by Arrian *Zadriacarta*; thence to *A'mul*, an ancient city of the *Tabri* or *Tabari*, a people whom we find mentioned by the Greek and Latin writers under the name of *Ταυροί* and *Tapyri*; and returned to *Tehrán* by a road as different from that by which I had gone, as the season and local circumstances would admit. One motive for undertaking this expedition was to procure for the Ambassador some information relative to certain matters connected with the objects of his mission; another was the prosecution of my own geographical and antiquarian researches. The *Mehmándár* appointed to accompany me on this occasion

was MÍ'RZA' SA'DEK (میرزا صادق), a young man of excellent character, very pleasing manners, and highly respectable rank; his father being *Fazír* to the prince MOHAMMED KULI MÍ'RZA' (محمد قلی میرزا) who governs *Mázenderán* (مازندران) the province through which I had long desired to travel. With him was associated in the appointment of *Mehmándár*, a king's officer named MU'LA' ABBA'S (مولا عباس), who, although advanced in years beyond the meridian of life, retained all the vivacity of youth; he was extremely facetious, yet regarded as a person of considerable sanctity; perfectly conversant with the *Korán* and (as the title *Mulá* generally signifies in Persia) capable of reading and speaking the original language of that sacred volume. But he possessed an accomplishment that promised to be, at least on this excursion, much more useful; a knowledge of the dialect most common in *Mázenderán*; this country he had before visited and was acquainted with many of the principal inhabitants of its different towns.

On the 19th of February, I set out about ten o'clock, and joined MÍ'RZA' SA'DEK and MU'LA' ABBA'S near the city gate called *Dervázeh-Sháh-Abd al Fazím*, the road through it leading directly to that place, which, as the last chapter has shown, is the only peopled remnant of ancient *Rai*. My servants were three in number, besides a muleteer; and nearly as many attended each of my two companions; so that our party consisted altogether of fourteen men, among whom several were well armed, and, (as on my journey from *Shiráz*.

to *Dárabgird*) I was the only European. For the direction of our march not only during this first stage, but also throughout the remainder of our expedition, my reader is, generally, referred to the map; constructed faithfully from the sketches and notes which I made each day as we rode along by means of a watch and pocket-compass; and accurately copied every night at the halting-place, adding such authentick information as could be obtained from natives.

Having passed through the gate before mentioned, we proceeded nearly two miles and a half, to the village of *Dúláb*; and advancing almost as much farther, passed the ruined castle of *Rai*, leaving it about a mile from us, on the right<sup>(1)</sup>. Half an hour after, or when two farsangs from *Teh-rán*, we ascended a slight eminence, and enjoyed an extensive view over the *Sahra* (صحرا) or plain, comprising various districts which constitute the *belúkât* (بلوکات) of *Verámín* (ورامین); and at



(1) It is probable that this village, *Dúláb* (دولاب), once formed part of the great metropolis *Rai*; but nearly eight hundred years ago it was regarded as distinct from that city. BAIHAKKI informs us that when the two *Emírs*, MASA'UD and MAH-MU'D "arrived at *Rai*, MAH-MU'D halted at *Dúláb*, on the road leading to *Tabristán*, "near the city (of *Rai*)."

و چون بری رسیدند امیر محمود بدولاب فرود آمد بر راه طبرستان نزدیک شهر  
This circumstance may be dated A. H. 415, A. D. 1024. See the MS. *Taríkh* or chronicle of ABU'L FAZL MOHAMMED IBN AL HUSEIN محمد بن الحسن ابوالفضل surnamed BAIHAKKI (بیہقی) from BAIHAK (بیہق) a district of *Khurásán*. His work is rare and valuable, affording many interesting anecdotes of SULTA'N MAH-MU'D, with whom the author was contemporary early in the eleventh century, and much curious geographical and miscellaneous information.

the distance of eight or ten miles the town itself, or seemingly a cluster of villages, so called. This name expresses something of plurality, and appears to have originally been *Verám*(?). Our road was now within four or five hundred yards of rocky mountains. At fifteen miles, I saw on the right some small villages; one, with a few trees, bore the name of *Máder-i Sháh Abbás* (مادر شاه عباس), or "the mother of king Abbas." At four o'clock we reached the *manzel*, a place called *Kebúd gumbéd* (کبود گنبد or *gumbez* as generally pronounced), having travelled six farsangs in as many hours; during which we crossed several cuts and streams of water. Beyond the hills, (not very lofty), that after the first three or four miles bordered our path towards the left, we could discern the more remote and immense range of *Alburz* covered with snow; this we had daily seen from *Tehrán*; it now appeared boundless and MU'LA' ABBA'S (who did not, I must remark, speak from his own observation) informed me that its chain was continued almost to *Bokhárá*. Our road was for the

(?) The MS. Dictionary *Jehángirí* (in voce) informs us that "*Verám*, according to the "author of a work entitled *Maagem*, is the name of a town belonging to the territory "of *Rai*; its inhabitants are of the *Shíah* sect; and it is most commonly denominated "*Verámin*."

ورام—ماحب معجم گفته که نام بلده ایست از ملک ری واهالی انجا شیعه مذهب باشند و آن بورامین اشتهار دارد

HAMDALLAH (in MS. *Nuḥat culúb*) places *Verámin* in long. 33, 25; lat. 36, 20. SA'DEK ISFAHÁ'NÍ (in his MS. *Takwim al beldán*) places it in long. 30, 40; and lat. 35, 30. Some persons from whom I inquired at *Tehrán*, considered *Verámin* as distant from that city, between five and six farsangs; and HAMDALLAH (a subve quoted in his chapter of roads and stages) places it at six farsangs from *Rai*.

greater part good and level, the last mile through the pebbly bed of the river *Jájerúd* (جارجرد); the country stony and barren; but according to report, the *belúkát* of *Verámin* comprehends many tracts valuable for richness and fertility of soil; and close to our halting-place were some large fields of young corn that promised well.

I was lodged in a clean and commodious room of the best house in *Kebéd gumbéd*; near it was the “Blue Tower,” from which this place derived its name, traditionally said to be one of the seven villas erected by BAHRÁ'M GU'R: but the verses of NIZA'MI, who celebrated those beautiful edifices, have not been able to save them from destruction; and of this, the *Azure Villa* or Blue Tower, as of the *red* and others already noticed, a few ruined walls, chiefly constructed of brick and clay, are now the only vestiges. Some old persons here who confidently described the building as *Mát-i-Gabrán* (مال گبران), or appertaining to the Fire-worshippers, recollected inscriptions visible thirty or forty years ago at that part which they distinguished by the title of *Kerendí Kháneh*, the (کرنه خانه) “Trumpet House,” or station of musicians; but from their account I had reason to suspect that those inscriptions were only Arabick in *Cúfi* letters, painted on tiles; other circumstances also, induced me to regard these walls as the remains of a structure perhaps not exceeding four or five centuries in antiquity. Out of respect, however, for local tradition, I sketched the ruins, as they are represented in Pl.

LXV (no 3), where the *Kerenái Kháneh* occupies the middle; some rude masses, composed of mud and bricks, remains probably of a castle, are situate on the right; and above them are seen two ranges of mountains; the more distant being covered with snow. On the left, the great plain of *Verámín*, bounds the horizon. I made this sketch from a spot near the *Caravanserá*, which is of stone, founded by SHA'H ABBA'S, but now falling to decay<sup>(\*)</sup>.

We set out on the 20th, from *Kebúd Gumbed*, at seven o'clock; and near it crossed many winding branches of the river *Jájerúd*, now an inconsiderable stream, and drains cut from it, both for the purposes of irrigation and of weakening its torrent, which is said, at some seasons, to overflow its usual limits and rush with dangerous impetuosity. Our road was without variation flat and dreary, bordered on the left hand by a series of rugged hills moderately high; over the summit of which we could in different places discern the majestic *Davávand*: on our right hand extended, as far as the sight could reach in a southern direction, the great *Sahrá* or plain of *Verámín*, presenting only the appearance of a few

(\*) Mr. Van Mierop, about the year 1743, halted "at the great caravanserai *Kebud Humbud*, near which is a lofty turret covered with glazed tiles." See the extracts from his journal in Hanway's Travels, Vol. 1. p. 357. I do not recollect any other European traveller who has visited this place. He describes it as *thirty five* miles from *Tahíran* (the number being printed in figures, probably mistaken for *twenty five*): and he only adds respecting it, that "the soil is indifferently fertile but not sufficiently watered."

poor scattered vilages at several miles distance : it seemed to be closed in and terminated eastward, by mountains which from both sides nearly join at *Aiwán-i-Keif* (ایوان کیف), where we alighted, after a ride of five farsangs, according to some, or as others reckoned it, six ; the journey of this morning was probably from twenty to one and twenty miles.

We met, about half way, thirteen or fourteen men and one woman, all on horseback returning from a religious visit to the tomb of IMA'M RÍZA' at *Meshehd*; they seemed gay and loquacious ; after some conversation my companions took leave of them with the benediction *ziáret-i-shumá mubárek báshed* (زیارت شما مبارک باشد) "may your pilgrimage prove auspicious!" On the road side was a large iron bomb-shell, said to have lain there since the time of NA'DIR SHA'H.

I was received near *Aiwán-i-Keif*, by the chief *Ked-Khudá* (كدخدا) or householder, and conducted to a room in the new castle ; where he and many other of the inhabitants very liberally bestowed on me as a *pishkash* or offering, not only their own habitations and families, but the whole village, and even the *belúkát* or district of *Verámín* ; they supplied me, meanwhile, very abundantly with eggs, milk, butter and excellent bread ; so that, having my own tea and sugar, I fared most sumptuously at breakfast. For dinner, also, they sent me a fine lamb, and two roasted fowls, covered with a pyramid of rice ; over this *pillaw* was spread some *rob-i-ánár*

or inspissated juice of pomegranates<sup>(4)</sup>. I was feasted too with delicious figs, and thoroughly warmed with a good fire, although fuel is here exceedingly scarce; the gardens which have all been recently planted, affording but few trees; and the country adjacent being altogether without wood.

This village is said to contain one hundred houses, and derives its name, according to the old *Ked Khudá's* account, from the *aiwan* (ایوان) or vaulted palace of KEIF (کینف), a hero who flourished during the *Caianian* dynasty; after a lapse of a thousand years this residence was converted into a strongly fortified castle, which after another thousand years yielded to the injuries of time, and now exhibits only ruined walls of brick and clay. The modern castle, of which I occupied a room, is small, and constructed chiefly of mud; in its inner court the *Ked Khudá*, at night-fall inclosed several cows and a great number of ewes with their young lambs; the joint property, I believe, of all the villagers. Those ewes were generally whitish or brownish, but almost every lamb was black; and within twenty or thirty years, since the *Kájar* family, (now royal) introduced the fashion of black *kuláhs* or caps, it has been an object to the shepherds and farmers

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(4) رب انار. From other fruits, from herbs, berries and flowers, the Persians compose by decoction various kinds of *shráb*, syrop, or *rob*; as appears from the *Pharmacopœia Persica* of the ingenious Father Angelo. See his prescriptions from no. 448 to 503, under the word *Scharab* شراب which signifies wine, a draught, a julep, or syrop; thus he explains *Scharab Ribas* by *Rob orypalati Persici* (no. 460). *Rob* is used in our own culinary and medicinal preparations.



that this colour should predominate among their flocks. From my chamber-door I sketched a part of the court, some walls and a *burge* or tower of this new castle; see Pl. LXV. The people here seemed to speak a kind of *Turki* or *Turcomán* dialect in preference to pure Persian; several, both men and women were wrapped in cloaks, chequered or cross-barred, with stripes, red, blue and green; such as resembled the *plaids* worn in Scotland; some young fellows during the warm hours of day, carried these garments twisted and carelessly thrown over their shoulders.

I now found it necessary for the conveyance of my *yekhdáns* (يخندان) or boxes, my bed and canteens, to hire two fresh mules; one of those which had attended me from *Tehrán* being unable to proceed on account of lameness; and the other evincing symptoms of weakness that proved it unfit for such an arduous undertaking as a journey through the forests of *Alázenderán* or Hyrcania. All here agreed in prognosticating various difficulties and even dangers which I should encounter on my expedition; they talked of the badness, and in some places the absolute want of roads: and one man eloquently concluded a long catalogue of obstacles by swearing, that he had seen when travelling the same course, nothing but “rocks  
“and narrow passes, thick woods, rivers and mountains,  
“snow and rain;” *sang u tang, u jungal, u áb u kúh, u barf*  
*u bārán* (سنگ و تنگ و جنگل و آب و کوه و برف و باران); “then the *bád*  
“*Fírúzkúh* (باد فیروزکوه) or “wind of *Fírúzkúh*” which is worse

“than all,” said another, “must not be forgotten; it has, this “very winter destroyed eleven persons.” So unfavourable a statement I attributed partly to the spirit of exaggeration universally prevalent among Persians; but there was reason to believe it, in many respects, too true. All apprehensions, however, of trouble or fatigue were lost in the pleasing consideration that I should most probably trace Alexander through *Sári*, *A'mul* and many other places; and that I had, perhaps, already advanced considerably on the same road by which Darius fled to the Caspian Straits, and Alexander marched, a few days after, when he pitched his camp in the vicinity of that celebrated pass; which as Arrian in a passage above quoted, (p. 176 n. 24), places so far from Rhages (or *Rai*) that to travel the intermediate space in one day, required more than ordinary expedition<sup>(\*)</sup>.

Leaving *Aiwân-i-Keif* at half past seven o'clock on the 21st, we found the water frozen in many places: the nights and mornings being still exceedingly cold, although the sun had acquired considerable power during four or five hours of each day. We crossed the deep river-bed near the town-walls and gardens, and at one mile ascended a high hill, winding by a very narrow and dangerous path, (resembling the sheep walks on our Welsh mountains) half way up its

(\*) So little is this tract of country known, yet so much of it may be considered as almost classic ground, that I am purposely minute in my account; and have given some delineations otherwise uninteresting.

steep side, from which we looked almost perpendicularly on the river below us on our left; until we descended, and again crossed it, after another mile. During the next farsang our road lay over hills and through chasms between mountains; at five miles we passed some fragments of a brick tower on our left; and at eight miles again crossed the river; we soon after discerned the old castle of *Zerabád* (زراباد); having sketched it (See Plate LXV), I went on to a verdant spot just beyond the ruins, where we halted half an hour and breakfasted under the only tree that this place afforded, and close to the castle-walls. Here I made a second sketch of its appearance, (Plate LXV). This edifice although not large was once probably strong, being situate on an abrupt and almost insulated rock; half of which is defended by the river winding at its foot; and from the other side, a wall, of which there are yet many vestiges, connected it with the adjacent hills; and thus formed a barrier across the intermediate pass. For two miles the river continued on our right; at the 12th we rode through it once more, and frequently after.

About fifteen or sixteen miles from *Aiwán-i-Keif* we came to *Sarúm* or *Sahrúm*, as the name was variously pronounced<sup>(\*)</sup>. This place offered an extraordinary and most beautiful land-



(\*) Or perhaps *Sahrún* as many called it; but none of my companions on this journey could undertake to spell the name; and a paper on which one of my Persian friends at *Tehrán* wrote it, I believe, correctly, has been rendered useless by an accidental stain. On this account, also, the name of *Keilán* or *Keilum* (my next stage) remains doubtfully expressed in our characters.

scape, of which the annexed view (See Pl. LXVI), although I sketched it with much accuracy, conveys but an inadequate idea: for it cannot do justice to the verdure and richness of the gardens, low grounds and fertile valley, that even at this unfavourable season presented a smiling prospect; and with the river gracefully winding through them and thickly planted on one bank with willows, poplars and others trees, formed an admirable contrast to the neighbouring and almost impending mountains, of which the barren sides appeared yellow and brownish, whilst their summits were white with snow. This village is situate on the slope of a hill, and its flat-roofed houses, at a distance seemed steps rising one above another. As we rode by, the chief, with several of his people came down from their exalted habitations, and welcomed me with a tray of fine apples as a *pishkash* or gift, besides an offer of the whole territory; notwithstanding this generosity, they were, I thought, rather pleased when the *mehmándár* declared his intention of conducting me a little further. We accordingly proceeded, about two miles and three quarters, among excellent gardens, crossing the river on horseback, during that short space, at least twenty times; and reached the *mansil* or halting-place, called *Keilún*, (See Plate LXVI), at half past one o'clock; our whole day's journey having been six *sarsangs*. Near this village we were received by the principal householders, and other inhabitants, who led me to a good room furnished with a handsome carpet.

Within a mile of *Keilun* we first found snow actually on our path; the winding stream, of which we had scarcely lost sight this day, ran towards *Aiwán-i-Keif*, and as usual in Persia, bore the name of those places through which it flowed; thus we heard it called the *rúd kháneh* (رودخانه) or river of *Zerábád*; afterwards of *Sarúm*, and here it was the *rúdkháneh-Keilún*. From our last *manzil* until close to *Sarúm*, a distance of fifteen or sixteen miles we saw not one inhabited house; nor any appearance of vegetation except at the green spot near *Zerábád* already mentioned; where also was the only tree visible during that space: after the first three miles our road was mostly good; but at some places lay through narrow gaps or passes between mountains. During the last ten or eleven miles the hills presented a succession of small pointed summits, yellow, and nearly equal in size; the general outline of their appearance is sketched in the Miscellaneous Plate, fig. 21. Among these hills and on our road we saw great numbers of *cabk* (کبک) or partridges. *Keilún*, like the neighbouring village, comprises many rows of houses, built on a rocky eminence, one above another; but in some points of view, the town, especially, when first seen from the southern road, resembles a fortress; as the sketch which I made in that direction will sufficiently show; expressing, however, but faintly, the natural beauties of this scene; its wooded valley; the river winding through it, and the lofty mountains on either side (Pl. LXVI). Many houses here seemed little more than excavations in the rock; their low small fronts only ap-

pearing; built up with brick or mud in a very simple fashion, thus [T]. But several other habitations were much more spacious and externally more handsome; with flat roofs, over the mud of which was spread a coat of *gil-i-sefid* (گل سفید) or "white clay" found near the town, and capable, as the inhabitants assured me, of keeping out rain or snow for a hundred years; this substance is very different from the *gatch* (گچ or pulverized alabaster) that has been already noticed. Of many houses the flat roofs served as terraces to those immediately above them; thus one projected several feet in front of my lodging on a level with the floor; and below it were two other rows of similar buildings; whilst I was disturbed at night, by various noises of little children crying, mothers or nurses soothing them to sleep, and dogs barking, all in a house of the row over that which I occupied. This place is remarkable for fine honey; the cows here appeared to me equally large as any that I had seen in England; and the cloaks resembling Scotch *plaids* were no less common at *Keilun* than at *Aiwán-i-Keif*, especially among the women.

Soon after our arrival I received a polite message from the two sons of *ASHREF KHA'N* (آشرف خان), governor of *Damívand* (a city four farsangs distant); expressing their intention of paying me a visit in the evening; they sent, meanwhile, as a present, some partridges and a fine *ahú* or antelope, killed during their morning's chase. About six o'clock those young men, *AGHA' BUZURG* (آغا بزرگ or آقا) and *AGHA' KHA'N* (آغا خان),

attended by many servants, came to my room, and remained half an hour, conversing very agreeably and giving me information respecting *Damávánd*, which made me resolve, if possible, to visit it on my return.

Although we left *Keilún* early on the 22d, great crowds of the inhabitants assembled to see a *Farangki*, and it is probable that no European had before travelled through this place; yet they offered no incivility, but gratified their curiosity with less rudeness than one of them, perhaps, would have experienced in passing through some of our country towns. Neither *MI'RZA' SA'DEK*, *MU'LA' ABBA'S*, nor any of their servants, nor of mine, had ever been here; we found it necessary therefore, (as at *Aiwán-i-Keif*) to hire a guide; and if my account of the last day's stage, of the present, and the next, should abound more in minute detail than in amusing anecdotes, the reader will excuse me as describing what I conceive to be new ground; and much of it interesting, at least to geographers and antiquaries, as connected with those remarkable straits or defiles, called by Greek and Latin writers the "Caspian gates;" and perhaps forming part of them.

Setting out from *Keilún* we went back one mile of our last day's journey; then observing a course nearly eastern, proceeded along a valley between two ranges of hills; at five miles we advanced towards the north east; at seven miles eastward, and crossed a river-bed several times; this ride was

wearisome beyond all description; the road rough and bad, wet from snow lately dissolved; and very narrow, being confined by barren mountains, except at the fourteenth mile where the valley widened a little, and at the sixteenth where it expanded into a plain of half a farsang in diameter. Going still eastward we were surprised by the appearance of mountains both on right and left of which the summits and sides naturally of a sandy clay, were corroded and indented by time and the weather into various forms of decayed buildings; and without actual examination I should have doubted whether they were not real towers, battlements, pinnacles, gateways and other parts of a strongly fortified castle. As we rode through the valley among them I made one sketch; but having passed the imaginary ruin situate on our left (see pl. LXVII) we turned suddenly, at the seventeenth mile (according to my calculation) towards the north; and soon after towards the north-east. Still the mountain exhibited an appearance of edifices, even to its foundation in the river bed, which here contained a rapid and copious stream. But the prospect was altogether so complicated and extraordinary, and my hands so benumbed with cold, that I endeavoured in vain to delineate it; and the reader must fancy those steep mountains, with their architectural forms, rising from each side of the river to the sky; and in some points of view, looking as if they had closed every outlet except the river-bed, which, from the body of water violently running in it, threatened to obstruct our farther progress. A path however there



was, which led us northward, and another apparently narrower and worse, branched off in the opposite direction as far as rocks and mountains would allow me to see. This, I thought it possible, may have been the way by which Pietro della Valle and his fair companion, Signora Maani, almost two centuries ago, emerged from their difficulties in the *profonda & angustissima valle*, perhaps unconscious that they had passed through one extremity, at least, of the *Pylæ Caspicæ*; or as Sir Thomas Herbert, who travelled the same stage a few years after, confidently styles it, the *Caspian Strait*(?) We proceeded five or six miles and terminated our most dreary march at *Delichûi* (دلی چایی); a small castle newly erected, and so called (in the *Turki* dialect) from "the mad or furious stream," that rushes near it; the distance from *Keilûn* may be estimated at twenty-four or twenty-five miles; and in this space between one *manzil* and the other, we saw neither a tree, nor a house, not a beast except the mules and horses belonging to ourselves; nor a human being besides the men of our own company.

I was most kindly received by the lord of this castle, a highland chief, named ABDILLAH KHAN (عبدالله خان) whose wife's sister had been married to MI'RZA' SHEFIA the prime minister. ABDILLAH was conversing with me at the door, when a young man, his nephew, returned from a hunting-party,

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(?) See the "Viaggi di P. della Valle;" (lettera 4 da Ferhabad, 1618); and Herbert's *Travels*, p. 180, (3d. edit. 1685).

accompanied by several peasants and dogs; having alighted from his horse, he stood before the chief in a respectful attitude, placed his hands across his breast, and made a low bow, but did not presume to speak. The uncle welcomed him with a gracious inclination of the head, and desired that whatever game he had brought home might be immediately delivered to me. The young sportsman retired with the same respectful silence, and in a few minutes, several partridges, and an antelope, were laid on the floor of my chamber by his attendants. The *Khán* sent to me with these, a tray of excellent fruit. But his highland hospitality did not end here; lamenting that earlier notice of my coming had not been communicated, which would have enabled him to provide more ample entertainment, he overwhelmed me with a variety of dainties, prepared in the best style of Persian cookery; lamb, fowls, *pilaw*, *chilaw*, exquisite sherbet and admirable grapes. I was lodged in a neat and commodious room of the new castle, near which were some ruined houses; and a few cottages lately built, and chiefly occupied by the tenants and farmers of ABDILLAH KHA'N. The night being exceedingly cold, fires were kindled to warm us; but as the wood was not perfectly dry, my companions and myself, who had travelled all day in the glare of snow, felt our eyes most unpleasantly affected by the smoke.

From *Delichái* we set out on the 23d, at seven o'clock, having waited some time ready to mount our horses, in ex-

pectation that the morning might prove fair; but there was incessant rain or snow during our ride of two hours, by a very bad road to (حبه رود) *Hablahrúd*, or *Havlahrúd*, distant about seven miles in a north-eastern course. Here a river, now considerable, though not quarter full, divided the town, or large village, into two parts. The castle finely placed on a hill, and many extensive gardens, among which the river winded in various inflexions, must render this place beautiful during summer; but so unfavourable was the weather, that I could scarcely view, much less delineate, any object; my inner clothes were wetted through a thick *bárání* (بارانی) or "rain-coat;" and as the snow and sleet threatened to fall still more abundantly, it was unnecessary to dry them. We halted however, in a mean house, glad even of temporary shelter, and breakfasted most uncomfortably and scantily on cold boiled rice, bread and bad coffee; after which we proceeded in the direction, chiefly, of north-east. I saw on the right, at one mile and a half from *Hablahrúd*, a village of which the name is obliterated in my journal; and another called *Manún*, on the same side, about six miles before we alighted at *Firúzkúh*, or as the inhabitants pronounced its name, *Pirúzkúh*; reckoned four farsangs distant from *Hablahrúd*, and six from *Delíchái*; in all about twenty, or one and twenty miles; but if measured by our fatigue, appetite and impatience, more than three ordinary stages. For we suffered not only from snow and hail constantly succeeding each other in alternate showers, but from a piercing wind; and our path was generally, either

on the steep sides and very edges of hills, and not above thirteen or fourteen inches wide; or else it led us along a narrow valley between stupendous rocks and mountains. The remarkable appearance of one *tang* or narrow defile through which we rode (about five miles from *Firúzkuh*), induced me to undertake a view; but the cold which almost disabled my hands from holding a pencil, and the wet which fell upon my paper, barely allowed me to make even the little sketch given in Pl. LXVII<sup>(a)</sup>. During most part of this day's journey the river was on our right; and at a better season must have contributed to embellish the scenery, which even now, afforded many views of much grandeur and sublimity.

Having arrived at *Firúzkuh*, I was conducted to a good room of moderate dimensions; it was perfectly unornamented and unfurnished, and being adapted rather for summer than for winter, received through its various doors and windows more cool air than was necessary or desirable, and I found it difficult to counteract the freezing ventilation by kindling an ample fire. My dinner consisted of *cabáb* (كباب small roasted slices) of mutton; exceedingly good, although

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(<sup>a</sup>) This shows the chasm between two mountains, which, nearly meeting at the bottom, form a channel for the river, while in the back ground some lofty hills, not very remote, so fill the intermediate space, that the prospect seems closed, and a traveller might almost doubt the possibility of advancing, did not the precipice on one side exhibit a dangerous path; rugged, and in breadth not capable of admitting two horses abreast. This sketch was taken after we had passed the *tang* and descended by the path which I have just described.

minded me of FIRDAUSI'S lines, which, in another place, I shall take an opportunity of quoting. A different subject of conversation was the dreadful *bád i Firúzkuh*, or "wind of *"Firúzkuh,"* which many old persons here, conversant with the stars, clouds and other signs, had prognosticated would blow the two next days. Should this happen, (the chief declared), any attempt to cross the *Sahrá-i-Gadúk*, or "plain *"of Gadúk,"* although not much more than three farsangs broad, would expose myself and my companions, our horses and mules, to the utmost danger. He then related many alarming anecdotes, and they were loudly confirmed by the other visitors, concerning this formidable "*Wind of Firúzkuh,"*" which either buried unfortunate travellers in mountains of snow, or by its excessive coldness deprived them of existence; for, as one man affirmed with an oath, "*jigger páreh kerd,"*" (جگر پاره كرد) "it cut the liver in pieces." On this account, added he, the illustrious SHA'II ABBA'S, careful of his subject's lives, caused to be erected on the dreary plain, several *caravanse-rás*, at regular intervals, that those surprised by the wind or suddenly benumbed, might have an opportunity of saving themselves; but so violent often was its effect, that three years ago, a wretched *káterji* or muleteer, who, when stricken by the blast, had through great exertions arrived within a few yards of the principal *caravansera* door, fell down exhausted, and never rose<sup>(10)</sup>. Other stories as little exhilarating were

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(10) But a whole company was not less liable to destruction on this fatal plain, than a solitary wanderer. Many persons now residing at *Firúzkuh* remembered a troop of

told and attested, by the chief and his friends, who took their leave, consoling me, however, with a reflection in the truth of which I readily acquiesced, "that the fate of man is in the hands of God." I had heard at *Tehrán* that the "wind of *Firúzkuh*" sometimes proved destructive both to human creatures and to beasts; but the same was related of the *Shahryár* blast, (already mentioned), and other local winds in different parts of Persia. I allowed, also, as usual, something for exaggeration in the reports; and had dismissed all apprehensions on the subject, when a messenger arrived from the considerate chief, informing me that one very sagacious star-gazer had pronounced the appearances of this evening auspicious to my next day's journey. Not wholly disregarding this assurance, warmed by a good fire, and refreshed by tea, a beverage which most Englishmen, (and according to the extent of my observation, most other men) find grateful and salutary after fatigue, I arranged the sketches and transcribed into my journal various loose notes taken during the last three stages; connecting also the tracks of each day's course into a regular form. Then spreading before me several maps of various merits and degrees of authority, I endeavoured by their means, and by some passages extracted from

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fifty *Turcománs*, all young and active, in high spirits and mounted on excellent horses; braving rashly every danger forboded by the observers of celestial signs, they attempted, one boisterous morning, to pass over from this town into *Mázenderán*; but all perished in the snow except three or four; and these lived only to reach the farthest *caravansero*, and there expired.

the works of many celebrated geographers, compared with the result of my own personal observations and verbal information communicated by intelligent persons, to fix the site of that extraordinary chasm or valley which ancient writers denominated the "Caspian Gates," and used as a central point in their Asiatick itinerary measures. Though a geographical object of such importance, the particular spot on which an ancient geographer, measuring from those "Caspian Gates," would place the foot of his compass, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. It is, however, generally supposed, that a narrow pass near *Khuár* (خوار) formed the southern extremity of that valley or defile called the "*Pylæ Caspiæ*;" and this, according to some, terminated northwards at *Firúzkuh*, where I undertook an enquiry of which the result shall be given in the Appendix. Meanwhile I shall here remark, that placing the lower or southern entrance of the Caspian Strait near *Khuár* or *Mahillabágh*, and the northern at *Firúzkuh* (as the ingenious and learned Baron de Ste. Croix seems perfectly justified in supposing it) we describe a valley corresponding sufficiently to the extent allowed by Pliny, and to the direction given by Dionysius, with as much accuracy as can reasonably be expected from a poetical geographer: and if Herbert, erroneously quoting (no doubt from memory) that expression by which Pliny represents the *Caucasian* gates or pass, ("*ingens naturæ opus*,") has applied it with justice to the southern portion of our *Caspian* Strait, I scarcely hesitate to borrow

those words, and entitle the vast mountain or rock that so magnificently terminates this valley at its northern extremity, "a stupendous work of nature." The view which I made (See plate LXVIII) on my return from the *Mázenderán* side, gives, however accurate, but a faint idea of its majestick sublimity. It is unnecessary to anticipate further the subject of those *Pylæ Caspiæ*; but again referring my reader to the Appendix, I shall state respecting *Firúzkuh*, all that the snow and rain, the violent wind and excessive cold which alternately prevailed there, both during my first and second visit, would allow me to observe.

Of the town, which did not appear very large, some houses were situate below the mountain; others covering its steep side to a considerable height, rising one above another. The castle, in former times reputed exceedingly strong, had already fallen to decay early in the seventeenth century, and has not, as I understood, been ever since repaired. The house allotted for my accommodation was apparently the best that *Firúzkuh* afforded, and perhaps the only *emáret* (عمارة) or regular building; the others being small habitations mostly constructed of mud. The king on his hunting parties and excursions into *Mázenderán* had frequently occupied it, Although the principal room seemed to have been recently plastered, and covered with a ceiling of fresh poplar-trunks, stripped of the bark and laid close together, yet it probably was the same (noticed by Sir Thomas Herbert) in which



SHA'H ABBA'S lodged occasionally about two hundred years ago. The windows overlooked a precipice, so nearly perpendicular, that a stone slightly projected from them, would, I think, have rolled into the river flowing at its base. Of this stream the banks exhibited a scanty row of willows and poplars, and the adjoining gardens contained some others; the only trees visible for many miles, yet not so numerous as to contradict materially the account of this place, written in the fourteenth century by HAMDALLAH; although in the seventeenth it appears to have been well wooded. That celebrated geographer notices *Firúzkúh*, which the inhabitants consider as the last town of Persian *Irák*, not in the second chapter of his *Nozahat ul Culúb* which relates to that province, but in the nineteenth, among various cities and districts of *Kúmish* the ancient *Comisene*, and *Tabristán*, the country of the *Tapuri*<sup>(1)</sup>. He informs us that the climate of *Firúzkúh* is cold, and the place without trees; but that it yields to those who cultivate corn, very abundant and profitable harvests; and that the stream which waters *Khuár* flows from the castle and village of *Firúzkúh*. مردسیرست و در آن درخت نمی باشد و غلات بسیار زراعت میکنند و حاصل نیکو دارد و آب خوار از آن قلعه و ده میگذرد Close to the town are many natural caverns in the rock;

(1) The nine places described in this chapter (of *Kúmish* قومش and *Tabristán* طبرستان) are *Khuár* (خوار), *Dámghán* (دامغان), *Semnán* (سمنان), *Bestám* (بسطام), *Gird Kúh* (گردکوه), *Firúzkúh* (فیروزکوه), *Damávand* (دماوند), *Kherím* (خریم) or as in some copies, *Ferím* or *Perím*) and *Kharkán* (خرکان).

to these the inhabitants have affixed doors, and use them, during severe weather as stables for their cattle. In the sketch taken as I returned from *Mázenderán*, the houses appear chiefly built on that side of the rock which faces the north and north-east; and by which the road had led us from *Hablahrúd*. When going afterwards to *Damávand* we passed the mountain of *Firúzkuh* on the other side, in a direction which the map will best express<sup>(12)</sup>.

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(12) Herbert, in 1627, came from *Halvary*, (as he erroneously writes the name of *Hablehrúd* or *Hablehrúd*) to this place which he styles "*Periscow*, i. e. a broken "or divided mountain; and by the position thereof may probably be the issue "of that which Ptolemy calls *Arattis*. The town is sometimes honoured with the "king's residence; not that the beauty of his house (which is but ordinary) allures him, "but for that there is choice hawking, pheasants and other game, more abounding here "than in most other parts of Parthia. The pole is here elevated six and thirty de- "grees. The town is refreshed with very sweet water; the situation is upon the brow "of a high, well-wooded, but (agreeable to its name) divided hill, having on each side "a steep access, whose top has been crowned with a large castle, which now by age "or war, (the canker-worms of all temporaries) is moth eaten; her ribs only appear, "expressing desolation;" (Trav. p. 161, 3d. edit.) I have copied this description that the reader may compare it with my sketch (Pl. LXVIII), and to correct Herbert's explanation of the name which is compounded of *Pirúz* (پروز) now generally written *Firúz*, signifying prosperous, victorious, happy, &c. and *kūh* or *Cūh* (کوه) a mountain. *Pirúz* is also a proper name; the Persian king *PEROZES* (Περύσης) who reigned in the fifth century, is noticed by the Greek historians, Procopius, Agathias, &c. Some have imagined that this mountain derived its name from the turquoise, *Pirúzek* or *Firúzek*; but I could not learn that any had been found there. Della Valle adopting the epithet above-mentioned renders *Firúz kūh* "*Vittorioso Monte*," (Lett. 4, da Ferhabad); but some Persians trace its denomination to an ancient monarch or a hero, the son, as one person assured me, of Alexander. The castle of *Firúzkuh* was taken by *TAIMUR* in May, 1404; and the siege is described by *SHERIF AD'DIN ALI* in the sixth book (ch. 20) of his *Tarikh* or chronicle which Petis de la Croix has translated under the title of "*Histoire de Timur Bec*;" to the excellence of this French version I can bear witness, having collated numerous passages with the original Persian text. Here the castle of *Firúzkuh* is represented as one of the strongest, most inac-

I now return to my chamber, where, soon after nightfall information was brought, that two *châr-wâdârs*<sup>(15)</sup> had just arrived: each conducting a *kâfilah* of mules laden with goods on their way towards the north; that both those men were perfectly acquainted with the signs which indicated vicissitudes of weather, had often passed the dangerous plain of *Gadûk*; and that I might rely implicitly on their judgment, and regulate my plan next morning, according to their determination of halting or proceeding. The night was so intensely cold that I could scarcely sleep; water left in a tin kettle, and in a leathern *mattarreh* was frozen; and some tea-leaves in a basin were indurated into a concretion of ice. At day-break on the twenty-fourth my servant announced that the two *châr-wâdârs* had declared the morning to be unfavourable, and that they would not venture to commence the journey for at least three or four hours. I indulged myself, mean time, with a luxurious breakfast; the old *Zâbet* having furnished in great profusion fine bread, fresh eggs, and ex-

cessible and celebrated fortresses; constructed on the brow of a very lofty mountain;   
 ار نلاع که بمزید مذاعت و مکھمی مشهورست و وصف ان در کتب تواریخ مسطورست  
 , مذکور قلعه فیروزکوهست که بر فراز کوهی عالی ساخته اند  
 In the garrison were  
 three hundred *Mâzenderâni* soldiers resembling *Dives*, or gigantic daemons; but here we may translate *Dive*, a valiant warrior,  
 as the MS. *Jehângîrî*, the *Burhân Kâtea* and other Dictionaries authorize.

(15) *Châr-wâ* (چاروا) is equivalent to *châr-pâ* (چهارپا for *chekhârpâ*) any thing four footed; especially quadrupeds on which men ride, as the Dict. *Burhân Kâtea* explains it. *Dâr* (دار) signifies a possessor, holder, &c. thus *châr-wâdâr* is the person who owns or superintends the horses, camels, mules or asses of a *kâfilah* or *sâravâp*.

cellent honey. Before nine o'clock a difference of opinion arose between the *chárwádárs*; one would not risque his own life nor the safety of his mules, and determined, therefore, to remain at *Firúzkhúh*. The other more bold, or perhaps, more experienced, discovered, notwithstanding the coldness and violence of the wind, such appearances among the clouds as encouraged him to proceed. Of his sincerity we could not possibly entertain a suspicion, for he immediately set out, having previously told me that no danger from the wind was to be apprehended but on the open plain; "which," added he, "extends only three farsangs; and if you follow my example "I can foretell that, (*inshá-allah* (ان شاء الله), "should it please "God!") you'll arrive without injury at the first *jangal* or "forest of *Mázenderán*." But my companions were not easily persuaded to leave the *manzil*; and it was past ten o'clock before I had prevailed on them to mount their horses. A trifling incident, however, reconciled them to the undertaking; for one of our servants, as we entered on the plain, happened to espy a *rúbáh* or fox, and this, he said, as all the world knew, was considered an auspicious omen for persons beginning their day's journey.

Leaving our baggage to follow at leisure, and galloping with as much speed as clouds of the coldest sleet blown violently and directly into our faces, would permit, we soon overtook and passed the *chárwádár*, with his loaded mules, struggling through a wide expanse of deep snow, such as Pietro

della Valle had found in the same place; (“*Partiti da Firúz-kúh caminammo trè leghe per altissime nevi*, Lett. 4”). About the fifth mile we halted a few minutes under the dreary vaults of a decayed *caravanserá*, where the half-putrid carcasses of three or four horses much gnawed by jackals, were most abominably offensive both from their smell and appearance; yet in a recess of this gloomy and filthy building, several of my party were much inclined to await a change of weather, depending on the precarious supply of food which our muleteers might bring from *Firúz-kúh*. I resolved however to go forward; disgusted with the *caravanserá* and not exactly knowing the real extent of our danger; for it is certain, as many have since assured me, that in consequence of even a slight deviation from the proper course, we might have plunged without any probability of extrication, into hollows filled with snow; and this was a hazard independent of the cutting wind. After another wearisome gallop, yet very slow progress of five or six miles, we arrived at the *Caravanserá-i-Gadúk*, of which, notwithstanding the cold, I contrived to make a sketch (See Pl. LXIX); and visited the adjacent bath, said to have been frequently used by SHÁH ABDA’S; here we rested half an hour, congratulating ourselves on having passed, safely, though unpleasantly, over the three farsangs of this plain, which seems a kind of neutral, unappropriated territory; for some reckoned it in *Irák*, and others in *Mázenderán*. The borders however, of this province, are, I think, ascertained by nature, which has marked them with a multiplicity of

trees, while on the bleak and naked plain adjoining towards the south, none probably have ever grown. We proceeded half a mile from the *caravanserá*, and by a slight descent, immediately entered the first *jangal* or forest of Hyrcania; for this name, has been applied to an extent of country far beyond the district called *Gurgán* or *Gurkán* (گورگان), whence, without doubt, the Greeks formed it as D'Anville has ingeniously suggested. Our road was now over steep mountains, or in the very bed of a river flowing between them, and often so filled with the stones rolled down by torrents that it proved extremely difficult for a horse to proceed, and for the rider to prevent falling; with one hand managing the reins, whilst the other was engaged in guarding his face from the boughs of trees that hung across the path. On both sides the hills and rocks were magnificently wooded, and presented, even at this season, a beautiful appearance: for the snow resting lightly on myriads of branches seemed to have clothed the mountains, from the lowest valley to the skies, in plumage the most white, most pure and downy. After a toilsome ride of seven or eight miles we halted under some stupendous rocks to view the *Kháneh-i-Dív-i-Sefíd* (خانه دیو سفید), or favourite "residence of the White Giant;" for this celebrated Dæmon had other places of abode in *Mázenderán*; it was evidently a natural cavern high upon the mountain. "From this spot," said our guide, "the Giant having heard of Ru'stam's approach, fled towards the Caspian Sea." Near the father's den was another, called the *Kháneh-i-dukhter-i-Dív* (خانه دختر دیو)

Our halting place was distinguished from a hamlet called also *Táleh*, (both in the district of *Suvád Káh* سراد کوه), by adding to its name *Rúdbár*; one of the various words employed to express a river, or a place through which flow copious streams. It comprised but three or four dwellings and they were of the meanest kind. To the structure denominated a *caráván-será*, I know not what degree of fatigue could possibly have reconciled an European; its walls were barely four feet and a half high; rudely constructed of stones and clay; and admitting the wind at various crevices; the snow and rain had lately fallen through some considerable apertures in the flat roof, and the earthen floor was covered with wet mud to the depth of several inches; some large stones, however, were brought, and for about ten minutes served me as a seat; but I found it as impossible to sit here with comfort as to stand; and declared aloud that my situation had become intolerably irksome. The *Mehmándár* soon after conducted me to a habitation comparatively excellent; for a man of moderate height, wearing his Persian cap, might move in it upright; and the floor was dry; this mansion belonged to the *naal-band* نعلبند or farrier, who, though a native of *Dámghán*, had resided many years at *Táleh*, supplying shoes for mules and horses; he had cleared and swept for me the best corner of his house (for it formed but one room and in this was the forge); he then spread a mat and half-worn carpet near the fire; and seeing me contentedly seated and pleased with his civility, the poor man repeated two or three times the *manzil mubárek*, or felicitation

on arriving at a new lodging; he requested that I should consider myself master of the house, of the forge, and of himself; and he despatched in search of provisions, some young men who appeared from the indication of a sable tinge to have assisted in his evening labours at the anvil. Eggs, bread and rice were soon procured, and greedily devoured; but I lay down to sleep lamenting that my baggage had not yet overtaken us, as much from the desire of refreshing myself with wine or tea, as from a wish to exchange my wet clothes for dry. Having slept two or three hours I was awakened by the loud snoring of several men, who, although they had not encroached on my carpet were stretched close to it near the hearth, each wrapped in a *pústin* (پوستین), or great-coat made of skins; which from the warmth, began now to fill the place with a rank and sickening smell. The *naul-band* had just heaped on fresh fuel and the wood being moist nearly blinded and half-suffocated me with its smoke; the fleas, too, of which there seemed to be thousands, tormented me incessantly, and banished all hopes of further repose. Thus circumstanced I lay till morning; having by the fire-light, observed among the various articles that furnished this Hyrcanian abode, three long match-lock muskets, hung up against the wall; with powder-horns and parcels of bullets; whole rows of different-sized horse shoes; the hammers, pincers and other tools necessary to a farrier; many large bags of rice; a cock with some hens; and a playful kitten that often frolicked about my head, and seated herself on my legs or shoulders.



When day appeared through an hole in the ill-thatched roof, serving both as chimney and window, I arose and had the satisfaction to find my clothes perfectly dried. Soon after I received a visit from MÍRZA' A'LÍ MUHAMMED (میرزا علی محمد), a chief of the *Suvád Kúh* (سواد کوه) district, which begins at the first *jangal* or forest near the *Gadúk* caravansera, and extends in a northern direction beyond *Zíráb*. He brought with him a *púshkash* or present consisting of grapes and pomegranates; a lamb, five or six *cabks* or partridges, and a pheasant; besides an ample and well dressed dish of *pilaw*.

Having waited (on the 25th) until nine o'clock in expectation of the muleteers, and beginning to apprehend that some accident had befallen them and our baggage on the plain of *Gadúk*, we prepared to mount our horses just as they arrived. We heard of their miraculous escapes in the snow; of their losing themselves in the forest; and above all of their excessive hunger; this I enabled them to satisfy through the bounty of my new acquaintance the *Mázenderáni* chief, who afterwards accompanied us on the road, not only acting as our guide, where without one equally experienced it would have been impossible to find the way, but evincing on every occasion the most polite attention. Before we left *Táleh Rúlbár* I sketched the forge; the smaller hovel adjoining, used as a stable; the fertile valley wherein are seen\* two buildings or frames constructed of wood, on which rice-straw is stacked and preserved; with the magnificently wooded mountains that enclose the valley (See Plate LXX).

From *Táleh* we proceeded six or seven miles; then forded the river just below a bridge, part of which having fallen, had never been repaired; this is called *Púl-i-sefid* (پل سفید) or “the white bridge.” From a hovel formed of branches and mud, covered with leaves and straw, and styled a *cáravánsérá*, I made the view engraved in Plate LXVIII, representing the bridge; the road leading towards it from *Táleh* and those lofty, wooded hills among which the river beautifully winds. We advanced from this spot about one mile and a half, when I turned off the path three or four hundred yards to view the *Tárikh sang* (تاریخ سنگ), or “stone of the epoch or date;” a sculptured monument of which some peasants had given me an account. It stands on the *kheyábán* (خیابان) or causeway, once a broad and excellently paved road leading to *Sárá* in a straight a direction as the inflexions of the river and natural asperities and inequalities of the country would admit; but now so ruined that a traveller can derive from it but little benefit. This *Tárikh Sang* is a natural rock, sixteen or seventeen feet high, smoothed on the outer face, and rudely carved in lines and squares as I have delineated in Plate LXVII. It contained a short inscription nearly obliterated; said to commemorate SHA’H ABBA’S construction of the causeway; and the word *sench* سنه or year, forming part of the date, seemed to confirm this report; and, at least, by its *taalik* form (سنة) to prove the sculpture of no very remote antiquity. We descended into the flat grounds, riding across the river in many of its windings; forcing our way through the forest,

or scrambling over hills by most steep and rugged paths; at four miles beyond the sculptured stone, MI'RZA' A'LI MUHAMMED pointed out a mountain on the left, where, according to popular tradition, RUSTAM first encountered the DI'V-I-SIFI'D, who having been defeated, fled towards *Amul*. MI'RZA' ALI took this opportunity of explaining what he himself thought respecting the *Dives*, and the opinion of all intelligent persons with whom he had spoken on that subject<sup>(15)</sup>. During the pleasant and instructive conversation of MI'RZA' A'LI, I felt but slightly the fatigues of our morning's ride, which terminated at *Ziráb* (زیراب); after a stage generally reckoned of four farsangs; but it almost baffled my calculation by the intricacies and difficulties of the rugged path which led us

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(15) Under various names, such as *Div-i-Sefid*, the "white giant or dæmon;" *Div-i-Surkh*, the "red Div;" *Div-i-Aulád*, *Div-i-Arzhent* and others, were designated certain powerful chieftains, *Marzbáns* or "lords of the marches" in this province, who long refused to acknowledge themselves the subjects of any Persian monarch, but were after many combats overpowered by a general called RUSTAM. From the colour of their hair, or complexion, or some other personal circumstance, they derived the titles or epithets serving to distinguish them; and from the skins of wild beasts in which they were clothed, and their excessive cruelty towards invaders, these described them, as monsters having tails, and armed with horns, fangs and talons; thus we find them now represented in the pictures that ornament romances. It is, however, most probable, that those chiefs occasionally dwelt in caverns among the rocks as places of security; and that battles had been fought on those spots still indicated by tradition. I shall, in the course of this volume endeavour to prove, (if such a matter be capable of proof) that although *Mázenderán* was not perhaps the peculiar country, yet it appears to have been a favourite and original residence, of the *Dives*; and that two very ingenious European travellers must have been deceived by the name of *Kalas Sefid* or the "white castle" in *Fárs*, when they supposed it to have been an ancient habitation of the "White Giant." See a note on *Marzbán* in the Appendix, last Article,

up and down steep hills; through chasms between rocks, across the river *Tálár*, (now broad and rapid, but often very considerable) at least twenty times; among trees where a passage could seldom be found for two persons abreast; and frequently in morasses where our horses sunk to the saddle-girths at every step.

Having alighted at *Ziráb* I was conducted to a wooden *emâret* or structure, situate on a rising ground, but by no means the more reconcileable with my notions of comfort, because the king had occupied it on his summer excursions; for the trunks of trees which formed the walls of its only room, did not meet each other at any part within a hand's breadth; and the roof made of leaves laid on branches (both now almost rotten) was so open that the rain and snow had rendered the floor a puddle three inches deep. From this I looked with longing eyes on a neat and compact edifice among some trees below me; and hinted at the superior accommodation which, apparently, it might afford; but I relinquished all hopes of lodging there when my servants informed me that the building had been lately erected in honour of A'BU' TA'LEB (أبو طالب), a holy *Imámzâdeh*; the ancient tomb of this venerable saint having, within a few years, been destroyed by an earthquake. Meanwhile I received a visit from MÍRZA' ALI MUHAMMED, who perceiving the damp and airy state of my habitation, declared that to remain in such a place during the whole night, at this sea-

son of the year, would probably occasion a *tab-u-larz* (تب و لرز) or "fever and ague," from which I might never recover; and this, he said, besides exposing him to the anger of his sovereign, (whose guest I was), would, from considerations of private and personal regard, be a source of considerable regret. Resolving, therefore, to ameliorate if possible, my situation, the **MI'RZA'** left me; but I doubted much whether in this instance his endeavours could be rendered effectual; from the first day of our journey the best quarters in every stage had been, invariably, assigned to me; and this whole place, which I had hastily examined, seemed to offer but two or three sheds and stables, in which **MI'RZA' SA'DEK**, **MU'LA' ABBA'S**, all our servants, the muleteers, horses and mules were crowded together. My kind friend, however, soon returned, and conducted me to a dwelling from which he had just dislodged a poor old man, the keeper of the *Imám zádeh's* tomb. This new abode was a room of thirteen feet long, and nine broad, without chimney or window; the side walls were five feet high; formed of boards and slightly plastered on the inside with clay; the roof was of rice-straw and decayed leaves, loosely thrown on branches; and that they might not be blown away, some boughs had been laid over all. This room or house was attached to the inclosed area of the tomb, near which grew some noble trees, evidently of great age. These, the tomb, and my chamber I sketched, as in Plate **LXVII**; with the wooded hills on both sides, and the river *Tálár* running in the valley, which its stream often completely

inundates; thence, probably, the name of *Zíráb* (زیراب) “under water” has been given to this place. A carpet was spread, a charcoal fire kindled, and I soon found myself well established in the lodging; but could not without difficulty fix, on its uneven floor, the feet of my *palang* (پالنگ) or bedstead. The original proprietor of this room, (whose flowing beard might have demanded veneration, had he not, through some religious vow, as I understood, tinged it with a bright orange dye) paid me the usual congratulatory compliments; and brought as a *pishkash* or present, some fine *benafshchs* (بنفشه), violets white and blue; of which thousands were growing beneath the snow. He requested money to purchase, or to supply with oil, a lamp for the holy tomb; and swore that he would offer up a thousand prayers for my prosperity at the shrine of his favourite saint. But from MÍ'RZA' A'LÍ I received a more substantial return for an inconsiderable gift; he sent to me (on a tray) two pieces, each containing several yards of a coarse but serviceable stuff called *chúkhá* (چوخا), manufactured and much worn in this country; it is generally of a yellowish-brown colour.

On the 26th at half past seven o'clock we set out from *Zíráb* (where I took leave of the worthy *Mázenderáni* chief) and proceeded as before, through forests and over mountains, or in the river *Tálár*, which we frequently crossed; after two hours wearisome ride MU'LA' ABBA's surprised me by a proposal of breakfasting; we alighted, and his black servant, a

*Habshi* (حبشي) or Abyssinian, produced two *luggans*, or basins of copper tinned (such as have been already described and delineated) tied up in a large but not very clean handkerchief, which however, on this occasion served as a table-cloth : the *luggans* contained fowls, concealed in masses of cold boiled rice. Having finished our repast and refreshed ourselves with a draught from the neighbouring stream, we went on, struggling at one time, through mire of so tenacious a consistence, that our horses could scarcely extricate their legs from the sloughs ; at another time fording the river where it was between three and four feet deep ; and often endeavouring to discover an easier or safer path among the trees ; “ a traveller finds here,” said the facetious MU‘LA’, “ such an admirable variety of roads “ as must embarrass him in his choice ; for besides the *Khey-ábán* (خیابان), or causeway, which, it must be acknowledged “ is a little *kheráb* (خراب) or damaged, there are, the *ráh-jangali* (راه جنگلی) or “forest-road,” the *ráh-ábi* (راه آبی) or “water-road,” “ and the *ráh-gili* (راه گلی) or “mud-road.” At length, having tried all, we emerged, about seven miles from *Ziráb*, out of a morass, and arrived at the bottom of a high hill, which seemed to form an insuperable barrier against our further progress ; the side being almost perpendicularly steep, and the path a mere succession of large stones, thrown one above another on the soft clay, but at such a distance that between each there was a pool or mire three feet deep, into which horses, mules and even the men who had dismounted, could not save themselves from sinking. I know not how we should have overcome the

difficulties of this ascent, had not the provident MI'RZA' ALI, anticipated our distress, and kindly stationed several soldiers, hardy and active woodmen, to assist us in climbing the *Ser-i-Kellá*, or *Kelá*, for so this acclivity was called<sup>(16)</sup>. We ascended, at last, to the ruined causeway, each horse and mule having been dragged up by some men, while others shoved them on from behind; both men, horses and mules often falling when near the summit, and in their retrograde motion overthrowing those who scrambled after them. About a mile beyond this was the *Mián-i-kelá*, and a little farther, the *Bun-i-kelá*, two passes, much resembling in badness of road, that which I have above described. In these names the word *kelá* (which I saw thus written ك) signifies, according to the dialect of *Mázenderán*, (as a native, but by no means of infallible authority, informed me), some kind of house, or rather houses in the aggregate; and alluded probably to the series of dwellings or small villages mentioned by Pietro della Valle as having been constructed here a little before his time (the year 1618); but of which no vestiges now remain; and therefore, *Ser-i-Kelá* (سر كلا) would be, "the place where those buildings first began;" *Mián-i-Kelá* (ميان كلا), the "middle," and *Bun-i-Kelá* (بي كلا), "the lowest part of them," or "the spot where they termin-



(16) It might have surprised a stranger not acquainted with the political relations subsisting between England and Persia, to find these Hyrcanians armed, in the midst of their own forests, with muskets almost new, bearing the name of London, and the Tower-mark. They wore the bayonets in their *camr-bands* (کمر بند) or girdles.



ated”(17). We rode on the causeway, in such parts of it as were still unimpaired, turning off frequently to right or left, where the stones of its pavement long since displaced by torrents, were deeply bedded in moist clay. It did not appear that any attempts had lately been made toward reparation, and some immense trees fallen across the road, (their aged roots seeming totally decayed) obstructed it in a very considerable degree; for such branches only had been removed as left a passage in width barely sufficient to admit a loaded mule, and in height for a man on horseback to go through, not without stooping. Of those trees and of hundreds on every side, the trunks would have furnished excellent planks twenty-five or thirty inches broad, and from twenty

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(17) Yet Della Valle rendered *Miân-i-Kelâ* by “the middle of the scull;” his words are “Ce ne andammo la sera ad alloggiar in una di quelle piccole ville, nuovamente “fabricate sù la strada, che si chiama *Mioni Kielle*, in lingua nostra, Mezo del Teschio.” (Viaggi, Lett. 4, da Ferhabad). I had written in my journal *Kelleh* or *Kalleh* (كله) for *Kelâ*, and, like the Italian traveller, should perhaps have translated it a “scull;” although unable to assign any reason for its entering into the composition of those names. But *Kelâ* appears to be pure Persian according to the best manuscript dictionaries, which indicate its different meanings; at present it is only necessary for me to notice one, its primary signification, a “frog;” as I strongly suspect from Herbert’s quaint description, that this was the village of which he had forgotten the name, although he may have recollected something of its import; the place that he styles a “town of frogs” from the multiplicity of those croaking animals which there annoyed him (in May, 1627); and the distance of twenty one miles from *Aliâbâd*, assigned to it by him sufficiently agrees with my calculation. His words are “a small village whose name I have forgot; but remember “very well that the frogs, (the Bul-bulls, or Philomels of this marish place) assembled “in such numbers and chirped such loathsome tunes, that we wished Homer would “have given them another king; for as one writes, *Garrula limosis Rana coaxat aquis*, &c. “To *Aliavarr*, one and twenty miles from the Town of Frogs, we rode next night,” &c. (Herbert’s Travels, p. 182, Edit. of 1665).

to thirty feet long. Six or seven miles beyond the middle *Keldá*, near a ruined bridge, situate in a most romantick spot, amidst scenery which to a more accomplished landscape painter than myself, would have afforded an admirable subject, we met a lady of high rank, the wife of some *Khán*, proceeding to join her husband at *Tehrán*. She was mounted on a fine tall mule; over her face hung a veil of cross-barred linen; the stripes being red, blue and brown, and between them various small openings through which she saw and breathed; her *chakmah* (چكمه) or boots were of the red *Bulgár* (بلغار) or Russia leather; and like all the females of this country, she rode astride; her attendants were two women, muffled in white *chadders* (چادر) or sheets; and four men, of whom one was on foot, carrying a long Persian matchlock gun, a sword, a dagger or large knife, and a shield fastened at his back, besides seven or eight powder-horns and shot pouches. From the ruined bridge we went on about half a farsang to another not yet so much delapidated, over which we passed with some difficulty and danger. Near this, the ground had been partially cleared of trees; but a great number still remained, and those of vast bulk and majestick height; from their rich and noble appearance, the caving of rooks that occupied their branches, the fine outline of wooded hills and the ample expanse of level tracts, I almost fancied myself riding through the ancient and neglected demesne or park of some Norman seigneur or English gentleman; but no venerable chateau or manor-house was to be discerned among the lofty trees; nor

could the illusive idea of such mansions, their comforts and their elegancies, be more strongly contrasted than with the actual state of those hovels at *Shírgáh* (شیرگاه) where we closed the journey of this day; having travelled (from *Ziráb*) seventeen or eighteen miles. I was here received by nine or ten horsemen, and observed, as we entered the place, some fellows amusing themselves on the road side, by tormenting a large *Khúg*, (خوک) “a wild boar or hog,” (called also *Guráz* گراز) which had been slightly wounded, and though bleeding, and tied with a rope, still defended itself against several dogs, with much ferocity. One of the horsemen perceiving that this exhibition did not afford me pleasure, relieved the creature from all pain by cutting it nearly in two, with a single blow of his sharp and crooked sword, penetrating through the thickest vertebral bones.

Almost two hundred years ago, Della Valle (Lett. 4.) described this place as *una villa cattiva detta Scirgah*; to me it seemed not worthy of being entitled a *village*; although the epithet *bad* was still more applicable than any other that could possibly have been used in the description of it. The houses, were not, however, worse than those which we had hitherto seen in *Mázenderán*; the walls being constructed chiefly of rude boughs or trunks of trees, sometimes six or eight feet high, often not more than five, placed perpendicularly in the ground at equal intervals; attached to them horizontally, were twigs, small branches, or laths, covered on the outside

with a coat of mud ; the roofs were of rice-straw or leaves, spread on branches ; but seldom so perfectly as to exclude heavy rain ; nor had I yet seen one of these habitations into which a person could enter without wetting his feet at the very threshold, in mire or filth up to his ankles. Of the edifices that constituted this *villa cattiva*, the reader may form a just estimate from the sketch given in Pl. LXIX, most accurately representing what was regarded as the best, and consequently, allotted as usual to me: this view I took from the back whence the structure appeared to greatest advantage. The little wooden door, three feet three inches high, and two feet wide, was, with the point on which it turned, all of one solid piece, like the stone doors before noticed (p. 45). The other, or front door, immediately on the road, was five feet high. Various accidental apertures in the roof and walls, (where the clay had fallen off), served as outlets for the smoke, which proceeded from a wood fire kindled in a hollow of the earthen floor ; they supplied also the place of a window, admitting sufficient light for the purposes of reading or writing. My "chamber" was separated on one side by a very thin partition of twigs plastered with mud, from a stable which afforded but imperfect shelter to fourteen or fifteen horses and mules. One of these surprised me ridiculously by thrusting his head often through an opening in the partition just over the bed on which I sat. At the other side was a similar stable, into which, on this occasion, most of our grooms and muleteers, two black servants, and other fellows had crowded.

There the most eloquent among them related wonderful tales of giants and fairies, adventures of celebrated heroes, and illustrious princesses, and the combats of RUSTAM with one of the *Mázanderáni Dives*, “a story, said the narrator, doubly “interesting to us here, since all the world knows that they “fought on this very spot.” Thus during three or four hours after night-fall they entertained themselves and me; for through the slight partition, every word was most distinctly heard; but towards midnight some began to snore aloud, while others quarrelled respecting the duty of supplying wood for the fire round which they had been assembled; from this dispute I learned that if the Persian language abounds in flattering and delicate expressions of compliment, it is not less copious and energetick in the gross phraseology of objurgation.

Nearly resembling the structure just described were almost all the habitations which we had hitherto found in this region of forests; but it must be observed that they are merely the temporary dwellings of a few men, who attend at these *cáranseerús* and *dúkáns* (دكان) or “shops,” to furnish travellers with rice, eggs, and fowls, shoes for horses and mules, and other necessary articles; whilst the women and children live in more commodious houses, situate among the woods and hills, at such a distance from the road as to secure their tenants against the brutality and insolence of the great lords, the soldiers, and others who attend them on their journies.

The only females whom I had seen since we entered this province were the lady and her two maids already mentioned; and I doubt whether any families of *Mazanderán* confine themselves in small villages surrounded with walls, like those of the southern provinces. But however mean may be the accommodations of its scattered houses, however different or perilous the roads that lead to them, a stranger who passes through this country is amply indemnified for privations and inconveniencies by the opportunity of contemplating nature's beauties under various forms; hills and dales, rocks and mountains, thick forests and stately groves, considerable rivers, shallow brooks, water-falls, all that admirers of "picturesque" scenery could desire to combine; and I forgot the nuisances of my hovel at *Shirgáh*, while gazing on the adjacent dingle, the violets that clothed its banks, and the winding stream that murmured through it; but of these the principal charm consisted, perhaps, in a resemblance (whether real or imaginary) which they bore to a favourite dingle and stream in Wales; thereby exciting a train of delightful ideas, ever associated with the recollection of home<sup>(18)</sup>.

On the 27th at an early hour a messenger sent by the *Vazír* of *Mazanderán*, brought me two hampers containing nine or ten large Russian bottles, full of red wine; procured, it was said, from some Armenians of *Bálfurúsh* (or *Bárfurúsh*), who traded with the Russians of *Astrakhán*. At seven o'clock we set out and proceeded by a very bad road through a most beautiful country, the river *Tálár* being on our left during the first three miles; we then crossed it; at the fourth and fifth mile we could discern occasionally through openings of the forest, Mount *Damávand's* lofty summit, bearing from us nearly W. S. W. We rode over one bridge built of stone and brick, and over two or three others constructed of large beams and boards; at the seventh mile we ascended a hill admirably wooded, when a prospect unfolded itself to our view, far exceeding all my powers of description with the

(18) From the bulk of manuscript materials yet before me, I am here induced to adopt a closely-printed page, that this work, even at the expense of typographical beauty and uniformity, may be comprehended within the limits of three volumes.

pen, or of delineation with the pencil. Near us was the sweet village of *Aliábád* (علياباد), with its neat farm-houses and cottages, grouped among orange trees now loaded with fruit; and beyond it, though distant several farsangs, over a tract of forests and richly cultivated ground, the Caspian Sea was visible with a heavy brownish cloud resting on its horizon as far as the eye could reach. Having enjoyed this magnificent and unbounded prospect for half an hour, we advanced about two miles, and met MUHAMMED SHERÍF KHA'N, an officer of high rank, belonging to the prince of *Sári's* court, and a man of the most pleasing manners; he was attended by many horsemen; some of whom discharged their muskets, and threw the *jerid* (چريد), galloping about as usual on such occasions; soon afterwards came an *istikbál* from *Aliábád*; the principal inhabitants led by a very lean *kedkhudá* (or chief householder) and a very fat *hájt* (or one who had made the religious pilgrimage to *Mecca*): here also a *lúti* or buffoon, having presented me some violets in a ceremonious and not ungraceful manner, immediately began to strike with his fingers a small drum which he held under his left arm, and to dance with uncouth and vehement gesticulations. SHERÍF KHA'N informed me that his Prince would consider as a favour my halting this day at *Aliábád*; that he had sent fifty men to repair the road between that place and *Sári*, in parts that had been undermined and injured by the water; that he had postponed a journey to *Asterábád*, solely for the purpose of receiving in his capital the English Ambassador's brother; and that I should be welcomed next day on my approach to the city, by an *istikbál* of two hundred horsemen, conducted by HUSSEIN KHA'N, a nobleman of distinction. I alighted consequently at a house prepared for my accommodation in the village, having travelled but three farsangs, or about eleven miles; from *Shírgúh* to *Aliábád*. This is the spot described by Sir Thomas Herbert with much accuracy in a few words<sup>(19)</sup>; although he has written the name erroneously; deceived by the substitution of *v* for *b*, (of which an hundred

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(19) "To *Aliavarr*, one and twenty miles from the Town of Frogs (see p. 244) we "rode next night; a very pleasant place for earth, water and wood, and where we found "store of pheasants; a bird abounding in these Hyrcanian towns," &c. (Herbert's *Travels*, p. 182, Edit. of 1665).

examples might be every day remarked), and the lisp with which many Persians affect to speak. *Aliábád*, (in respect at least to *Sári* and *Bárfurúsh*), is more correctly placed by Hanway in his map, than most of the other towns of this country (Trav. Vol. I. p. 345). Forster, the third and perhaps the last European traveller who, before myself, has noticed this place, describes it as the "small village of *Alhabad*;" and he mentions its well-supplied daily market. My computation supposes it a little farther from *Barfurúsh* than his; but it would be unreasonable to expect minute accuracy of mensuration from those who on horseback and with much difficulty, cross during winter the intermediate tract of country, by such a road as he found there on the 29th of January 1784, and I on the 10th of March 1812. His account, given in the note may without any alteration be applied to its present state<sup>(\*)</sup>.

At *Aliábád* the accommodations were excellent; many houses reminded me of some in Brabant and Flanders; several were roofed with very good red tiles, each about thirteen inches long, and resembling a half cylinder (See Misc. Pl. fig. 25). Two handsome rooms were assigned to me by the *Ked Khudá*, at his own mansion; but this arrangement probably caused much inconvenience to the females of his household, who on my arrival had removed to the *Harem* of a neighbour; whence, with twenty other women, some wrapped in white sheets, many in a striped or cross-barred stuff like our Scotch *plaid*, they amused themselves from the walls, and among the orange trees, by staring at a *Farangki* whenever I walked out;

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(\*) "The road this day was the worst I ever had travelled on, and required in the winter season continued labour to make it passable. Though deep ditches are extended on each side, and drains cut across to carry off the extraordinary moisture of the soil, we proceeded with much difficulty and hazard" (Forster's journey from Bengal to England, &c. Vol. II. p. 203, 4to edit.) It is probable that he only visited the few hovels of *Aliábád* adjoining that part called the *Bázár*; and calculated the distance accordingly; this may be inferred from his particular notice of the market, and his silence respecting the large and handsome farm houses and other buildings which constitute what I have denominated the village; and which are scattered at a distance of almost two miles from the *Bázár*, in a direction nearly south-eastern, and therefore, by so much the more remote from *Bárfurúsh*, the object of Mr. Forster's journey. So observant and ingenious a traveller would scarcely have omitted to mention a spot of such striking beauty. His measurement from the *Bázár*, and mine from the village, will thus reduce the difference of our respective calculations, almost to nothing.



two or three, neither the youngest nor the prettiest, came frequently to whichever of my rooms I did not actually occupy at the moment, in search of slippers, coffee-cups, a spoon, a china bowl, or some other trifling article which they had left behind them. This place abounds in provisions of every kind; I was feasted off six or seven ample dishes, (among which one contained pheasant) with three porcelain bowls of different sherbets; besides *mâst* (ماست or sour-milk), sweet-meats, pomegranates and oranges; there was bread, also, but it had been brought from *Sâri*, as all made at *Ali-âbâd* (if local report may be credited) invariably proved unwholesome, and in some instances had occasioned death. In the evening I received a visit from MUHAMMED SHERIF KHA'N, whom the Prince had appointed to accompany me as an additional *Mehmândar*; soon after came the principal *Ked Khudâ* and other house-holders of the village; they asked many questions about *Yangiduniâ* or America, a subject respecting which they evinced as much inquisitiveness and ignorance as had often been displayed by men of higher rank in the south of Persia. They assured me that the *pash-ehs*, "gnats or mosquitoes," had not yet appeared though my legs were smarting, at the same time, from some flies so much resembling them, and so numerous that in the night I found it necessary to spread the gauze curtains over my bed. The weather was delightfully mild during the day; at three o'clock (without any fire in the room, all doors and windows being open), the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 54; the evening was cold and rendered a bright charcoal fire agreeable. It was here customary, as I understood, for many persons to assemble in the winter nights about a wooden frame, nearly four feet square and seventeen or eighteen inches high, placed over a hole dug in the earthen floor and filled with burning charcoal; each person applies his feet to the frame, lays his head on a pillow or cushion, and one great *lehâf* (لحاف) (a quilted sheet, or stuffed counterpane) is thrown over all who are thus kept warm during a sleep of several hours. In my room was one of those wooden frames, which the servants called a *kursi* (کرسی); this name is given also to a chair, a throne, or any raised and moveable seat.

Soon after seven o'clock on the 28th of February, we set out from *Aliábád*; and having proceeded half a farsang in the direction of N. N. W. (Mount *Damávand* bearing nearly S. W.) we halted some time at the *Bázár* belonging to that village, and caused the feet of our horses to be carefully examined, new shoes applied, or nails driven, a duty which the roads of *Mázanderán* render indispensable every day and almost every hour; indeed there is scarcely a farsang without a *naalband* or farrier. This بازار *Bázár* (as the word imports) is a market-place, and not only supplies the village of which it bears the name, but all the surrounding country to a distance of twelve or fourteen miles; the inhabitants chiefly frequent it on Wednesdays; and I heard that above one hundred cows, sheep, calves and lambs are killed in it for the consumption of each week. Beef was said to be here a much more common article of food than in the southern provinces. About four miles farther we alighted to breakfast under some trees of immense size close to the *Siáh-rúd* (سیاهرود) or "Black River;" here I sketched a bridge forming part of *SHAH ABBA'S*'s causeway or *Kheyabán* (See Pl. LXIX); on which we now proceeded with considerable difficulty at the rate of two miles an hour, so ineffectually had several men been recently employed in repairing its innumerable defects. This road, as was still evident, must have once been a most magnificent avenue; being of great breadth, straight for many farsangs, and beautifully bordered on each side with large and stately trees.

At four miles from *Sári* I found *HUSEIN KHA'N* (حسین خان) (the prince's master of ceremonies) waiting to receive me; and with him a *Mastowfi* or secretary, and a boy of twelve or thirteen years, brother of *MI'RZA' SA'DEK*, my *Mehmándár*. The *istikbál* accompanying them consisted of about an hundred and sixty horsemen, armed with muskets, and lances. Having exchanged compliments, and conversed during a few minutes, we all rode on to *Sári*; and after a journey of fifteen or sixteen miles, I entered that city through a crowd of at least three thousand persons, and alighted at the house of *MI'RZA' REZA'* (میرزا رضا), *Vazír* or chief minister to the prince who governs in *Mázanderán*. He had provided for

me a spacious chamber, handsomely gilt and painted, and furnished with a magnificent carpet. The usual refreshments, coffee and *caledáns*, were immediately presented by his servants, who afterwards placed before me two trays containing various preserved fruits, and many sweetmeats; cold pheasant, lamb, and sherbet of different kinds; all these were offered merely as a breakfast, and ISMA'IL hinted that the *Vazírs* cooks were already engaged in preparing a sumptuous *shámi* (شامی), the dinner or evening meal.

During breakfast several large Russian bottles of red wine were sent by my kind host, although much of that which I had before received from him, yet remained. At four o'clock this minister honoured me with a visit; he had just returned from the prince's palace, and wore his full court dress, of stiff gold brocade, with fur. His son, my *Mehmándár*, (a man about twenty-three years old) accompanied him; but stood, in a respectful manner, during three quarters of an hour, whilst the *Vazír* continued with me; it was well known, however, that the strongest affection subsisted between them; yet according to the custom of Persia, filial reverence prohibited his sitting in the presence of his father; at least among strangers or on ceremonious occasions. I remarked also, that although perfectly well qualified, and before others always ready, to converse agreeably; he now only spoke in answer to questions. The *Vazír* and I sat on one *nammed*, and by his invitation, MU'LA' ABBA's, after a few minutes seated himself in an opposite corner of the room. Having officially presented many compliments of congratulation on my arrival, from the prince, and less formally from himself, the minister fixed an hour for introducing me at court the next day. We then talked on various subjects; he enumerated the towns in this country most worthy of inspection, and calculated the intermediate distances; endeavouring to prove that I might remain his guest at *Sári* five or six days, visit all those places, yet be at home in *Tehrán* on the feast of *Naurúz*, according to my declared wish and intention. Conversing on various kinds of fruits, he made a sign to his servants who crowded about the doors and windows, (as usual during the visit of a Persian nobleman); they soon brought a large tray of oran-

ges and lemons, which had grown in the gardens of the *Vazir's* house; indeed the court before my chamber contained several orange trees, loaded with fruit apparently ripe. Of local antiquities I could not obtain much information, and began to apprehend that many venerable monuments which some of my manuscripts described as visible here, no longer existed, or that at least their names had been forgotten. On this subject, indeed, any very confident expectations might have been repressed by a passage in the MS. *Tarikh i Tabristán*, which, relating various events of the Muhammedan year 325, (or of our era 936) mentions that "in this year an inundation "occurred at *Sári*, which totally destroyed that city; and "of its former buildings left none remaining; and all the "inhabitants of *Sári* retired to the hilly country, until God "had reduced the water"<sup>(21)</sup>. It will appear, however, from other extracts of the same work, that some mounds of earth or tumular monuments extremely ancient, must have resisted the violence of this flood which easily swept away the houses, at that time here and throughout *Tabristán*, very frail structures, as we learn from *EBN HAUKAL*<sup>(22)</sup>. The *Vazir* left me extremely pleased with the affability and politeness of his manners; and I soon received further proofs of his hospitality; several trays containing a dinner in quantity sufficient for eight or ten hungry travellers, and in delicacy suited to palates much more nice than mine; his servants also illuminated my room most brilliantly with many thick candles each about four feet long, in large and very handsome silver *shamaadáns* or candlesticks, placed on the floor at regular intervals; some *cherághdáns* or oil-lamps being interspersed.

Early on the 29th, *MR'ZA' SA'DEK* came by the *Vazir's* desire to ask how I had passed the night; he brought with

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 (21) و در این سال اب در ساری افتاد و جمله ساری را خراب کرد و بنیادی که پیش از آن بود هیچ بر قرار نگذاشت و مردم ساری جمله بیایان کوهستان شدند تا خدای تعالی آب باقرار آورد.

(22) Orient. Geogr. p. 179; and the manuscript *Sár at beldán*, which tells us that بنا خانا ایشان غالب چوب و نی می باشد "the materials with which their houses "are built, consist chiefly in wood and reeds." These words of one who travelled in the tenth century, are now, in the eighteenth, equally applicable.

him his favourite brother, several years younger than himself; and this boy observed towards the MI'RZA' as much respect as a son towards his father. Notwithstanding my invitation, he would not presume to sit until authorized by a look of permission from the elder. In whatever degree of domestick familiarity they may privately indulge, this deference is paid to seniority among Persian brethren before strangers and servants. My *nahár* (ناهار) or morning repast comprised various dishes of meat and rice, with fruit and sherbet, besides some excellent fish from the Caspian sea; soon after this breakfast, I prepared for introduction at court; drew on my *chákshúrs* (چاکشور), (crimson cloth boots or stockings) and at half past eleven, with MI'RZA' SA'DEK and an officer sent for the purpose of escorting me, I proceeded on horseback to the *Arg* or citadel, where the prince resided. We were received by HUSEIN KHA'N, master of the ceremonies, in a small room, and sat there some minutes in high-backed chairs resembling those of old-fashioned European construction; and such as are found in the ante-chambers or waiting-rooms at all the royal courts or palaces of Persia; here we were treated with *kaleáns* and coffee; and then advanced, making bows at stated distances, until we had arrived opposite the *tálár* or open-fronted hall in which the prince was seated. HUSEIN KHA'N next proclaimed that *Ser Villam Vezli, bráder i-ilchi-Ingliz*, "the English ambassador's brother was desirous of "paying homage to his royal highness, the *Sháhzádeh*," or "offspring of the king," and for this purpose had come from *Tehrán*. The prince replied, as usual on similar occasions, *Khúshámed*, "he is welcome." Having been conducted to the hall of audience, I seated myself where, by a nod, he seemed to direct; for during two or three minutes not one word was spoken; at length he repeated the welcome with a loud voice; expressed the pain he had suffered on hearing of the Ambassador's illness; made numerous inquiries concerning the King of England, whom he styled his uncle; the number of his sons; of his troops and ships; the size and population of "*Landan*" our great metropolis. The "*new world*," *Yangi-dunia* or America, was not forgotten. He lamented that the roads of *Mázenderán* were so bad, and mentioned the snow and wind of *Firúzkhúh*. I took an opportunity of

declaring that my reception and entertainment at his capital had completely effaced every recollection of fatigue or danger; and, after an interview of about half an hour, I retired with the customary ceremonies, and returned to my apartment at the *Vazirs*. Prince MUHAMMED KULI MIRZA (محمد قلي میرزا) appeared to be in his twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth year, and of a slender form; his face seemed a little marked by the small-pox; and his beard in length almost equalled the king's; his manner, which at first might have been reckoned formal and cold, after a few minutes relaxed into a pleasing graciousness<sup>(23)</sup>. His mother is of an illustrious *Mázenderáni* tribe, and many persons consider him as possessing strong claims to the future inheritance of the crown; he has ten or twelve children, one of whom, a boy about eight years old, has lately been appointed governor of *Asterábad* (استرآباد). On my first visit, the prince's dress was extremely rich, of a dark green colour; he wore *bázú-bands* of jewels on his arms; diamonds, pearls, and emeralds decorated his *camr-band* or girdle, and his dagger, and were profusely scattered in his lap, and on the carpet near him. But this display, however brilliant, could not much dazzle one who had lately seen the full lustre of his royal father on the throne. The same ceremonies were observed here as at the other Persian courts. The *Vazír* stood, during the time of my audience, at one end of the room; near him was a row of other ministers, *mastowfis*, secretaries and ushers; several officers of state in furred dresses remained outside in the open space before the palace; and a large passage leading to it was filled with *tufangchis* or musketeers, sitting on benches. I remarked many workmen employed here, in repairing old rooms, or constructing new, for the last earthquake (three or four years ago) had done considerable damage to the *arg* and to most of the other edifices at *Sári*. The principal *Diván Kháneh* (دیوان خانه) or hall of audience, had suffered from it; and the chamber in which the prince received me belonged to his *khalwet* (خلوت) or private apartments; it was handsome

(23) The prince was described by some of his courtiers, as an admirable horseman, and no less excellent as a poet; of his verses *SHERIF KHAN* transcribed for me several pages; which furnish a very favourable specimen; the poetical surname assumed by the prince in these compositions is *KHUSRAVI* (خسرویی).

and of good size; the ceiling coved and lined entirely with looking-glass, in thousands of small pieces; the walls were nearly covered with pictures of gaudy colours, but most inaccurate as to their perspective and proportions. An immense battle-piece was particularly conspicuous; and next, the representation of an extraordinary group, expressing the power of beauty in a manner highly ridiculous; the principal personage being **SHEIKH SENAAN** (شیخ سنان), a grey-bearded Musulman, who, though he had attained the reputation of sanctity, became so fascinated by the charms of a fair Christian, that he was induced not only to drink wine like an infidel, but to contaminate himself and scandalize all true believers by eating pork<sup>(24)</sup>.

When it was known that the *Vazir* had returned from court I hastened to pay him my respects. He mentioned that the late earthquake had not only injured several, and totally destroyed some houses at *Sarî*, but had also killed many of the inhabitants; that it had pervaded a great portion of *Mázenderán*, and that at *A'mul* particularly, its violence had been most severely felt. I expressed my apprehensions of having wearied the prince with too long a visit, adding that his affability and politeness had caused me to forget the lapse of time. "I perceived," says the *Vazir* "that during this day's audience, you seemed to me twice, as if desirous of going away; but his Royal Highness's looks at the same moments, expressed a wish that the interview should not terminate so soon." The course of conversation proved that the *Vazir* was eminently accomplished as a linguist; and from subsequent information communicated by different persons, it appeared that besides his mother-tongue, he understood the Arabic; Turkish as spoken in the East and West; the Georgian

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(24) In this picture, the *dukhter* or "damsel," approaching the saint, is attended by an ill looking fellow habited in such clothes as were worn in France or England about an hundred years ago; these shew him to be a *Faranghi* or European; and a black pig which he carries under his arm sufficiently proves him, in this country, to be a Christian. The story of **SHEIKH SENAAN** is a favourite subject among the Persians; and this *pig scene* expresses, to their gross perceptions, the influence of love, much more forcibly than "Cupid taming a Lion," or the most refined and beautiful allegory of classical antiquity.

and Armenian languages; the *Mázenderáni* and other provincial dialects. On philology, a subject at all times most interesting to me, our discourse was now insensibly protracted to so late an hour that I necessarily postponed, until the next day, my intended examination of those structures which Hanway (Vol. I. p. 292) has described as ancient Fire-Temples. During my visit at the minister's, his son, *MI'RZA' SA'DEK*, whom he both loved and admired, stood in the open court outside the window, but near enough to hear our conversation; with him was a crowd of servants and towns people, from whom he was only distinguished by the rich dress which he had worn at the palace; neither on him nor on them, did the *Vázir* twice condescend to cast his eyes. In the evening my room was illuminated as on the night preceding, and its floor displayed three or four large silver trays, on each of which were several dishes and bowls with high conical-shaped covers, all likewise of solid silver and of handsome workmanship. In these were contained *pilaw* and *chilaw* or rice under different forms; chickens, pheasants, lamb, fish, and the usual varieties of *shiríni* or sweetmeats, besides fruit and sherbet. An officer attended by eight or nine servants had brought this dinner from the palace; it had been prepared by the prince's own cooks, one of whom, as *ISMAAIL* informed me, had inquired of him in the morning, what meat I particularly liked. When these circumstances were, some weeks afterwards, mentioned to a *Khán* of my acquaintance at *Tehrán*, he declared that such a favour conferred on any Persian nobleman must have cost him, in sums to be distributed among those who brought the dinner, at least one hundred guineas or *tumáns*; on this occasion they had been commanded not to accept any remuneration for their trouble.

Next day. (March the first) the prince gave an additional proof of his wish to compliment the English ambassador in my person, by sending me at an early hour a *Khelaat* or "dress of honour," comprising a magnificent *kabba* (كبا) of gold embroidery on flowered silk; an outside coat with fur; a splendid *camrband* (كمربند) or girdle, of gold brocade, and a fine Cashmerian shawl; there was also a very handsome white *Turcománi* horse with a silver leading-chain. I had originally,



intended to explore, this morning, whatever remains of ancient monuments were visible near *Sári*, and immediately after commence my journey towards *Ashraf*; but the prince's valuable gift merited something more than thanks expressed to the officer who brought it; and indeed, the usage of Persian courts required that one who had been honoured with a robe of state should present himself, clothed in it, before the illustrious donor. Accordingly at noon, fully invested with this gorgeous dress, and mounted on the white charger, I proceeded about three quarters of a mile from the city, to a kind of summer house, which the prince was building in the middle of a very large new garden. *SHERIF KHA'N* accompanied me, and after ceremonies nearly similar to those observed on my introduction at the *Arg*, I was led up some very steep and bad wooden stairs to the room where *MUHAMMED KULI MI'RZA'* sat, wrapped in furs, the day being very cold, and the *emâret* or edifice open to the wind; a large cushion supported his back, and he was without jewels or any other mark of distinction. He had come out to the *hammâm* or bath, and was engaged in superintending the plantation of trees and flowers in this new garden, which he had undertaken to make in hopes of pleasing the king; he therefore begged that I would walk through it, and report to his majesty its flourishing condition; and particularly the forwardness of some fine orange and cypress trees, lately transplanted. I had seated myself near the door; after a few minutes the prince desired me to come nearer, and we conversed almost half an hour; he regretted that my time for seeing the country was so limited "*wakt tang shud*" (وقت تنگ شد), he ordered *SHERIF KHA'N* to attend me wheresoever I might wish to go in *Mázenderán*. He again spoke of America and its mines, and seemed struck by the account of the regent of Portugal's grand diamond; he hoped that the king and the ambassador would come from *Tehrán* in the course of another year, when his palace and this new garden might be in a more perfect state. Having taken leave of the prince I walked with *SHERIF KHA'N* and *MI'RZA' SA'DEK* through most parts of the garden<sup>(25)</sup>; and

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(25) It was equally divided at right angles by two principal walks, and at the point where they crossed each other, stood the summer-house, or *emâret* (عمارت), in which

returned to my *manzel* (منزل) or lodging at half past one ; then gladly divested myself of the cumbrous finery, gold brocade, furs and shawls ; and still more gladly, of the *kafsh* (كفش) or loose slippers with wooden heels two inches high, in which I had contrived, not without much pain and difficulty, to walk above a mile in the prince's gardens. The day was now gloomy, and rain began to fall. Fahrenheit's Thermometer stood at 53 in the room not warmed by a fire.

I then rode out to visit those monuments which Hanway dignified with the title of Fire-temples ; but some, as my guide declared, had been destroyed by the late earthquake, and considerable heaps of ruins seemed to confirm his report ; these heaps, however, were merely masses of brick masonry, and there is reason to believe not very ancient, for one *gumbel* yet remaining entire, and apparently corresponding in length and form to those described by Hanway, is evidently a building of Muhammedan ages, and exhibits in very distinct characters an Arabick inscription which the heavy rain prevented me from copying. This and the remains of similar structures, though probably not exceeding five, six or seven centuries in antiquity, bear the names of FERIDU'N SALM, TU'R and other illustrious personages whose celebrity was established near two thousand years before. One person mentioned the "*Tomb of Cáús*," and affected to suppose that it contained the ashes of that monarch or *Cai*, whom our writers call Darius the Mede, as we learn from Sir William Jones. It must be acknowledged that according to FIRDAUSI's historical poem, CARCAUS invaded *Mázenderán*, and was detained there as a captive by the inhabitants ; but the same

the prince sat. On the right and left of this building the main walk terminated in small *emárets* or lodges for gardeners and labourers. The walk which intersected this, commenced at the entrance, under an *emáret*, serving as a guard house for twenty or thirty soldiers ; and at its opposite extremity was a *hawz* (حوض) or reservoir of water, so considerable that some affected to call it the *deriáchéh* (دریاچه) or lake. Adjoining this I saw the bath, which some servants had just heated for the prince ; they were then engaged in preparing his *rakhet i hammám* (رخت حمام) or "bathing clothes."

authority informs us that having been liberated through the bravery of his general RUSTAM, he returned to the south, which it does not appear that he again quitted<sup>(26)</sup>; and this tomb was probably erected in honour of CA'U'S, (CA'VU'S or CA'BU'S, as the name is sometimes written) one of those princes or chiefs noticed in the history of *Mázenderán* as having flourished during the fourth century of the Muhammedan, or the tenth of our era. To whomsoever it appertained, the monument has been long since ruined. Yet this place might contain some vestiges of antiquity highly remote; as we are justified in believing by a passage of the *Sháhnámeh*, (بفرمود شان تا بساری برند), according to which, AFRASIA'B having seized the nobles of *Irán* or Persia sent them as prisoners to *Sári*; this event may be dated almost seven hundred years before the Christian era, during the reign of NAUDAR; but we also find an earlier mention of *Sári* in the same work; and subsequent parts of that celebrated poem record its name five different times. That *Sári* was numerously peopled, abounded with provisions, and exceeded *Cazvin* in size, during the tenth century, we learn from EBN HAUKAL (p. 179) with whose account, as usual, the MS. *Súr al beldán* agrees; adding that although A'mul was then the principal city of *Tabristán*, "yet "in former ages those who governed the province resided at "*Sárich*"<sup>(27)</sup>.

HAMDALLAH briefly describes "*Sári*, belonging to the "fourth climate, and situate in long. (from the Fortunate "Islands) 88-0, and in lat. (from the Equinoctial line) 37-0." It is, he adds, a considerable city and the capital of *Mázenderán*. Its air is unwholesome; its products are rice, silk, grapes, and corn in great abundance<sup>(28)</sup>.

<sup>(26)</sup> According to the MS. *Mujmel al Tuárikh*, "CAI CA'U'S died at *Istakhr* or Persopolis, and was there interred in the sepulchre of his father."

کیکاووس با صطخر از دنیا یرفت و آنجا بستودان پدرش نهادند

<sup>(27)</sup> اما در ایام قدیم حکام آنجا بساریه ساکن و متوطن می بودند

<sup>(28)</sup> ساری از اقلیم چهارم است. طولش از جزایر خالداات فم—ح و عرض از ح—ج (MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, ch. xviii). The Persian writer here quoted.

The MS. *Haft aklim* declares "that language is inadequate to the praises of *Sári*. The gales of Paradise derive sweetness from its air, and the flowers of Eden their fragrance from its soil. It was founded by SA'RÚ'IEH, the son of DA'NU'IEH, son of GAW PA'REH, and from ancient times until the present day has always continued to flourish; and on one side of this city is a most delightful plain or meadow, extending nearly two miles"<sup>(29)</sup>. But we must not ascribe to SA'RÚ'IEH, mentioned in this extract, more than the augmentation, embellishment, or reparation of *Sári*; for it appears from the *Tárikh Jehán Arú* that he flourished in the first century of the *Hejra*, or during the seventh of our era. According to this manuscript, SA'RÚ'IEH, the son of FARKHÁ'N, succeeded his brother in the chief government; his uncle, after whose name he was called, built the city of *Sári*<sup>(30)</sup>. Now we can scarcely suppose that FIRDÁUSÍ, who lived within three centuries of this prince's time, could have been ignorant of *Sári*'s modern origin, or guilty of an anachronism by introducing its name (as in a line above quoted) into the history of kings who had reigned thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen hundred years before the city existed. These difficulties may perhaps be reconciled by a reference to the MS. *Tárikh*, or particular history of *Tabristán*, which informs us that "T'US, the son of NAUDAR, and general of the Persian armies laid the foundation of *Sári*, in that place which even at this day

accords, in the longitude and latitude of *Sári* with *Nassir addin Túsi*, and *Ulugh Beig*, whose tables are printed among the Minor Works of Geography, published by Hudson, Vol. III. p. 106, and 128. But the MS. *Takwim* of SA'DEK ISFAHÁ'NÍ, places *Sári* in longitude ۳۵-۸۷ (۸۷-۳۵), latitude ۳۰-۳۶ (۳۶-۳۰).

(<sup>29</sup>) ساری که زبان از وصف او عاری است— فرد—

باد فریبوس از آن هوا یابند

گل جنت از آن زمین بویند

و ساری از ایندی سارویه بن دابویه بن کاویاره است و از زمان قدیم تا حال غایت آبادانی و نهایت معموری را داشته و بر یک طرف شهر مرغزار است قریب بدو میل در نهایت خرمی  
MS. *Haft Aklim*. Fourth Climate.

(<sup>30</sup>) سارویه بن فرخان پس از برادر حکومت یافته عمش که وی بنام اوست شهر ساری را بساخت  
Chapter of the Sovereigns of *Tabristán*, *Rustam-dér* and *Mázenderán*.

"is styled *Túsán*"<sup>(31)</sup>. Having after some lines, mentioned the *Kasr-i-Sheid* (نصر شید), a villa or palace, and other edifices constructed by T'v's, the historian adds "and the remains of these are yet visible in the tumular heaps called *Lúmen-dún*"<sup>(32)</sup>. These passages refer to the seventh century before Christ. The author immediately proceeds thus: "and respecting this place now denominated *Sári*. The king of *Tabristán*"<sup>(33)</sup>, *FARKHÁ'N* the great, of whom an account shall be hereafter given, commanded *BA'v* or *BA'vER*, a distinguished personage of his court, to erect a city where the village of *Auher* stands; the ground being there elevated, the springs of water numerous, and the situation pleasant. But the people of *Auher*, by means of a bribe, induced *BA'vER* to build near that place; and he erected the city on that spot where now is *Sári*; when it was complete, the sovereign came to examine in what manner the city had been built; and having discovered the fraud of

(31) ساری را طوس نود که سپاه دار ایران بود طرح افکند بموضعی که این ساعت نیز طوسان میگویند  
(MS. *Tārīkh i Tabristán*).

(32) هنوز توده آن باتنیست لومن دیون میگویند

(33) The Sovereigns of *Tabristán* were formerly styled *Ispahbad*; and this title like the Latin *Imperator*, seems derived from military power; for the dictionary *Burhan Kátea* thus explains it—

اسپهبد بفتح بای انجد اسمی است مخصوص ملوک طبرستان و بمعنی سپه سالار هم آمده است که سردار و خداوند لشکر باشد چه بد بمعنی خداوند و صاحب و اسپه سپاه و لشکر بود و بضم بای انجد هم گفته اند و معرب آن اصفهبد است

"*Ispahbad* having the accent *fateh* on *b*, is a title particularly given to the kings of *Tabristán*; and it also is used in the sense of *general*, the chief or commander of an army, for *bad* signifies lord, master, or possessor, and *aspah* or *ispah*, an army; the word is sometimes expressed with the vowel accent *damma* on the *b* (*bud*); and according to the Arabick manner, *Ispahbad*." The historian *TABRÍ* relating various transactions which occurred in the year 22 (612 of our era), mentions the *Ispahbads* of *Tabristán*, who were all, he says, from *Gílán*; and adds—

و ایشانرا مهتری بود مردی بزرگوار نام او فرخان و کیل بود و اورا اسپهبد اسپهبدان خواندندی و ایشان همه بفرمان او بودند و اسپهبد بزبان پارسی پهلوی سپاه بر گویند یعنی که سپاه برد از جای بجای

"And they had a certain chief, a very powerful man named *Farkhán*, and he was of *Gílán*, and entitled the *Ispahbad Ispahbadán*, or chief of the chiefs, (like "King of Kings,") and they were all under his control; and the word *Ispahbad*, expresses in the *Pársi-Pahlavi* language, a leader of troops, that is, one who conducts an army from place to place." This old title is also found in the *Sháhnámeh* of *FIRDAUSI*.

"BA'V, he imprisoned him and afterwards caused him to be hanged on the A'mul road, at the village of BA'VER-JEMA'N or BA'VER-A'VI'JA'N, as it was named from this circumstance; and the money which had been received as a bribe, FARKHA'N expended in building a village, which when finished he called *Dinár-Kafshán*; the village continues inhabited and the name exists at this day"<sup>(34)</sup>. A confusion of locality, arising probably from some graphical mistake, renders the text a little obscure respecting the exact situation of *Sári*; and FARKHA'N is here described as its founder, whilst the works above quoted, assign its origin to his son SA'RU'IEH. But this difference cannot much affect the antiquity of *Sári*; the father and son may have united in building it. The name however, (generally written in old manuscripts *Sárieh*) seems derived from *Sárlieh*. By whomsoever this city was built, its *Masjed jamaa* or principal Mosque, is said to have been the first edifice that the Muhammadans erected in *Tábristán*<sup>(35)</sup>

Among the ancient monuments for which I enquired without success, was the "*Tomb of Suhráb*;" this, according to FIRDAUSI, might be sought in a very distant province; but we learn from the MS. above quoted that it was actually situate at *Sári*; for RUSTAM having at *Belikesh* (بلکش) in the territory of *Rután* (رویان), slain the young hero SU'RHA'B (or SURKHA'B) not knowing until too late that he was his own son, caused the body to be removed from the

(34) و اینموضع که این ساعت ساری مهندست فرخان بزرگ که ذکرش بود پادشاه طبرستان بود و باوراً که از مشهور درگاه بود فرمود که اینجا که دیده اوهر است شهر بنیاد نهند برای بلندی آن موضع و بسیاری جسمهای آب و نزهت جایگاهها و مردم اوهر باوراً رشوت دادند تا بنزدیک آن بقعه کرد و اینجا که امروز ساری است بنیاد نهاد و چون اوهر عمارت تمام شد شاه پیامد تا مطالعه شهر کند که چون کردند معلوم شد که باور غیانت کرد مهندس فرمود و بطریق امل بدیده او را بیاوخت نام این ده باوراً او بجان ازین سبب نهادند و از آن زر رشوت دیدی بنیاد افکند و چون تمام شد دینار کشید نام نهاد تا این ساعت هم دیده معمور ماند و هم نام برقرار

MS. *Tarikh* و اول عمارتی که اهل اسلام فرمودند مسجد جمعه ساری است (35)  
*Tabristán*, which dates the construction of this Mosque in the year (of the Hejrah) 140, (of our era 757).

scene of fatal combat ; “ and took the coffin, that it might be “ conveyed to *Závelistán*, as far on the way as *Sári* ; there, at “ the spot called *Lúmen-dúin*, on which stood the *Kasr-i-Tús* “ or “ Palace of Tús,” the son of NAUDAR, he deposited “ the body, intending when the weather should become less “ warm, to carry it away ; but (an accident hindering the ac- “ complishment of this design) he himself did not happen to “ return ; and it is said that the tumular heap of earth opposite “ *Tús’s Villa* or Palace, contains the grave of *SUHRA’B*”(36).

Respecting the propriety with which a classical denomina- tion has been bestowed on this city, I do not hesitate to acknowledge some doubts, since so ingenious a geographer as M. Barbié du Bocage has not been able to satisfy himself on that subject(37). Yet D’Anville (Geogr. Anc.) thought that in the modern *Sári* some vestiges might be discovered of *Zadra-carta*, the name, according to Arrian, of the Hyrcanian capital in Alexander’s time(38) ; and De la Rochette’s beautiful map(39), is in this instance conformable to the opinion of D’Anville. From manuscripts cited in the preceding pages, some inferences may be drawn to support the antiquity of *Sári* or *Sárich* ; but if we could ascertain that this city had been called after ΣΑΡΥΪΕΗ in the seventh century of our era, (which as I have hinted, is not impossible), then the derivation of its name from *Zadra-carta* must be annulled, and its identity with the ancient metropolis of Hyrcania otherwise proved. Both for and against this point, I shall candidly state some arguments in another place, observing here, that Pietro della Valle, who describes this city as large

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 (36) تابوتش بر گرفت که با زاول برد چون بساری رسید انجا که قصر طوس نودر  
 است که اوسن دوين ميخوانند فروزهاه تا حرارت هوا کمتر شود بر کيرد خود اتفاق  
 نيفتاد مي کويند که کورش در برابر قصر طوس پشته ايست قبر او انجا

(37) See the “ Analyse de la Carte des Marches et de l’Empire d’Alexandre le Grand, “ par M. Barbié du Bocage,” annexed to the “ Examen Critique des Historiens d’Alex- “ andre,” of Baron de Ste. Croix, second edition, p. 819, Paris, 1804.

(38) *Zadrákarta*, or *Zeudrákarta*, which Arrian styles *τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ὑρκανίας*. De Exped. Alex. Lib. III. Edit. Gronovii, Lugd. Bat. 1704, pp. 138 and 140.

(39) *Indiæ Veteris, &c. necnon Alexandri Itinera, &c. Apud Faden, Lond. 1797.*

and populous in his time (1618), invariably writes the name *Sarû*; and as this word, says he, "signifies *yellow*, the place "has perhaps been so denominated from the oranges and "other sorts of fruits, abounding there"<sup>(40)</sup>. For this I know not his authority; but if we suppose that the ancient name related to *yellow*, an etymologist might derive it from a Persian word, which, by merely reading *dr* for *rd* (a transposition of letters very frequent) he could reconcile sufficiently to the *Zadra* (*carta*) of Arrian<sup>(41)</sup>.

Concerning the actual state of *Sári* I must observe that though populous in proportion to its size, it does not cover much ground, nor did the number of large and handsome houses comprised within it, exceed probably ten or twelve; and of these many had suffered considerably from the earthquake three or four years ago: the *bázár* seemed crowded with people and amply stocked with provisions; but the streets were beyond all description dirty; and even those leading from the *Vazír's* to the Prince's palace so badly paved, that it was extremely difficult to guide a horse with safety over the large loose stones and between the deep holes filled with water and filth, which arrested his progress at every third step. The time of my visit was not the season when those "gales of Paradise," mentioned in the *Hafí Aklim*, breathed gently here; I remarked that every night during my residence at *Sári*, a violent wind began to blow about nine or ten o'clock,

(40) "Sarû che e un luogo grande e popolato.—Si chiama questo luogo *Sarû* che significa *giallo*, forse per l'abbondanza, che vi e, degli Aranci e d'ogni altra sorte di "frutti." Lettera IV. da Ferhabad, Mag. 1618.—Viaggi, &c. p. 232, Ven. 1681.

(41) *Carta* or *Kerta* (softened into *Gard*) is the local adjunct, expressing a city, place, or habitation, as may be demonstrated in a hundred instances; *Tigrano-kerta*, *Dárâb-gard*, the residence of Tigranes, Darius, &c. (See Vol. II, p. 317). Added to *sard* or *zard* (ژرد) this would form *Zard carta*, the "yellow city," and in conversation *Zarda carta*; we have already found towns and villages called from colours, green, blue, &c. as *Sayz-vár*, *Kebûd gumbé*, &c. The Greek transcribers of Arrian's work, not attaching (most probably) any meaning to the words, placed *d* before *r* and wrote *Zadracarta* in one passage, while in the next they render it *Zendra-carta*; in this unsettled state of the orthography, it is allowable to suspect another error; and *Zarda carta* may perhaps have been the original name. Every reader of classical history and geography will recollect numerous examples of letters transposed and confounded by the Greek copyists in transcribing barbarous or foreign names, as *Passargardæ*, *Passagardæ*, *Per-sargard*, *Passargodæ*, &c. (See Vol. II. p. 318).



loudly shaking the windows of my chamber, and rustling among the orange trees that grew before it. In the mornings also, there were strong gusts, but of short continuance, and rain fell abundantly both night and day.

The broad accent was here very striking in words where the letter *a* comes before *n*, such as *nán* نان (bread), which among the southern Persians had always been pronounced like our English *noon*; improperly, without doubt, but to their ears, and I must acknowledge to mine, very elegantly. The *Tabri* or *Mázenderáni* dialect was, of course, most generally used by the inhabitants; many of them, however, seemed acquainted equally with Persian and Turkish.

Early on the second day of March, preparing to continue my journey, I received from MİRZA' RĒZA' the *Vazir*, a brown *yábú* (یابو) or excellent hackney of the Turkish breed; he was, said the person who brought him, not sufficiently valuable to be regarded as constituting a *píshkash* or present; but better suited to the bad roads of this province than horses brought from *Ispahán* or *Shíráz*. Thus from the first moment of my arrival at *Sarí* until my departure, incessant proofs of kindness and attention evinced the respect in which our embassy was held by the Prince and his *Vazir*. At half past eight o'clock having taken leave of this hospitable minister, I set out from his mansion; our party being augmented by MUHAMMED SHERÍF KHA'N and his servants<sup>(42)</sup>. We rode through a considerable part of the city; and at length passed

(42) Among the servants of MUHAMMED SHERÍF KHA'N was a *jiládár* or groom remarkable for great sweetness of voice, which he sometimes exerted with such effect that his melancholy songs moved almost to tears several of my companions, even those whose rough aspect indicated the least sensibility; and at the close of any cadence unusually pathetick, they expressed their applause, exclaiming *bah! bah!* or *wah! wah!* to which some added the Arabick interjection *barek allah!* برك الله — وه — به — which all equivalent to good! admirable! excellent! Richardson's dictionary (at least the first edition) informs us that *wah* و signifies (in Arabick) "ah! alas! or (*wachh*) grief, sadness;" but the manuscript *Ferhangs* explain it as a Persian word used to express approbation and praise; *Jehangiri* (كلمه ایست که در محل تعجبین گویند) (Berhán Katea). *Wah* وه thus appears as a distinct word, although from the frequent change of *b* into *w* (or *v*), it might be supposed the same, with *bah* or *bek* به good, excellent.

a gate where fifteen or sixteen musketeers were stationed as a guard. Near this, I endeavoured to sketch that tall *gumbed* with a pointed steeple, and to copy the Arabick inscription before mentioned; but the rain obliterated each letter as I traced it; and we proceeded by a marshy road about one mile and a half, when we rode over the *Pul-i-áb-i-Tejin* (پل اب تيجن), a very handsome, strong and spacious bridge, erected by the present king; as one, built in the time of SHAH ABBA'S, had been destroyed by the river *Tejin*, or rather *Tejineh*, here exceedingly wide and rapid<sup>(4)</sup>. Of the old bridge, some remains near the new were still visible. At ten miles we halted a few minutes on the road-side; and here, during a conversation with different peasants, I contrived to delineate the head of one, at the same time representing the manner in which many carry the *tabr* (تبر) or axe for cutting wood, and the form of this instrument. It is headed with iron, the wooden handle being generally about three feet long. Here I may take an opportunity of remarking that throughout most parts of this province, nearly all the men, several women, and even little children carried *tabrs* of this kind, either in their hands, like walking-sticks, or resting by the curve on their shoulders, as in Miscell. Pl. fig. 26. About thirteen miles from *Sári* the cessation of rain enabled me to sketch a little *tapeh* (تپه) or mount, on the summit of which was a large rude flat stone called *Takht-i-Rustam*, the "Throne or Seat of RUSTAM;" for here, as tradition relates, that illustrious warrior alighted one morning and snatched a hasty breakfast, in his pursuit of the *DI'V-I-SERP*, or "White Giant;" the forest in the back ground intercepted a prospect of the Caspian sea; this stone was on the left of our road, (Pl. LXIX). At four farsangs, or between fourteen and fifteen miles, we went over the *Pul-i-áb-i-Neka*, a high bridge, crossing the deep, rapid, and muddy river *Neka*; this bridge is said to be equally distant from *Sári* and from *Ashraf* (اشرف), which was to be our *manzel* for the night. When we had arrived within five miles.

(4) *Rúd i Tejin* رود تيجن or رود تيجنه *Tejineh rúd*, as I find it in a manuscript of good authority, the *Tarikh Aulum Aráí*; and as Pietro della Valle writes the name which he says signifies the "swift river;"—"Chiamano il fiume *Teggine rud* che vuol dir Veloce Fiume," Lettera 4, da Ferhabad, 1618.

of this place, a small party of men on horseback met us; and half a mile after, an *istikbâl* of about fifty; we rode together during an hour, and I then made a view of the small palace or villa of *Seft-âbâd* (سفت آباد) which is perched on a very lofty hill, and ornamented with cypress trees. It was built by SHA'H ABBA's, and improved or enlarged by SHA'H SEFI, whose name it still bears; and, having fallen to decay, many workmen are now employed in repairing it (See Pl. LXXI). Near this, about eighty foot-soldiers, clothed without any regard of uniformity, and having muskets of various sizes, joined our party and attended us for half a mile over ground which, they said, had once been covered with the houses of *Ashraf*; the first destruction of these they imputed to NA'DIR SHA'H; and what he had spared, the late earthquake ruined. These two scourges were, unquestionably, dreadful; yet I have reason to suspect that the accounts of ravages effected by the earthquake, have been, in some instances, much exaggerated. It was now six o'clock, and the evening almost dark; we passed through the *Bâzâr*; this and the adjacent houses (not very numerous), seemed to be slight wooden structures, covered with reeds and rice straw. We were admitted into the royal garden, a spacious extent of ground, exhibiting many noble cypresses, and other trees of considerable size and beauty. Our horses climbed up some sloping terraces of brick five or six feet high, over these a fine stream of water descended from the *chashmeh* or fountain, and intermediate reservoirs near the palace, where at length we alighted, after a journey of about thirty miles; during which we had, at different times, seen the Caspian sea on our left, distant three or four farsangs. I was conducted to a good room, and learned from an intelligent old *ked khudâ* or householder, that *Ashraf*, a town, which in Sir Thomas Herbert's time was peopled, as he conjectured, by two thousand families, had gradually been reduced to the condition of a mean *deh* or village. SHA'H ABBA's's palace, described by that ingenious traveller (in 1627) as "pretty large and but newly finished," had been burnt accidentally; and the present edifice was erected by NA'DIR SHA'H. It bears, like other royal habitations in Persia, the name of *Chehl-sutûn* (چهل ستون) or the "Forty columns," although not comprising half that num-

ber. Its plan, like the style of its architecture, seemed very simple; a roof supported merely on two rows of wooden pillars served to connect the wings, if so may be styled those brick buildings at each end, containing a few chambers. On the third of March, soon after sunrise, I sketched the appearance of this modern palace and the wooded hills behind it (as in Plate LXXI); and then walked through all the adjacent grounds, attended by the venerable *bághbân* (باغبان) or gardener, a tall old man whose beard was white as snow; he had offered me for a *pishkash*, some small red roses, the first of this year, and related many circumstances relative to the palace, and several extraordinary anecdotes of NA'DIR SHA'H, whom he (when a boy or child, for the tyrant was assassinated in 1747) had seen here, and still perfectly remembered. It now appeared that these gardens comprehended, at intervals of several hundred yards, some magnificent structures, each of which might even now, if repaired, be considered as a palace; but with the *emâret* or edifice destroyed by fire, originally the chief of all, must have constituted a residence of truly oriental and imperial splendour. But through neglect rather than time these memorials of SHA'H ABBA'S glory are mouldering to decay. That they were founded in the Muhammedan year 1021 (of our era 1612) we learn from a chapter in the MS. *Tarikh Autum A'rái*; an historical work composed nearly at the same time; this account, however flowery, affords little more than the date, and the praises usually bestowed by the author on all his royal master's undertakings. It mentions in general terms the "baths, mansions and *tálárs*;" and the formation of "orchards and gardens resembling Eden, and comprising those various edifices and reservoirs of perfect beauty, filled with pleasant and salubrious water, ingeniously conveyed from the lofty mountain adjoining into those *hawz* or cisterns which are like the celestial fountain of *Cawsar*<sup>(44)</sup>; and those bowers that

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(44) Or as the Arabians pronounce it *Cawthar*. This is a river in Muhammed's Paradise: "sweeter than honey, whiter than milk, cooler than snow, and smoother than cream; its banks are of chrysolites, and the vessels to drink thereof of silver; and those who drink of it shall never thirst." See "*Sale's Koran*," note on chapter, GVIII, entitled *Al-Cawthar*.

“might ornament the paradisaical garden of *Irem*”<sup>(45)</sup>. We then read in plainer language that this place having become a favourite habitation of the monarch, “was now exalted from its original insignificance to the rank of a considerable town or city”<sup>(46)</sup>. Yet four years after this account was written, Pietro della Valle described *Ashraf* as “an open tract whereon little had then been erected besides the king’s palace at that time not complete; with its gardens and one street forming a *bázár*, and many houses irregularly scattered in the midst of trees;” and according to a former passage of the Italian traveller’s letter, “SHAH ABBA’s had begun to build at *Ashraf* another new city”<sup>(47)</sup>. Sir Thomas Herbert in 1627 (nine years after Della Valle’s time) speaks of the palace as recently finished: “it is large, says he, and looks into very pleasant gardens; albeit, the building itself be not very regular, but rather confusedly divides itself into four *mohols* or banquetting houses, which be gorgeously painted.” He then adds an opinion, totally different from mine, that “were these united they might better delight the eye. (Trav. p. 183, edit. of 1665). My ancient guide first led me to the *Emáret-i-Chashmeh* (عمارت چشمه) or “Edifice of the Fountain;” whence a stream of admirable water flows in successive falls along the half-ruined walks, shaded with lofty trees, and once bordered with innumerable flowers. Of this *emáret* I hastily made a sketch (Pl. LXXI), and then examined it, ascending to the third story through many spacious apartments, formerly ornamented with gilding, *Arabesque* devices, richly-carved wood-work, and mirrors, of which numerous fragments still

(45) *Irem* or *Arem*, a magnificent palace with delightful gardens, mentioned in the Koran, (chapter LXXXIX). I shall hereafter have occasion to notice it more particularly.

(46) حمام و بیوتات و تالار و باغات و بساطین جنت ایمن مشتمل بر عمارات و حوضخانهها در کمال زیبایی و دلکشایی ترتیب یافته آبپای خوشکوار از کوه بلند بمیاض کوثر ایمن و ریاض ارم تزیین آرد و اکنون آن قصه نیز شهری بزرگست

(47) “E luogo aperto, cominciato adesso a fabricare, che infin’ hora non vi è altro che la Casa Reale, non ancor fornita, con i suoi giardini; & una strada in *Bazar* con molte e molte altre case, sparse senza ordine quà e là per mezzo a gli alberi.”—“Sua Muestra ha cominciato a fabricare un’altra nuova città.” Viaggi, &c. Lettera 4 da Ferhabàd, Tom. I. p. 240, 280, Ven. 1681.

remained in several *tákchehs* (تاقچه) "niches," or recesses. The walls of some chambers had been completely painted, and in three or four compartments I traced the vestiges of an European pencil. Diana with nymphs at a fountain; near her a large urn, and dogs; and some portraits, almost of the natural size. But from the admission of damp air. (all doors and windows having been broken or removed) and from the smoke of fires kindled on the floors of those sumptuous rooms, both the outlines and colours had suffered so considerably that it was difficult to ascertain the subjects designed. Those injuries also extended to some pictures of the best Persian school; in which had been delineated, (for they were discernible, though faintly) very graceful forms and handsome faces of women, besides various representations of men richly clothed as in illuminated Persian manuscripts of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. There were also fractured pieces of glazed tile-work, exhibiting painted scenes from favourite romances; but most of this had been lately transferred to the neighbouring villa of *Señ-ábád*, which masons were now repairing by order of the king or prince. In other compartments the plaster had been totally or partially cut out from the wall; with a design, as it would seem, of removing certain groups, the least worthy of preservation; for, from imperfect figures still visible, the subjects were evidently most offensive to modesty, but therefore adapted to the corrupt taste of Persians; or as Hanway says of the paintings which he saw in another edifice here, "such as could please only a voluptuous Mahomedan." (Trav. Vol. I. p. 294). I next visited the *Sáheb-e-Zamán* (صاحب زمان), a large structure different in its plan but equally majestick in decay; and thence went on to a more extensive building, situate among lofty *chinárs* or planes, cypresses and orange trees; and explored the recesses of its deserted apartments, to enter which had been the exclusive privilege of one man; and even to look on which would once have cost any other man his life; for in this *hharem* (حرم) had resided the beautiful wives of SHAH ABBA'S. I afterwards examined the *khatwet* (خلوت) or private chambers of that monarch, in an edifice falling to ruin, yet like those above noticed, exhibiting through every part, abundant proofs of former magnificence. In the modern *Cheht-sutún* where I was.

lodged, some of the old paintings, neatly executed on tiles, which had ornamented the palace destroyed by fire, were still preserved in the pavement of door-ways and windows. According to the report of my venerable conductor, several hewn stones of the water-works belonging to the *Emâret-i chashmeh*, had been brought at considerable expense from *Astrakhan*; he said also, that one of the noblest trees, growing in these gardens, owed its origin to a shoot or seed, sent either from *Farangkistân* or *Hindûstân* (Europe or India) to SHAH ABBA'S; this was not mentioned until I had mounted my horse, and it was too late to ascertain the particular kind of tree. Leaving these delightful gardens and their princely ruins, we proceeded to the unfinished villa of *Sefi-âbâd*, already delineated in Plate LXXI, which shows its exalted situation, on a mountain finely wooded in some places, and in others covered with grass beautifully verdant. It was about a mile from the *Chehl-sutân*, and very little out of our way towards *Farrah-âbâd*, which we proposed to be the *manzel* of this day. The former villa was most probably that noticed by Hanway, and described by an earlier traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, as having been denominated after its founder, ABBA'S<sup>(46)</sup>; but since the embellishments and additions made by SHAH SEFI, this monarch's name has been attached to it, although the present edifice, (of the *Kulâh Farangki* class, described in p. 20, and in Vol. II. p. 2), has been recently erected on the platform and lower walls of the older building. For the trouble of ascending several flights of steps, we were amply recompensed by a glorious prospect of the Caspian sea, which was, probably, six or eight miles distant; but from such an elevation appeared much nearer. Here a bay was formed by arms of the main land, widely extended, and seemingly, but as my guide declared, not really, insulated. Of many buildings that formerly crowned the summit of this hill and contributed to the delights of ABBA'S'S or SEFI'S villa, there now re-

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(46) "At some distance from this, on an eminence, is a small building which seemed to be intended for an observatory. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, and the Caspian sea, &c." (Hanway's Travels, Vol. I. p. 294). "*Ahseban*" also is not above two miles hence; and far surpasses for a curious summer house, excelling all his other for prospect, painting, hummock, water works, and a forest which is stored with game of several sorts." (Herbert's Travels, third edit. 1635, p. 183).

mained only part of the bath and one end of the aqueduct, by means of which water had been most ingeniously conveyed upwards from a celebrated spring in the neighbouring mountain to a considerable height; this aqueduct was of the kind in Persian architecture styled *Shuter gulu* (شتر گلو) or "Camel's Throat;" having sketched the form of its remains (as in Plate LXXII), I visited the *hammâm* or bath, where many painted tiles removed from the chief palace lay neglected on the floor; some still perfect, but a much greater number irreparably broken.

We descended from the eminence of *Sefi-âbâd*, went on nearly a mile, and passed the *Teh-i-Zîrvân* (ده زیروان), a village dependent on *Ashraf*; and soon after entered the *jungal* (جنگل) or forest, through which, with much difficulty we forced our way, being often obliged, by stumps and branches of trees, to quit the rugged and narrow path, and ride in marshy grounds where sometimes our horses sunk in water to the saddle-girths. We had advanced between five and six miles, when a well-dressed chief at the head of twenty horsemen, armed with muskets and spears, received us very ceremoniously. This chief was KARIM KILÂ'N AFGHÂ'N (کریم خان افغان); he escorted us to his own village, called from its situation on a tumular piece of ground, *Karâ-Tapeh*, or *Tepeh* (قرا تپه), the "Black hillock;" distant from *Ashraf* about seven miles, and in the midst of an extensive level tract, of which the surface was now covered with water and moist clay to the depth of ten or twelve inches, but in summer formed a rich and very fertile plain. Rising above this, the *Tapeh* or "mount" appeared like an island, barely large enough to contain the houses that stood upon it; all slight structures of wood, reeds and straw, except one *emâret*, a mason-work edifice (of brick) which had been erected for the king's accommodation when engaged on a hunting party. As the name of this place, although Turkish, may have been the same, or partly the same, eighteen hundred years ago, I had entertained some hopes of being able, in this *Tapeh* or *Tepeh*, to ascertain the position of *Ta, è*, which Strabo describes as the principal or royal city of Hyrcania; advantageously situate within a little distance of the sea, and according to report fourteen hundred stadia.



from the Caspian straits<sup>(49)</sup>. I thought it not impossible that the epithet *Kara* (black) might have been more recently prefixed; or that the Greek transcribers might have omitted it; thus *Carta* mentioned also in the same passage, as the name of another town in this province, appears to want the *Zadra* or *Zeudra* placed before it by Arrian<sup>(50)</sup>. But I could not discover on the "Black Mount" any ruins favouring its claim either to antiquity or importance. In the time of Strabo, however, the houses of this country were most probably constructed of very perishable materials, as in the tenth century after, when EBN HAUKAL travelled, and as they are now, in the nineteenth<sup>(51)</sup>. On our approach to this extraordinary village, I sketched it as in Plate LXXII, and having breakfasted at the king's hunting-lodge, proceeded two miles when we crossed a river of such depth that those who rode on small horses were carried down the stream for many yards; and the legs of every man were wetted above his boot-tops. In consequence of instructions sent the day before by my *mehmân-dâr*, three or four branches of trees had been laid here so as to form a kind of bridge; but it yielded to the two first mules that were forced half-way over, and they fell into the water, with a man who drove them. We purchased fish apparently of the salmon kind, which some boys had just taken in one of their nets or baskets; all the adjacent morass was covered with snipes, wild ducks, gulls, and other birds. At the fifteenth

(<sup>49</sup>) Among the chief cities he enumerates Ταλαβρόση, και Σαμαριανή και Κορρα, and immediately adds, και το βασιλειον Τάπη ο φασι μικρόν υπερ της Ζαλάττης ιδρυμειον διεχειν τῶν Κασπίων κυλῶν σταδίου χιλίους τετρακοσίον. Strab. Geogr. Lib. XI.

(<sup>50</sup>) See Arrian, (Lib. III.) before quoted p. 266. See also M. Barbié du Bocage (Analyse de la carte, &c. subjoined to Ste. Croix's Examen Critique des historiens d'Alexandre (2de edit.) p. 819; "Strabon fait mention d'une ville de *Carta* dans l'Hyr—" canie qui doit être la même que *Zeudra-Carta* ". It is well known that *Carta*, softened by the Persians into *Garda* and *Gard*, signified a city or town; and occurs in a multiplicity of instances, added to another word; generally the name of some illustrious personage; if applied alone, as in the passage of Strabo, it must signify *kar êçoxn*, "the city;" but from the next sentence we learn that *Carta* was not the capital. I suspect the omission of *Zadra*, *Zeudra*, or some other word; (See p. 267, note). The learned Freuch geographer above quoted, (Analyse de la Carte, &c. p. 819) acknowledging the uncertainty attending *Tape*, supposes that *Amol* may be the place which now represents it.

(<sup>51</sup>) See the printed "Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL," and the corresponding passage in the manuscript, (*Sûr al belâdân*) quoted in p. 255.

mile (from *Ashraf*) we crossed, under similar circumstances, another river equally deep, then rode on the *Kheyábán* or paved causeway of SHAH ABBA'S, but quitted it soon for the intricate *jangal* path, until, about the twentieth mile, according to my best calculation, we passed an old brick-built tower or *burge* (برج), called *Sepid-dár-e-bun* "the root or stump of 'the poplar tree'"<sup>(52)</sup>; where, emerging from the thick forest, we suddenly found ourselves within fifty yards of the very sea; the intermediate space being a smooth expanse of sand so fine that after the difficult roads which we had just left, this shore seemed like the softest carpet<sup>(53)</sup>. So many peculiarities in colour, taste and other circumstances, have been attributed to this sea by various writers, classical and oriental, that I had long been desirous of visiting it. My first observations naturally were made on its distant appearance; viewed from the hill at *Aliábád* (see p. 250), it resembled any other sea; but standing near its waves, I fancied that they looked more brown than the waters of the Atlantick or Indian ocean, or of the Persian gulf; this colour was evidently caused by the admixture of fine sand; each wave as it approached the shore

(<sup>52</sup>) سپید دار بن The word *dár* دار, according to the *Farhang Burhán Katca* signifies in its primary sense a tree; and we find *sepid-dár* thus explained in the same excellent Dictionary; "it is a tree exceedingly graceful in its shape and well proportioned, with leaves growing in a pleasing manner, and it is one of the seven kinds of 'bid or willow; it does not yield fruit or any other product; and it is said that between 'this and the date tree, such an antipathy exists that it will not become green, nor 'flourish in the same place."

سپیددار درختی است بسیار خوش قد و قامت و موزن و خوش برگ و از جمله هفت بدست میوه و ثمر ندارد و گویند میان این درخت و نخل خرما مخالفت است و در یک مکان سبز نشود

The name is also written سپیدار *Sepidár* and سفیدار *Sefidár*; and signifies the "white tree" or "poplar." It is the *gharab* غرب of the Arabians, or as some call it *isham* عشم, according to HAMDALLAH in that chapter of his *Nozhat al Colub* which relates to trees not bearing fruit. (See Vol. I. p. 43, note 57).

(<sup>53</sup>) As it would interrupt considerably this narrative of my journey, I shall place in the Appendix what was originally designed for insertion here, a section or chapter relating peculiarly to the great "Caspian Lake;" for so our Milton, (*Par. Reg.* III. 271) calls this extraordinary sea, and such Herodotus knew it to be; 'H'δε Κασπίη Θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐκ' ἐωυτῆς οὐ συμμισγούσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ Θάλασσᾳ. (*Lib.* I. 203). In that section an original map of the Caspian sea furnished by a very ancient and valuable Persian manuscript, will enable me to form a kind of "Periplus," which it is my intention to illustrate with extracts from the works of Eastern authors.

seemed white from froth; this it deposited on the beach and retired apparently loaded with the sand which it had set in motion. I could not perceive, even when on its brink, that marine or saline smell which so sensibly indicates the ocean at a considerable distance. That the Caspian sea wanted this smell was often remarked, as we advanced towards it, by my servant ISMAAIL, whose life had been chiefly past on the shore of the Persian Gulf. The only shells which rewarded our search along the strand, so nearly resembled the common English cockle-shells that I should have hesitated to offer the engraved representation of two, (from twenty or thirty now before me) had not an ingenious conchologist pronounced them worthy of delineation. They appear in Misc. Pl. fig. 27, of the real size. No person with whom I conversed on the subject of these shells, had ever happened to see one containing the fish; we examined hundreds and all were empty<sup>(54)</sup>. Among the wonders formerly attributed to this lake, were serpents of enormous magnitude<sup>(55)</sup>; that such existed at any period, may well be doubted; for, although one Persian declared to me that he had heard from another, many surprising stories of snakes, vaguely described as two or three gaz long (eight or twelve feet), and thick as the calf of a man's leg, which had often shown themselves in this sea near *Asterâbâd*, yet the Armenians and others who had navigated it in every direction did not recount any marvellous anecdote on this subject; neither does Gmelin, nor Pallas enumerate any remarkable creatures of the snake or serpent kind among the natural productions of the Caspian lake; they found, however, like other travellers who had visited the bordering provinces of *Gilân* and *Mázenderân* during summer, that

(<sup>54</sup>) Herbert enumerates *oysters* among the Caspian fish, (Travels, 3d edit. p. 196; and Gmelin informs us that the rocks and mountains near *Derbend* contain "un nom- bre prodigieux de coquillages," both petrified and calcined; Pallas also mentions the "coquilles appelées *Prignas*," found in the Caspian Sea, (Hist. des Decouv. faites par divers savans Voyageurs, &c. Tom II p. 56 and 191, Berne, 1779. oct.) Bell (of Antermony) saw on the Russian side, as I on the Persian, "no shell-fish except a "kind of cockle, the shells of which are very pretty." Travels from St. Petersburg, &c. Vol. I, p. 63, (Edinb. 1788, oct.) See also Hist. des Decouv. Tome III, p. 77, for names of some shells found in the Caspian by Gmelin and Pallas.

(<sup>55</sup>) *Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris ingentis magnitudinis serpentes alit.* Q. Curt. vi. 4.

snakes were very numerous on the coast<sup>(56)</sup>; and a passage in the Appendix, quoted from the great Persian geographer HAMDALLAH, mentions the *Jezîrch-i-mârûn-bî-zaher* (جزیره ماران بیزهر), or "Island of Serpents without venom."

The beach has been already described as composed of fine sand, over which we rode as on a carpet. It yielded neither pebbles, nor, I may say, stones of any kind, for the few that lay on its surface appeared to have been thrown, or brought as ballast for boats, from the wooded grounds adjoining. We sought also in vain for sea-weed; with which and Caspian shells, I was willing to enrich the cabinet of a friend in Europe. But on the subject of shells and sea-weeds, of the water and its dark colour; and the want of smell in this great lake, the reader must recollect that my observations were confined to an inconsiderable portion of the southern coast; which, perhaps, differs in some respects from the parts distant many hundred miles. There is, however, one circumstance of this sea, which has been remarked, I believe, in every direction; this is the freshness of its water near the shore. Strabo, on the authority of Polycletus, mentions that it was sweetish; Curtius describes it as sweeter than other seas; and that Alexander found it so, we learn from Pliny; his copyist, Solinus; and from Plutarch<sup>(57)</sup>. Its partial freshness is noticed by ΕΒΝ ΗΑΥΚΑΙ, and by European travellers<sup>(58)</sup>. I was extremely de-

(56) "And when we came near the sea we were no less troubled with snakes; for if so be we left the road, and rid through the green pastures, then they would wind about our horses' legs without other harm than affrighting, and serving to persuade us into the common path again." Sir Th. Herbert's Travels, p. 182, (third edit. 1665). See also p. 193. "Nos voyageurs ne croient pas surtout qu'il y ait un pays dans l'univers plus infecté de crapauds, de grenouilles, de lézards, de serpents, &c. que le Ghilan et le Masandéjan." Hist. des Decouv. &c. Tome II, p. 438.

(57) Τρογλύνει εἶναι τὸ νεῦρον. (Strab. Geogr. Lib. xi). "Mare Caspium dulcius ceteris." "dulcior sit quam cetera maria" Quint. Curt. Lib. vi. iv. 18. "Haustum ipsius maris dulcem esse et Alexander magnus prodidit; et M. Varro talem perlatum Pompeio, juxta res gerenti Mithridatico bello, magnitudine haud dubie influentium annuum victo sale." (Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. vi. 17). "Esse in Asiaticis plaga dulcis haustu Alexandro Magno probatum est, mox Pompeio Magno qui bello Mithridatico, sicut commisso ejus Varro tradit, ipsi haustibus periclitari fidem voluit. Id evenire pro- sunt è numero fluminum quorum tanta copia ibi confluit, ut natur. in maris vertant." Solim. Polyhist. cap. XIX. "Γλυκύτερον δὲ τῆς ἄλλης θαλάττης." Paut. in Alexandro.

(58) See ΕΒΝ ΗΑΥΚΑΙ (from the MS. *Sûr al beladân*) quoted in the Appendix, (Article on Caspian Sea), also Jenkinson, Ocarius, Pere Avril, Le Brun, &c.

sirous of ascertaining this point, and immediately on my arrival at the sea from *Ashraf*, lost not a moment in gratifying at once my curiosity on this subject, and my thirst after a fatiguing ride. The water was so slightly brackish that it afforded me a draught, not by any means unpleasant; thinking, however, that thirst had probably recommended its flavour on this first trial, I tasted and found it the same, not only soon after, but several times during my journey of two days along the shore. Among the ancient writers and European travellers (Pliny, Solinus, Olearius, &c.) who notice this freshness, some have ascribed it, and without doubt, most justly, to the numerous rivers that flow into the sea, each for a certain distance according to its size or force, resisting an union with the salt water; but this invariably predominates, and in some places within one mile of the shore, in others within two or three miles; where, as AGNATU'S and MOSE', Armenian traders, whom I shall have occasion to mention, and several Persians who had often navigated it, assured me, the Caspian "is as salt as our "great ocean" (<sup>59</sup>). They further said, that between *Mashehd-i-Sar* and *Langarúd*, (a space of ninety or perhaps an hundred miles) above three hundred rivers of various sizes, contributed to fill this extraordinary lake; and a Persian declared it a matter well known, that they exactly equalled in number the days of the year. This report, although probably much exaggerated, must be founded on the actual and wonderful multiplicity of streams; and is, in some measure, confirmed by Olearius, a writer of undoubted credit, in the account of his own journey along a part of the South Western coast (<sup>60</sup>); and

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(<sup>59</sup>) I use the words of Anthony Jenkinson; "This sea is fresh water in many places, "and in other places as salt as our great ocean." Hakluyt's Coll. of Voyages, Vol. I. p. 334. And Olearius having observed that the "water is neither salt nor fresh," on the coast of Hyrcania which he says, is now called *Kilan*, (for *Gilan*), accounts for it "by reason of the mixture of divers rivers, which fall into the said sea on that side; for "in the sea itself the water is as salt as any other that ever I could taste of." Voyages and Travels of the Ambassadors, &c. English Translation, Lond. 1662, p. 192.

(<sup>60</sup>) "But what on the other side is much to be wondered at, is that though so great "a number of rivers incessantly pay the tribute of their waters into it, yet can it not "be said what becomes thereof. We at first could hardly be induced to believe what "was told us concerning all those rivers; but when at our return out of Persia, between "*Rescht* and *Schamachy*, which was twenty daies journey, we took notice that we had "crossed above fourscore, great and small rivers, we made no difficulty then to acquiesce in the relations we had before received thereof." Ambass. Trav. p. 191.

still more strongly by the testimony of M. Gmelin, the celebrated Russian naturalist<sup>(61)</sup>. A gradual rise in this sea has been frequently noticed; not partial, as in the Mediterranean and other branches connected with the ocean, where the water encroaches on the land at one side and recedes from it on the other; but general, as we learn from a Persian geographer quoted in the Appendix, the Russian observations<sup>(62)</sup> and the testimony of English navigators<sup>(63)</sup>. This rise, however, seems so inadequate to the vast and constant influx of rivers, that it is found difficult to account, why the Caspian sea has not long since overflowed its basin, or risen to a much higher degree. "This," says the Baron de Ste. Croix, "may be explained on the principles of evaporation, which carries off "a quantity of water equal to that admitted"<sup>(64)</sup>; and he cites the opinion of Dr. Halley, and Perry's calculation of the water which this sea may be supposed to receive every minute from the river Wolga<sup>(65)</sup>; after all, he acknowledges his own belief "that the Caspian sea is a reservoir of which the waters "go to form the sources of those rivers that issue from the "mountains of *Cashmir*"<sup>(66)</sup>; thus corroborating, although he

.....  
 (") In the space of about eight miles, on the way between *Resht* and *Amul* are counted, he says, two hundred and fifty rivers, running into the sea, many exceedingly broad and deep, which render the passage across at some times impracticable for weeks together, and others of them torrents almost dry in summer, but liable to excessive floods. "On compte deux cens cinquante rivières grandes et petites qui vont se jeter "dans cette même mer, sur le chemin de *Rudzar* à *Mananderan* (he travelled in 1771) "et rendent souvent la communication très difficile. Il est vrai que l'on comprend "dans le nombre beaucoup de torrens qui sont tellement à sec pendant l'été, qu'on "à peine à trouver quelque trace de leur embouchure; mais il y en a d'autres "d'une largeur et d'une profondeur considérable qui se gonflent tellement au printemps "de même que tous ces petits torrens, que les routes en sont quelque fois impraticables "des semaines entières." See the account of M. Gmelin's travels, published in the "Histoire des Découvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs," &c. oct. Berne, 1779, Tome II. p. 443.

(\*) Mentioned by Hanway, (See his Travels, &c. Vol. I. ch. XXIV. p. 156).

(\*) Capt. Woodroffe, Hanway, &c. Hanway's Travels, Vol. I. ch. XXIV.

(\*) "Ce phénomène peut s'expliquer par l'évaporation; qui enlève une quantité "d'eau égale à celle que reçoit cette mer." Exam. Crit. des His. d'Alex. 2de edit. p. 704.

(\*) Philosophical Transactions, 1687; State of Russia, &c.

(\*) "Au reste, je crois que la Mer Caspienne est un reservoir dont les eaux vont "former les sources des fleuves qui sortent des montagnes du Cachemire" Exam. Crit. (2de. edit.) p. 704.

but partially quotes, the opinion long before expressed by Olearius<sup>(67)</sup>.

From that spot near the ruined tower (mentioned in p. 277) where I had alighted to taste the sea-water, we rode most pleasantly on the soft sand four or five miles, the trees of a thick *jungal* being on our left within fifty yards, and the waves, on our right, gently curling every minute about the horses feet; during these four or five miles we crossed as many rivers; some of which, very broad and deep, it was not reckoned safe to enter on horseback without a guide; and from delays in procuring one and various difficulties in passing over, the evening became extremely dark before we had quitted the sea side and turned towards the left into an intricate forest path. Here SHERIF KHA'N caused lighted candles to be carried before us; at length we reached the river *Tejin* (or *Tejneh*), over which we were ferried in a large flat-bottomed boat; and I was immediately conducted to a spacious and magnificent tent; this the worthy *Vazir*, MI' RZA' RAZA', had sent for my accommodation from *Sári*; it was pitched within a few yards of the river (here very large, muddy and full of fish), and not much farther from the royal palace of *Farahh-ábád* (فره آباد), now falling to decay. Of this day's journey, the greater part had been so fatiguing and disagreeable, that I perhaps over-rated the distance; it seemed to me, however, twenty-six or twenty-seven miles; but Sir Thomas Herbert, or the printer of his book, must have omitted the important word *twenty*, when he informs us that *Farahh-ábád* is five miles from *Ashraff*<sup>(68)</sup>. My statement will much better

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(67) "Besides the mists which are very frequent there, and consequently consume "a great part thereof, the rest is returned by secret channels to the sources of the "fountains and rivers, according to the wise man's saying "that all rivers come out "of the sea and return thither again." *Travels of the Ambassadors*, Eng. edit. 1682, p. 101. Of this passage, notwithstanding the coincidence of opinions respecting the *sources*, M. de Ste. Croix alludes only to the first part; "Olearius pretend que les "eaux de cette mer sont pompées par beaucoup de brouillards." *Examen Critique*, &c. (2de edit.) p. 704, note.

(68) "*Ferrabaut*, the Hyrcan metropolis, but five miles west removed thence, where "the seat royal in that country has been kept for some generations." "The first "night after we left *Asharaff* we lodged in *Ferrabaut*, which is five miles from "*Asharaff*." *Herb. Trav.* pp. 183, 183, (3d. edit. 1685). Perhaps he wrote five leagues.

correspond to Pietro della Valle's account; for in travelling between these places, even at a season when the marshes were becoming dry and the road was already excellent, he employed all the day, except two hours, from an early time of morning until the sun had nearly set<sup>(69)</sup>; and the distance, he tells us, was "about six leagues"<sup>(70)</sup>; which if he meant the Persian leagues or farsangs (as in other passages), would amount to nearly two and twenty miles<sup>(71)</sup>. Our general course had fluctuated between west-north-west and west.

Although the best spot of ground had been chosen for my tent, yet its extreme dampness was almost immediately perceptible through the straw and a new carpet that covered the floor; there, however, I passed the night without any inconvenience or unpleasant consequence; and on the fourth rose before six o'clock, being desirous of visiting the palace called *Jehân-nemâ*, and various remains of other edifices which had rendered *Farah-âbâd* an object of admiration in the seventeenth century. That valuable MS. history of the Abbasides, entitled *Târîkh-Aulun-A'râi* describes the building of this city before the foundation of *Ashraf*; yet enumerates both circumstances as events of nearly the same period; the Muhammedan year 1021, or of the Christian era 1612; after a preamble which serves rather to display the beauties of florid language than to

(69) "A i due di Maggio (1618) la mattina per tempo, partii da *Firhabad*"—sempre verso Levante e sempre per piano, e perche i laghi erano già cominciati a seccare, trovammo buonissima e gustosissima strada—ad hora di desinare ci fermammo a riposare un paio di hore—Ricavalcando poi caminammo fin 'ad un 'hora innanzi al tramontar del sole—finalmente arrivammo in *Eseréf*." Viaggi, Lettera 4 da Ferhabad; Toni. I. pp. 285, 286; Ven. 1681.

(70) *Eseréf*, luogo lontano da Ferhabad intorno a sei leghe" ib. p. 248.

(71) Thus he reckons "four leagues of road," *quattro leghe di strada*, from *Sari* to *Farahâbâd*; this the Persians at present always compute to be four farsangs, and in the manuscript *Târîkh Aulun Arâi*, hereafter quoted, we find it so described; also in the *Tak-wim* of SA'DEK IS FAHANI, who informs us that *فرج آباد از مازندران چهار فرسخی ساری* "*Farahk âbâd* is a town of *Mâzenderân* four farsangs distant from *Sâri*;" and he adds that (from the Fortunate Isles) its longitude is *درج 88 0*; and latitude (from the equinoctial line) *درج 36 10*. Notwithstanding the respectable authorities just cited, for the distance between *Sâri* and *Farahâbâd*, I am inclined to think it one mile and a half or two miles more. The Persians both in conversation and in books, compute by round numbers, and scarcely ever condescend to notice quarters or even halves of farsangs.



communicate interesting particulars, we learn that SHA'H ABBA's "cast the anchor of residence in that spot resembling "the enchanted garden of *Irem*; *Farakh-ábád*, situate on the "shore of the sea of *Khozar*, and hitherto denominated *Táhán*, "through which flows a great river bearing the name of *Tej-neh-rúd*." On the bank of this, the king caused lofty and splendid mansions to be constructed; "and as his mind was "always occupied, whilst he resided here, in promoting mirth, "the place which afforded him so much delight was called "*Farakh-ábád*, or the Seat of Pleasure; and every year he improved and augmented the gardens and edifices, and built "market-places, and baths, and *masjeds* or mosques, and *cara-vánseras*, all of which he prosperously finished; and between "this city and *Sári* a distance of four farsangs, he laid the "foundation of a *kheyúbán* or causeway; and on account of "the frequent rain, and abundance of clay and mud for "which the places bordering on the sea coast in this province (*Dár al marz* or *Mázenderán*, *Gílán*, &c.) are so peculiarly remarkable, the causeway was rendered permanent by a "firm pavement of stone." I omit several lines to notice the consequence of SHA'H ABBA's improvements; "at no "former time," says the historian, "had camels been seen "in this country, going and coming; such were the difficulties and inequalities of the roads, and so numerous were "the thickets and forests; nor had the inhabitants ever beheld "the form of those creatures; but now (A. D. 1616) camels, "string after string, are by night and day passing along "these roads" (79). The same author informs us that when

(79) در خط ارم بنیاد فرج آباد که در ساحل دریای خزر واقع و قبل از این بظاهان موسوم بود لنگر اقامت انداخته—رودخانه عظیمی موسوم به تعینه رود—و چون در مدت اقامت همیشه فرج و سرور در خاطر نزدیک و دور افزایش داشت آن خط فرج بخش را بفرج آباد موسوم گردانیدند و هر سال در باغات و عمارات افزوده بازارگاه و حمامات و مساجد و کاروانسراها بنا نموده با تمام آن موفقی گشتند و از بنده مذکور قاضی ساری که چهار فرسخست خیابانی طرح انداخته بنابر کثرت بارندگی و کل و لای که از خواص امکنه دریا کنار بتخصیص ولایات دارالمرزست خیابان مذکور را سنگ بست قرار داد—و در هر یک زمان بلاد دارالمرز از ضیق طرق و ناهمواری شوارع و آبوهی بیشه و جنگل شکر آمد و شد نموده—الیوم از آن شوارع شتران نظارند عباوروز در رفتارند

SHA'H ABBA's had fixed his court at *Farahhábád*, the chief officers and nobles of the empire immediately erected houses in its vicinity; and so early as the year 1618 it had already equalled in compass or perhaps exceeded, according to the opinion of Pietro della Valle, a most competent judge, the cities of Rome or Constantinople<sup>(73)</sup>. It was probably well peopled also at that time, for the king when inducements of advantageous establishments failed to attract, never hesitated to crowd a newly founded city with inhabitants, by forcibly removing hundreds of families from distant provinces; thus, says Herbert, (*Trav.* p. 183, ed. 1665), "this monarch wherever he "stays long, makes cities of small villages." When that ingenious traveller visited *Farahhábád* (in 1627) the town contained about three thousand families, (*ib.* p. 194); from the highest part, however, of the palace, I could not discern much above three hundred houses, or rather hovels; and these were of wood thatched with straw, and situate near the river among gardens and trees, by which others may have been concealed from view. Of the royal habitation I examined and delineated (as in Plate LXXI) the principal *emáret* or edifice called *Jehán numá*. Although in a state of ruin, this bears evident marks of former splendour; the fine baths and some of its apartments might be repaired, even now, at a trifling expense: on the richly varnished walls of two or three chambers, notwithstanding the effects of smoke and dirt, there still remained vestiges of several portraits, and of those pictures so justly and so quaintly reprobated by Herbert for the scandalous indecency of their subjects<sup>(74)</sup>. Adjacent to this palace were the *bázárs*, or rows of shops, now completely abandoned; extensive brick buildings of excellent architecture, forming a noble square in some respects resembling the *Meidán Ali Cápi* at *Isfahán*. I next explored the *Caravanserá*, the Ma-

(73) "Il circuito che abbraccia la città e grandissimo, come quel di Roma o di Constantinopoli e forse più." But the houses of this town, he adds, were all structures of *cáh gil* (گل گاه) *terra e paglia*, clay mixed with straw. The *Cass Reale* or royal palace was the only edifice of brick; but not then finished (1618), *ma non ancor finita*. Viaggi, Lettera 4 da Ferhabad.

(74) In the third edition of his Travels (printed 1665), p. 194; and still more quaintly in one of the former editions.

*drasseh* or college, the *Masjed* or mosque, the *Dár al Sheffá* (دار الشفا) or *Tabíb Kháneh* (طبيب خانه), a kind of infirmary; all handsome structures now deserted, yet so little impaired that they might easily be restored to their original state. At eight o'clock we set out, and following in a N. W. direction, the rivers winding course along its left bank for about one mile and a half, arrived at the sea. We then turned towards the W. S. W. Two Russian vessels lay at anchor nearly a league from the coast; they were small, but each two-masted: we met the captain of one, with four or five of his men coming up the river in a boat, to purchase meat and bread at the market of *Farahhábad*; he paid us the compliment of taking off his hat as we passed by, and his companions did the same. I learned that although the vessels belonged to Russians the crew were composed of Armenians; and notwithstanding the war, a commercial intercourse was allowed between Astrakhan and the Persian sea-ports. This captain, named AGNATU'S, had traded here for many years. We proceeded along the *kenár-i-deryái* (کنار دریای) or sea shore, riding on the fine soft sand, until wetted through all our clothes by heavy rain, we halted, at the sixth or seventh mile, and took shelter in the thatched hut of some poor fishermen, whose little *naw* (نوار) or canoe was drawn up on the beach; their nets extending far out in the water, fastened with ropes to stakes driven at certain intervals into the bottom, and supported between the stakes by floats on the surface. They had just taken some fish of three or four different kinds, but chiefly what they called *máhi sefid* (ماهی سفید) "white fish;" which seemed most abundant, and was found in all the great rivers of this country near the sea; for several days it had furnished the principal dish of my dinners and often of my breakfasts. We had scarcely alighted at the hut when the hospitable proprietors heaped fresh wood on their fire, and with dexterity peculiar to persons of their vocation, seizing a fish almost three feet long, and still palpitating with life, instantly split it into two parts, and having rubbed these well over with salt and pinned them, with skewers of reed, to a stick nearly equal in thickness to a man's wrist, held this close to the brisk fire, and soon toasted thoroughly the *máhi sefid*, which thus simply cooked, I much preferred to *pilaws* of fowl and lamb, brought by my

servants from the last *manzel*; these, however, proved a most welcome and extraordinary luxury to our hosts. As the rain increased we thought all further precaution against wet unnecessary; and mounted our horses during a severe shower, but remained some minutes to see the fishermen embark in their canoe, which was hollowed out of a large tree, and about twelve feet long, and fifteen or sixteen inches wide; as they paddled on towards their nets, although the sea to a considerable distance is but a few feet deep, the waves which beat violently against the shore, lifted them up and down and sometimes for a moment almost concealed them totally from our view. Some of my party who had never seen a boat until the day before, were exceedingly alarmed and repeatedly exclaiming *Yá Ali! Yá Ali!* (يا علي), called on that holy personage to assist the fishermen. We continued our course on the sand until stopped by the *Síáh rúd* (سياء رود) or "black river;" which it was here necessary to cross at the very mouth; a circumstance not effected without much difficulty and some danger; for having waited above an hour in vain, for a sloop which we expected to find ready, in consequence of previous orders sent to *Mashehd-i sar*; SHERIF KHA'N, MULA' ABBA's and I, crossed the river on horseback, although the sea often struck us with such force as nearly to lift us from the saddles. Soon after we had crossed, the sloop arrived from *Mashehd-i sar*, and at the same time some little canoes came down the *Síáh rúd*; on these the baggage was placed; none of them exceeded twenty inches in breadth, and it required considerable steadiness, patience and activity, to convey in each a single mule-load without oversetting; one man kept the baggage firm while another paddled and held a rope to which was attached the first horse or mule; to the tail of this was fastened another; and thus a string of five or six swam after the canoe, their heads just appearing above the water; many mules, however, went across voluntarily, following quietly their old companions, and landing exactly on the spot where these had emerged from the river. Between two and three hours were consumed in the operations here; during which time I gratified my curiosity by going on board the sloop and sailing in it about half a mile; I then returned to the shore in one of those canoes before-mentioned: the sloop was a small

vessel (of perhaps five and twenty or thirty tons); appeared ill-built and clumsy, and sailed badly; each side was defended and heightened two or three feet above the gunwale, by thick bundles of reeds. Here, at the mouth of the *Siáh rúd*, although there was but little wind, the Caspian waves produced a loud, hollow, thundering sound; they looked white with foam as they advanced, and brown with sand as they retreated. From this spot *Farahh-ábád* was reckoned distant two farsangs; and we proceeded two more to the mouth of the *Tálár*, across which we were carried in canoes, the mules and horses swimming after us; this river was very broad and deep, and with boatmen less skilful or experienced than those who managed the canoes, our passage would have been exceedingly dangerous. From an adjoining village situate on the *Tálár*, this ferry is denominated *Chapacur rúd* (چپکورد), as the name was written by SHERIF KHA'N. It is the *Chacoporo* which Herbert places a little nearer to *Farahh-ábád* than either the local computation or mine<sup>(75)</sup>. At one farsang beyond this, we crossed in like manner the *Mír-e rúd* (میر رود), and leaving the baggage to be sent on at leisure, quitted the sandy beach on which we had hitherto ridden, and proceeded through fields and *jangals* (nearly parallel, however, with the line of sea coast) untill we arrived at the noble river *Bahbul*, and soon after, among clusters of trees, we discerned the *Gumbed* or *Imámzádeh's Tomb* at our halting-place *Mashehd-i-sar*; near which we were received by the chief, MÍRZA' HASSAN (میرزا حسن), with several of the inhabitants, who conducted me to an excellent house. Here I gladly ended the journey of this day, which had been performed during incessant rain. From the last ferry (of *Mír-e-rúd*) to *Mashehd-i-sar* was computed a space of one farsang, so that with the distance already enumerated, we had travelled about twenty-two or twenty-three miles, almost wholly in the direction of West South West. Close to the house where I

(75) "We travelled along the sea-side and came the first night to *Chacoporo*, which "is about twelve English miles west from *Ferrabaut*. The way we rode was close by "the shore. This town lies open to the sea, which beats oft so outrageously against "her banks, that the inhabitants are oft put to charge in maintaining them. Here we "crossed over a fresh water that was about a stone's cast over; one moneth in the year "'tis salt, as the inhabitants told us, but not the reason of it." Herbert's Travels, p. 198, third edit. 1695.

lodged, were many orange-trees loaded with fruit apparently ripe; spring, indeed, seemed very forward in the neighbourhood of this place; leaves mostly green; innumerable blossoms of various kinds, and flowers in abundance, appeared on every side. My room was well furnished with mats and carpets, and warmed by means of a charcoal fire; as the baggage did not arrive for two hours after we had alighted, this served to dry my clothes of which not even the smallest part had escaped a thorough wetting; all my companions were in a similar state, and many of them, especially MULA' ABBA's, felt for several days, the bad effects of this expedition. From some loud conversation in the court, after our arrival, MÍRZA' HASSAN the principal householder of this town, seemed to have incurred the anger of my *Achmándúr*, who accused him of neglect and inattention respecting the sloop which, according to instructions sent from *Farahh-ábád*, he should have prepared for our accommodation at the sea side two or three hours sooner. What the MÍRZA' said in his defence I could not hear; but as he went away, my friends vented their indignation in words not merely directed against him, but, in the usual unjust manner, against the unoffending women of his family; one prayed that his favourite wife might have, for a second husband, an ass; another wished that his wives, sons and daughters might be carried off by the ferocious *Turkománs*; and a third dignified him with a title equally new and extraordinary, styling him the grand *Kurmsák Báshi* (ترمسای باشی) or chief of all *Kurmsáks*, a word which has been explained in Vol. II. p. 543. To MÍRZA' HASSAN, however, I was indebted for a present of two bottles containing very good wine, and one bottle of strong spirits resembling white brandy; this was called *maskú* by the Persian servants, having been brought with the wine, as they said, from Moscow.

Early on the fifth I walked about *Mashehd-i-sar*; it is situated near the sea, on the banks of a most delightful and considerable river, the *Bahbul*. To me the town, though not decorated with the remains of magnificent palaces, seemed larger and in every other respect better than either *Farahh-ábád* or *Ashraf*, for it comprised many good houses of brick, and a great number well built of wood; some, even the meanest,

were inclosed within neat fences of sugar-canes. In the river was a sloop of about fifty tons, which several men were busily repairing. Sugar forms an important article in the commerce of this place; MÍRZA' HASSAN sent some to me at breakfast; it was liquid as honey and brownish, but well flavoured. Of *Mashehd-i-sar* the name is modern, and I do not recollect its occurrence in any geographical or historical manuscript: it is here spelt in our letters, according to the general pronunciation; and a Persian to whom I had applied respecting its orthography, wrote مشهد *Mashehd i sar*, and informed me that the town was so denominated from the saint's or *Imám-zâdeh's* tomb, before mentioned; as *mashehd* or *meshehu* is used to express a spot rendered sacred by the martyrdom or the interment of personages held in religious veneration by the Muhammedans. We commenced our morning's ride at half past eight o'clock, and traced the winding river *Babut* which ran on our right, in a contrary direction, through a country even now smiling and beautiful. At five miles we halted a few minutes to view the pleasant hamlet of *Pazavár* (پازوار) and soon after *Hamzah Kelá* (حمزه كلا), a name implying the village of *Hamzah*; both these places had good *bázárs*. As most parts of the country from *Farah-ábád* to *Bárfurúsh* were under the superintendence of MÍRZA' REZA' the *Vazír*: his son, my *Nich-mándár*, was received wheresoever we passed, by hundreds of the inhabitants with many congratulations and compliments. He led me to a handsome house which the *Vazír* had lately built; and here I was sumptuously feasted with an ample collation, and entertained with the vocal performance of a boy whose musical powers placed him above all competitors in this country, remarkable for its numerous and excellent singers; his voice was indeed wonderfully clear and soft; and my ear being perfectly reconciled to the Persian style of singing, I was much delighted by his sweet and plaintive melody. From the *Vazír's* house we went on, after a halt of two hours, about one mile and a quarter to *Bárfurúsh* (بارفروش) or as it is commonly called *Bárfurúsh*<sup>(76)</sup>, passed

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(76) The name compounded of two words, *bár* (بار) a load, and *furúsh* (فروش) selling, apparently alludes to the mercantile origin of this place; yet I have heard a

through the long and crowded *bázár* and proceeded a mile beyond the town, to a villa not yet quite finished, which the Prince designed for his summer residence; situate in an island of the great river *Bahbul*, and denominated *Bahr-al-Arem*, or *Irem*<sup>(77)</sup>; as we approached I sketched this beautiful spot, which had been originally peninsular, but rendered by art an island. (See Pl. LXXII). The Prince's new villa appears at one extremity, with a magnificent cypress; in the middle is seen an *emáret* or edifice erected by SHA'II ARBA'S, which was now almost in a state of ruin; and on the right a bridge constructed of boards and beams, supported on pillars of brick, but without any rails or battlements; this connects the island with the main land, on the *Bárfurush* side. The general course of our day's journey had been chiefly in a Southern direction,



well informed Persian declare that he considered *Bárfurush* as the *ast* (اصل) or original orthography; and the vulgar pronunciation, it must be acknowledged, tends to confirm his opinion: this pronunciation, however, may arise from the perverse and common inclination towards an interchange of the letters L and R, already noticed in the course of these volumes, and evinced by my *Búshehri* servant and another stranger at our last stage *Mashehd-i-ser*, which they persisted in calling *Mashehd-i-sal*, although in this instance the inhabitants had not set them an example, and the nature of their mistake had been repeatedly explained to them.

(77) *Bahr* (بحر) the sea or ocean; *أرم* *Arem* or *Irem*, a terrestrial paradise; this name is first mentioned in the *Koran*, chap. lxxxix. (see verse 6, 7 and 8).

الم تر كيف فعل ربك بعاد أرم ذات العماد التي لم يخلق مثلها في البلاد

A passage differently translated by those two learned orientalist, Maracci and Sale; the former rendering it thus: "Non ne animadvertisti quomodo se gesserit Dominus tuus cum *Adæis*; *Erameis* habentibus columnas; quibus non fuit creatum simile ipsis in regionibus;" (*Alcor.* Vol. I. p. 799); the latter interpreting it in this manner, "Hast thou not considered how thy Lord dealt with *Ad*, the people of *Irem*, adorned with lofty buildings, the like whereof hath not been erected in the land" (*Sale's Koran*; Vol. II. p. 494; *Bath*, 1795). From the notes of Maracci we may perceive that he adopts the explanation of an Arabian commentator respecting the words *ذات العماد* "præditi columnis," or "habentes columnas;" which he supposes to be used in allusion to the gigantic stature of those *Adeans* or *Adites*, the people of *Irem* or *Erameans*; whilst Sale believes, with those whom he considers as better authority, that they relate to the palace and gardens made in the deserts of *ADEN* by *SHEDD'AD*, the son of *AD*. This opinion seems confirmed by the innumerable passages of Eastern writers, referring to that magnificent structure, with which they compare whatever is most beautiful, sumptuous or delightful, in architecture or landscape. A description of this celebrated spot, literally translated from a rare Persian work, by Dr. Jonathan Scott, has been published in the "Oriental Collections," (Vol. III. No. I. p. 32), and several MS. accounts equally wonderful are now before me; that will convey, however, to the reader an idea sufficiently accurate of this fabulous paradise to which the Asiatics so frequently allude.



but winded variously according to the inflexions of the river: it was not quite three farsangs from *Mashehd i sar* to *Bār-furúsh*; and the Persians who seldom notice fractions in itinerary measurements, described the distance to be three *light* farsangs, *seh farsang-i-sabk*<sup>(78)</sup>. We may compute it between nine and ten miles; during which space I observed a fuller population and a greater appearance of industry, opulence and comfort, than had been exhibited in any other part of the country for thirty miles; the pasture fields were covered with fine verdure; the other grounds highly cultivated; the farm-houses scattered on every side, were most neat and commodious buildings, each with a good garden and orangery; there were numerous plantations of sugar-canes. The *tút* (توت) or mulberry-trees also abounded here; and as their leaves serve to nourish the silk-worm, were styled by many, *dirakht-i-ábreshím* (درخت ابرشیم) or “the silk-tree.” Of the Prince’s villa there was not any chamber in a finished state; that assigned to me wanted yet the wooden doors and glass windows, of which some carpenters were now preparing the frames; but its floor was soon covered with a handsome carpet; the hearth glowed with a charcoal fire; and having set up my little camp-bed, I resolved to halt during the sixth, in this garden of *Irem* or “Terrestrial Paradise;” as some of the horses had suffered from our journey on the fourth, and required rest; MU’LA’ ABBA’S, too, had felt strong symptoms of rheumatick fever, since our wetting on that day, and would have been unable to proceed before the seventh. I also wished to employ some hours in arranging and transcribing several notes hastily made on the road, since our departure from *Sári*; and in fixing with ink or colours, the sketches hitherto only traced with a black-lead pencil. These tasks and an excursion to *Bār-furúsh* I deferred as business for the next day; and explored meanwhile the remains of SHAH ABBA’S old palace, and from the new building, in company with SHERIF KHA’N, shot wild ducks and other aquatic birds

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<sup>(78)</sup> سه فرسنگ سبک. Thus when a journey exceeded in some trifling degree five farsangs, I have heard them describe the distance as *panje farsang i sangin* (پنج فرسنگ سنگین), five heavy farsangs.

swimming within thirty or forty yards of our windows, close under which the river majestically flowed. In the evening I received a visit and a present from YŪ'SUF BEIG (يوسف بيگ) the *Zābet* (ضابط) or chief magistrate of *Bárfurúsh*; on whom some bestowed the higher title of *Hákem* (حاكم) or governor; the present consisted of sweetmeats, oranges, lemons and pears, with a high square-shaped Russian bottle of red wine brought by the *Zābet*'s son. At five o'clock Fahrenheit's Thermometer was at 48, in the open air; but two or three hours earlier, the day had been warm and some slight showers of rain had fallen.

On the sixth of March according to the established *destúr* (دستور) or forms of politeness, I went with my *Mehmándár* at one o'clock, to return the visit of YŪ'SUF BEIG whom we found at *Bárfurúsh*, in a balcony open on three sides, to which the ascent was by very steep and inconvenient stairs. Here many of the chief inhabitants had assembled; and we were entertained with the customary refreshments of *Kaleáns*, or pipes, coffee, sweetmeats, fruit and sherbet. The governor's son alone partook not of this treat; for, though seemingly arrived at the age of eighteen or twenty years, he stood during the whole interview, in a most respectful manner before his father, and observed a profound silence. After half an hour I took my leave, and rode through different quarters of the town which seemed to extend above a mile in most directions; it was very populous; the houses, although many were composed of wood, had the appearance of being comfortable habitations; and the shops were well-furnished and numerous; especially in the *bázár* which constituted a street, probably three quarters of a mile long; and exhibited all the bustle of commercial activity. To this place the Russians send cloth, paper, thread, iron, steel, gunpowder, locks of various sizes, *senúber* (صنوبر) or deal-wood, and *Bulghári*, that which we call "Russia leather"<sup>(79)</sup>. They take back in

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(79) بلغاری. Of this leather the consumption is very considerable, as the Persians make of it not only their boots, or *chakmehs* (چکمه), but, notwithstanding its strong smell, their *matahrchs* (مطهره) and other vessels for carrying water on a journey.

return silk, cotton, rice, fish, wood to be consumed as fuel (or *himeh* هیمه) and for different purposes; also shawls and other articles of Eastern manufacture. I have sought some account of *Bārfurūsh* in the old manuscripts both historical and geographical, but without much expectation of finding any; for the *Haft Aklim* describes this town as one of recent foundation. Having mentioned *Sāri* among the chief places of *Māzenderān*, this modern work continues thus; “and another is *Bārfurūsh*, a very delightful town or city which has been “erected in these (our own) times”<sup>(80)</sup>. Herbert informs us that (about 1627) he “rode to *Bārfrushdea*, a large town, “pretty well built and no less well peopled”<sup>(81)</sup>; yet the word *dea* which he attaches to the name (for *deh* ده or *deh* دهی) restricts it to the rank of a village; and according to all the information that I obtained, its present importance has been chiefly acquired within the last hundred years. Some people of the place assured me that their governor could, at a short notice, assemble here eight thousand *tufangchi* (تفنگچی) or soldiers armed with muskets, to repel (what they seemed much to apprehend) any invasion or attack that might be attempted by the Russians. The country near *Bārfurūsh* is flat, but beautifully wooded, rich and verdant: the nearest mountains appeared at this time covered with snow.

On the seventh, MİRZA' SA'DEK being desirous of passing a few days with his father the *Vazīr* at *Sāri*, set out at an early hour, promising to overtake me at *Shīrgāh* on my way back to *Tehrān*; and soon after eight o'clock, leaving most of my baggage, horses and servants at *Bārfurūsh*, I proceeded with *SHERIF KHA'N* and *MULĀ' ABBA'S* on the road to *Āmul* (آمل); winding, after we had left the island, for about

(80) و دیگری بارفرش که شهری نزهت و با طراوت است و بنای آن درین روزی

MS. *Haft Aklim*—Fourth Climate.

شد

(81) *Travels*, p. 198, (third edition, 1665); he subjoins “but the sea does not so much advantage them as the land, by reason of that plenty of silk worms they nourish; “and indeed the place appeared to us the pleasanter by reason of that plenty of wood “and water which was as good as plentiful.” He places it at twelve long miles from *Chacoporo* (*Chapacur rúd* above-mentioned), and might, I think, have added two more.

one mile and a quarter, along the river's right bank, according to a sketch made as we went on, and copied in Pl. LXXII. We then passed over a handsome bridge (of brick) constructed by an ancestor of the reigning monarch; here we lost sight of the river *Bahbul*, and continued our journey in nearly a straight line, and the direction chiefly of west-south-west; riding for several miles on the paved *kheyâbân* or causeway; which, however, was in some parts so decayed and injured, that we were obliged to turn off into fields and marshes. At six miles we came to a stream over which were two small brick buildings; and we halted to refresh the horses at *Kâsem Beigy* (کاسم بیگی), a hamlet of four or five scattered houses, reckoned two farsangs and a half distant from *Bârfurûsh*, or half-way between that town and *A'mul*. On our approach within two miles of this city, about forty *Ked khudâs* or householders, on foot, received us with an irregular volley of fire-arms; a *Lûti*, or buffoon, then entertained us with various tricks, dancing in a ridiculous manner to the sound of his *tumbûk*, or more correctly *tambik* (تنبیک), a drum which he carried under the left arm, slung by a strap from his neck. I sketched the form of this instrument, as represented in the Misc. Pl. (fig. 28); it was made of wood, open at the narrow end and covered at the other with parchment, very tightly stretched, as the sound indicated; on this he tapped with the fingers of his right hand. We met, soon after, the *Zâbet* or chief, with twenty or thirty men of respectable appearance, who attended us on horseback across the river *Harhaz* (اھرھز), a little below the bridge of *A'mul*, which had been shattered by the late earthquake; the stream, where we rode over it, although very broad, was not at this time much above two feet deep. I alighted at the governor's house, having travelled five farsangs or about eighteen miles; through a country almost uniformly flat, finely watered and highly cultivated; in which the exuberance of *jangals* or forests had been reduced, yet a sufficiency of beautiful trees remained for every purpose of ornament; several villages with their flourishing gardens and verdant fields appeared in different directions at a little distance from the road; and the brick cottages with their red-tiled roofs, gave to these rural scenes an air of neatness and comfort that strongly reminded me of England. The day

being cloudy we could not discern Mount *Damāvand*; but the great ridge of *Alburz* to which it belongs, was partly visible with its covering of snow. The house in which I was lodged had once been exceedingly handsome, large and as convenient in the distribution of apartments as the general plan of Persian habitations would admit. But it had been more than half ruined by the earthquake; and one wall of the chamber allotted to me was cracked from the ceiling to the floor, and a considerable fissure newly stopped with dry bricks; the other walls had also, though less materially, suffered; and in many spots the fine old gilding and rich varnish (seldom equalled in the decorations of modern buildings) had been effaced or injured. Some Persian verses beautifully written in the *tálik* hand, filled a tablet in one of the recesses or *tákkeh*, over the fire-place, five or six feet high, and above three feet wide; these I copied, but have lost the paper which contained them. The *Zábet* declared that this house had been built one hundred and sixty years; the poetical lines, if I remember rightly, comprised a date which confirmed this account. But an inscription of a very different kind attracted my notice; it had been scratched, on the lower part of the wall, by a person sitting probably on the floor close to the fire-place; and exhibited, in large and very excellent characters, a violent imprecation against "*tous les habitans d'Amol*," whom, without exception, it consigned most unmercifully to "*Le Grand Diable d'Enfer*," with "*Amen!*" the date of 1808, and a capital *J* as the initial letter of some name, inclosed within a wreath. I now learned that two gentlemen of the French Embassy under General de Gardane had, on their tour through *Mázenderán*, occupied this room; but by what offence "all the inhabitants of *Amul*" had incurred their indignation, was not explained.

In the evening of this day, and early the next morning, I explored the remains of a city once regarded as the capital of *Tabristán*, and celebrated for its beauty, extent and numerous population; but now fallen much below its original importance, and wearing an air of poverty, gloom and progressive decay; yet several good shops still remained, and the *bázár* seemed crowded with people; most of the inhabited houses

were, like the *bázár*, constructed of wood, and either roofed with boards or thatched with straw; but the vestiges of ample foundations, and the ruined walls of large and excellent brick edifices, scattered over a considerable space of ground, sufficiently bespoke the former size and opulence of this place; and excited an idea of antiquity although nothing really ancient appeared among them, at least to me. In the vicinity, however, were some monuments to which the inhabitants assigned a date so very remote, that all my antiquarian curiosity was fully awakened. I therefore hastened to examine ten or twelve small towers, situate at the distance of a few hundred yards one from another; these were as usual, considered by my Persian guides as having belonged to the *Gabrs* or fire-worshippers, (*mál-i-gabrán* مال كبري): their forms were various; chiefly square and octagonal, with high pyramidal roofs, like the spires of our churches. The late earthquake had totally overthrown one and much damaged others; but it was manifest from the appearance of two or three that they had been in a state of ruin fifty years before. The reader may form some notion of these buildings from the subjoined little sketches of the two most perfect, (See Pl. LXXIII); and of another that stands on the bank of a very clear and murmuring stream, in a romantick spot, shaded with trees. This *gumbed* was distinguished by the name of *Shams-ar'-resúl* (شمس الرسول), one of the *Musulmán* saints; a numerous race for which *A'mul* was (and I believe is still) remarkable. That these towers, all composed of brick, were only works of a Muhammedan age, I had suspected from their style of architecture, and ornaments of painted and lackered tiles; and it was evident that they had been erected as sepulchral monuments, not merely from their bearing the names of holy personages, but from the actual grave of the saint above mentioned; this was covered with a wooden frame and occupied the floor of an arched or covered chamber, formed by the four walls and elevated roof of that *gumbed* delineated with the other two in Pl. LXXIII. My guides next led me to a spacious *Masjed* or mosque, founded as some relate by *SHA'U ABBA'S* or his daughter; to me it appeared much more ancient, and wore an aspect of decay almost as melancholy as the tombs above described; its dome or vaulted roof was mouldering into a rude

mass of brick and mortar; and its walls had fallen in many places, and appeared much injured in others, (See Pl. LXXIII). This state of ruin was attributed chiefly to the earthquake; and after a lapse of four years the effects of its violence were here seemingly recent; but a tree of no inconsiderable size which had forced its way through some breaches of the wall proved that, at least twenty years before, this building had been much neglected. Yet it was said that an establishment, coeval with its foundation, still existed, for occasional repairs and for the maintenance of a pious elder attached to it, as a sexton or guardian; in such a character, I heard, some *seyed* (سید or reputed descendant of the prophet's family) now occupied one of the wings. A profusion of glazed and painted tile-work, was visible on different parts; and the open court, in front, contained an ample *hawz* or reservoir of water, for the religious ablutions of true-believers. From this we proceeded to the castle of HUSHANG (*Kalau' i Hushang* قلعه هوشنگ), which to me, judging merely from its foundations and deep square ditch (for little more remains), appeared extremely ancient; but, whether authorized to claim as founder, HUSHANG, the second monarch recorded in Persian annals, and consequently an antiquity of two thousand seven hundred years, it is, perhaps at this time not possibly to ascertain. "Here," exclaimed one of my guides, "the great SECANDER resided "during his stay at A'mul."—"It is very probable," said an old man who had accompanied us from the mosque, "that SECANDER occasionally visited this fortress; but all the world "knows that his Grecian troops were encamped on yonder "*sahhrá* (صحرا);" and he pointed to the open plain about a mile distant, over which we had ridden on our way from *Bárfurúsh*. That any local tradition respecting Alexander, should thus spontaneously offer itself, was highly grateful to one who had been long employed on the history of that conqueror, and more particularly of his marches in the East; for though Hanway had given me reason to expect some reports concerning the Grecian camp near A'mul, I had not yet commenced my inquiries on that subject<sup>(82)</sup>. Adjoining the

(82) "As we approached towards AMUL (says Mr. Hanway) the country appeared, "still more pleasant; this city is situated in a plain at the foot of that part of Mount

remains of this castle was a wall or embankment strongly built of stone, and washed by the river when more full than at present; a *burge* (تور) or tower standing on it, seemed still nearly perfect. Of this embankment I have introduced one end into the view (Pl. LXXII) which represents all of the handsome bridge and its twelve arches that the earthquake left; and as much of the city as could be comprehended in the sketch. It must however, be remarked, that the very flat situation of *A'mul* is unfavourable to its appearance on paper, as little more is visible than a few trees and some thatched houses; but one direction offers a fine back ground of distant mountains; and in another, within seven or eight miles, are seen many beautifully wooded hills. In the year 1627, Herbert computed the inhabitants of this place to be "not less than three thousand families," (Trav. p. 198); and from the widely scattered vestiges of ancient buildings it is probable that in former ages the population had been much more numerous. Borrowing the words of that ingenious traveller (p. 199), as applicable now as when he described this city, we may speak of "her visible ruins making good the report, that once it was this country's metropolis." He also notices (p. 199) the strong and handsome castle, and the cathedral or principal mosque; in which, as he heard, were entombed "*four hundred and forty-four* princes and prophets"<sup>(63)</sup>; and in recounting his adventure near the bridge he mentions a race of beauties, not yet, perhaps, extinct: for accident favoured me with an opportunity (although momentary) of seeing

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"TAURUS where the PERSIANS say ALEXANDER encamped and refreshed his army." Travels, Vol. I. p. 286. He alludes, without doubt, to the *Castle of Húshang* in the following passage—"Here we found the ruins of an old fortress which had been very strong and regular beyond any I saw in PERSIA; the walls were of brick and of great thickness; they say it has been repaired every two hundred years since the time of the original foundation, said to be four thousand years ago; but this unluckily happens to be before the deluge according to our accounts." Travels, ib. I shall here add two or three lines from Sir Thomas Herbert; "the next town of note that we came to was *Omoal*, which some take for *Zarama*; others for that *Zadracarta* where Alexander refreshed his army in that pursuit he made after Bessus, that infamous *Bac-trian*," &c. Travels, Third Edit. p. 198.

<sup>(63)</sup> The reader may recollect in my account of *Kum* (pp. 102, and 104) how the soil of that city was said to be enriched or sanctified by the remains of *four hundred and forty four* Muhammedan saints.



without their veils, three or four young girls, whose pretty faces might have attracted notice even in England<sup>(84)</sup>.

This account of *A'mul* shall be closed with a few anecdotes extracted from the rare or celebrated works of eastern writers, and arranged, according to the system which I have generally observed on similar occasions, as nearly in chronological order, as the uncertain age of some books and authors will allow; and it happens, that he whom I must here first quote as the oldest, and who is likewise the most celebrated as an historian, MUHAMMED BEN JARI'R, surnamed AL-TABARI or TABRI, was born in this very city, the subject of our present inquiry, in the year 224 of the *Hejrah*, or of our era, 838; and with respect to it, we may perhaps, suspect that he was not wholly free from the partiality of a native. His *Táríkh Kebír* (or "Great Chronicle") informs us that the Scythians or *Turánians* under AFRA'SIA'B, having (in the eighth century before Christ) defeated several times the Persians or *Iránians*, their king "MINÚCHERR took refuge in "*Tabristán*, and shut himself up in the fortress of *A'mul*; and "this is a place surrounded with numerous thorny brambles; "and here the *Turkás* and strangers were unable to act, whilst "*A'mul* abounded with provisions of every kind; considerable "quantities of fruit; different herbs, grain, pulse, and sugar variously prepared (*páníz*); there were stores of garments and "carpets for winter and summer; and whatsoever men could "possibly require, might be found at *A'mul*; neither was it "necessary to send elsewhere for any thing. Then king "*AFRA'SIA'B* with all his *Turkás* sat down before the gates

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(84) "Thence passing," says Herbert, "to the river side, (over which upon a bridge "of stone we rode the night before) to refresh myself under some poplars; for, as says "a poet of another like place, this had "*beds of grass and walks in shady woods*," "*and meadows ever green, with crystal floods*." "seven or eight more beautifull than "bashfull damozels, (like so many nymphs sprang out of the water, as I suppose, to "admire my habit. But I no less admiring their confidence quickly left them; having "this in thought, *Quod non vetat lex, hoc vetat fieri pudor*:" for the truth is, I took "them for *Amarosa's*, and violators of the bounds of modesty, until from better satisfaction I was made to believe it was simplicity and the opportunity they took to see "a stranger; for when the sun mounts to his meridian, the men commonly go to sleep, "and the women then have the benefit of the river, where they use to swim and probably "cool their heat," &c. Sir T. Herbert's Travels, Third Edit. p. 199,

“of the city of *Amul*, and besieged it during ten years, whilst  
 “king MINU'CHEHR remained in the castle, and was not once  
 “obliged to procure either clothing or food from any other  
 “place; for he possessed there such a superfluity of garments,  
 “carpets, herbs and vegetables of every kind, that he occa-  
 “sionally sent some as presents to AFRA'SIA'B; thus saying,  
 “how long soever you may continue before the gates of this  
 “city, I cannot suffer any injury, defended by so strong a  
 “castle; and to what distress can you possibly reduce me  
 “who here enjoy all that the whole world affords? It is not  
 “necessary for me to seek any thing beyond this place, and  
 “here are various commodities that cannot be found else-  
 “where; and accordingly he sent some of them all to AFRA'-  
 “SIA'B. It is said, that during these ten years neither MINU'-  
 “CHEHR nor his army wanted any thing from without the  
 “city, except pepper, used in the cooking vessels; for it  
 “prevents the bad effects of damp or moisture; and this  
 “country being situate near the sea coast, its air is affected  
 “by humidity; and this pepper is brought from the land of  
 “*Hindistân*, to this place and to every other part of the  
 “world. Then king MINU'CHEHR assembled all his wise  
 “men and said, “what means can we devise to supply the  
 “deficiency of pepper, so indispensably necessary in this  
 “climate?” They replied “in this place is a certain plant  
 “called *Zinjibîl* (ginger); command the people to use it in  
 “their *dîks* or vessels, for culinary purposes, as it will serve  
 “instead of pepper.” MINU'CHEHR gladly adopted their  
 “advice, and the *Zinjibîl* was substituted<sup>(85)</sup>; and when ten  
 “years had elapsed, AFRA'SIA'B being tired of remaining  
 “before the gates, and all his army of *Turkâns* weary and  
 “hopeless, a peace was concluded with MINU'CHEHR, and  
 “they retreated”<sup>(86)</sup>.

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(85) One copy of TABRI (my MS. no. 3) adds here و تا امروزان تره انجا هست  
 “and that plant continues there (at *Amul*) to this day.

(86) و منوچهر در طبرستان بشهر امل در حصار بود و کردا کرد طبرستان همه خرابست  
 و ترکان و غریبان هیچ ار نتوانند کرد و همه چیز از خوردنی بر آن شهر امل باشد و  
 میوه بسیار و دیگر آزارها و دنیا از نخورد و شکر و پانیذ انجا باشد و ارجامهای  
 پوشیدنی و فرش تابستانی و زمستانی باشد انجا و هیچ چیز نیست که مردم را بپایند

We find *A'mul* often mentioned (incidentally) in the tenth century, by *EBN HAUKAL*, according to the printed translation of his geographical work. It appears, however, from the MS. *Sûrat beldân* to have been at that time the capital of this province; as we learn in the following passage—"But the most considerable city of *Tabristân* is *A'mul*, which has been in our days the residence of the governors, chiefs and magistrates of that country"<sup>(87)</sup>. We then read, in words already quoted (p. 262), that *Sârî* had been formerly the seat of government. In the *Shâh námeh* of *FIRDAUSI*, *A'mul* is frequently noticed, but without any circumstances particularly descriptive; first as the place from which *FERI'DU'N* went to *Temisheh*. Its name then occurs in the history of *MINU'CHEHR*, and of *NAUDAR*. Again in the account of *IGHRI'RATH* and the Persian nobles taken prisoners with their king (*NAUDAR*), whom *AFRA'SIAB* had slain; an anecdote to which I have before alluded (pp. 194, 262). All these notices relate to events that happened (as we may suppose) between six and eight hun-

.....  
 لا که همه در آن شهر امل باشد و از بیرون آن شهر طلب باید کردن پس ملک  
 افراسیاب با همه ترکان بر در شهر امل ده سال بنشست و ملک منوچهر بهتار  
 بنشست و منوچهر با سپاه خویش ده سال بدان شهر اندر بود که هیچ چیز از خوردنی و  
 پوشیدنی از بیرون آن شهر نیابست آورد و اندران شهر چیزهای بود از جامهای و کنیمها و  
 اسیر غمها و ریاحین که وقتها افراسیاب را هدیه دادی و او را آیدون گفت نه چند توانی  
 بر در این شهر نشستن و مرا این حصار هیچ زیان ندارد و بر من چه تنگی بود که  
 هر چه بجهان اندرست همه بدین شهر اندرست و مرا از بیرون شهر هیچ چیز حاجت  
 نیست و بدین شهر اندر بسیار چیزهاست که در دیگر شهر نیست و هدیه از آن  
 فرستادی بافراسیاب و چنان گویند که در آن ده سال منوچهر را با لشکر هیچ از بیرون  
 شهر نیابست مگر پنیل که اندر دیکهای کردی که پلیل مر رطوبت را برد و این شهر بر  
 لب دریاست و هواش با رطوبتست و این پلیل از زمین هندوستان برد آنجا و بیه  
 جهان پس ملک منوچهر همه حکما را جمع کرد و گفت این پیل را چه حلیت کنیم  
 که بدین هوا از آن هیچ چاره نیست آن حکما منوچهر را گفتند ایدریکی تره است که  
 آنرا زنجبیل خوانند بفرمائی تا آنرا در دیکهای کنند که بجز پلیل کار کند منوچهر  
 شاد شد و زنجبیل را بجای پلیل کار بست و چون ده سال برآمد افراسیاب بر در آن  
 شهر بستوه شد و سپاه ترکان همه ستوه شدند و افراسیاب با منوچهر صلح کرد و باز گشت

(87) اما بزرگتر شهرهای طبرستان امل است و آن در ایام ما مقرو موضع

و لاه و قصه آن دیار بوده است

dred years before the time of Christ<sup>(88)</sup>. After a long interval we find *A'mul* enumerated as one of the stages on *BAHARA'M's* march (in the fourth century of our era) from *A'zergushasp* to *Marv*<sup>(89)</sup>. It subsequently appears that *NU'SHI RAVA'N* with his army "went from *Gurgán* to *Sári* and *A'mul*." Finally, it is again named with *Sári* in *FIRDAUSI's* history of *KHUSRA'U PARVIZ*.

I shall now seek some account of *A'mul* in that curious, interesting and entertaining work, the MS. *Tárikh*; or as we may style it, the memoirs of his own time, written by *ABU'L FAZL*, surnamed *BAIHAKKI*<sup>(90)</sup>; who informs us that in the year 421 (of the Hejrah, or 1030 of our era) he accompanied the *EMI'R MASA'UD* with his army, from *Sári* (by a road of which he very forcibly describes the difficulties) to *A'mul*, "whence," says he, "came forth above five hundred thousand, and, or six hundred thousand men, persons of respectable appearance"<sup>(91)</sup>. He then relates, that the *EMI'R* having passed on with a select body of his guards and servants, alighted at the tents pitched for him about half a farsang beyond the city, through which the main body of soldiers marched to their camp; but from the attention of officers previously appointed, not one of the citizens suffered any injury or loss even to the value of a *dirém*; and the peasants



(<sup>88</sup>) I might have noticed *A'mul* as the scene of *CAI CAUS's* disgrace and punishment, according to some copies of the *Sháhnámeh*; these relate that he there fell to earth from a throne or chair to which several eagles were harnessed; the monarch, impiously hoping that by their means he might have ascended to heaven. But from other copies it would appear that he fell near the borders of *Chín* or *Tartary*. Yet the ancient MS. *Mújmal al Tuárikh*, assigns this event to a place not very distant from *A'mul*, "the land of *Sári*." (از بالا زمین ساری فراتناد).

(<sup>89</sup>) The places mentioned are *A'zergushasp* ازركشسب, *Ardebíl* اردبیل, *A'mul* امل, *Gurgán* گرگان, the city of *Nesá* نسا and *Marv* مرو.

(<sup>90</sup>) His name appears to have been *ABU'L FAZL MUHAMMED EBN AL HUSSEIN* ابوالفضل محمد بن الحسين, he derived his surname from *Baihak* or *Bíhak* بهیقه, a territory of *Khurasán*, where he was born; and he began the composition of his *Tárikh* in the year 455, as we learn from himself; a date equivalent to A. D. 1063.

(<sup>91</sup>) افزون پانصد ششصد هزار مرد بیرون آمدند بودند مردمان پاکیزه روی و نیکو

declared their admiration of those troops and of the discipline by which they were regulated; "and I, who am A'BU'L 'FAZL," continues our author, "before the army was drawn up, had gone into the city, and found it to be very handsome and excellent; the doors of all the shops were open and the inhabitants seemed cheerful and contented; and I shall hereafter relate their change of condition, and in what manner by the misconduct of wicked men, this paradise of A'mul became a hell"<sup>(92)</sup>. In a subsequent part of his work, he mentions that according to one statement (made about the year 1034 of Christ), A'mul contained "a million of men,"  
 به امل هزار هزار مردست.

NIZA'MI, in his romance the *Haft Paigar* (هفت پیکر), says that BAHARA'M (the monarch whom our writers call VARA'NES, and VARARA'NES, and whose name in pure *Pahlavi* was VARHARA'N), rewarded with the city of A'mul that celebrated architect SHUIDEH<sup>(93)</sup>, who had constructed for him, as dwelling-places for his favourite princesses, the seven villas or towers, (*Haft Gumbad*) some of which, now ruined, (as they all are) I have described in different chapters of these volumes. An author who appears to have flourished early in the thirteenth century, informs us that having explored the library of a college at Rai, and visited Hamadân, he proceeded to A'mul and resided there five years; when, says he, "accidentally passing by the row of book-binder's shops, I procured in one of them a certain volume containing some miscellaneous essays"<sup>(94)</sup>; and among these he found many ancient and interesting materials for his *Târîkh* or history of *Tabristân*. We

(<sup>92</sup>) و من که بو الفضل پیش از تعبیه لشکر در شیردفته بودم سخت نیکو شهری دیدم همه دوکانهای درکشاده و مردم شادکام و پس ازین بگویم که حال چون شد و بد آموزان چه باز نمودند تا بهشت امل نورخی شد  
 MS. *Târîkh Bihakki*.

(<sup>93</sup>) تاشود شاد شیده از بیرام شیر امل بشیده داد تمام  
 The extraordinary alliteration in the first line of this distich may offend our European taste, but is considered a beauty by the Persians

(<sup>94</sup>) برسته صحافان کزرافتاد از دکانی کتابی برداشتم درو اند رسالت بود  
 He describes the most curious; of which, in another place, I shall give an account.

must not suppose him unacquainted with the tradition (above given from TABRÍ) concerning the ten (or twelve) years siege of A'mul; for he traces MINU'CHEHR from the castle of Tabarek to Raï; "and his nocturnal flight from that city, by way of Lârejân to Tabristân; while his indefatigable pursuer AFRA'SIA'B rendered the wide expanse of this world "as narrow to him as the eye of a needle"<sup>(95)</sup>. His enemies the Turániâns (Turkâns or Scythians) occupied "Khusrau-âbâd, a village in the territory of A'mul; and until the time "of VASHMEGÎ'R, (about A. D. 934), son of ZI'Â'R, the father "of KA'BU'S, the buildings of this village might be seen; and "above it was a certain tree which the people called *Shâti-mûzi-bun*; under this tree the tent of AFRA'SIA'B was pitched; there he remained twelve years, and during this time "MINU'CHEHR found it not necessary to send elsewhere for "any thing except pepper; instead of which a plant or herb "called *kaliehh* was substituted"<sup>(96)</sup>.

After this our author devotes sixteen or seventeen pages to the (ذكرنياد امل) "account of the foundation of A'mul;" from which, (in some places very flowery and prolix) I shall extract the principal circumstances, and endeavour to compress them within a moderate compass; retaining the outlines of a love-story; which, though romantick and improbable, is the vehicle of particulars that seem authentick, and to some readers may prove not uninteresting.

(95) بشب بکریخت و بطریق لارجان بطبرستان رسید افراسیاب جهانی بسط و عریض چون سوراخ سوزن برو تنگ کرد This expression, which I quote from the MS. *Târikh i Tabristân*, reminds us of passages in the Gospels of Saint Matthew, Mark and Luke, and shall be again noticed in the last section of the Appendix.

(96) خسروآباد—از دهها امل— و تا بعد وشمگیر بن زیار پدر قابوس این دیهرا عمارت پیدا بود و بالای این دیه درختی بود که شاتی موزی بن گفتندی خدیمه افراسیاب زیر آن درخت زده بودند دوازده سال اینجا بماند که منوچهر را بهیچ چیز حاجت نبود که بولایتی دیگر فرستند و آورند الا فلعل بعضی آن گیاهی که کلمج گویند ایشان MS. *Târikh i Tabristân*. The plant mentioned in the last sentence appears to be *kaliehh*, as written کایج; but I suspect an error in the MS.

We learn that in the land of *Dilem* two brothers formerly resided, one named A'SHTA'D (اشتاد), the other YEZDA'N (یزدان); who having killed a powerful chief of that country fled with their families, and settled in the district of *A'mul*; where they built those villages which are still called after them, *Yezdán-ábád* (یزدان آباد) and *A'shtád-Resták* (اشتاد رستاق). The daughter of A'SHTA'D was exquisitely beautiful; and FÍRU'Z (فیروز), who reigned at *Balkh*, having dreamed of her charms, became so enamoured that, notwithstanding the sage advice of his *Múbed Múbedán* (موبد موبدان) or high priest<sup>(97)</sup>, he sent many faithful and active servants into various parts of the world, hoping that they might discover, from the description of her whom he had beheld in the dream, a damsel of beauty corresponding to his idea; after a fruitless search throughout various regions, those men returned; and MIHR-FÍRU'Z (مهر فیروز), the king's favourite and kinsman, set out for *Tabristán*, the only province which they had not explored. On his arrival at *Túsán*, (طوسان which appears to be represented by the modern *Sári*, see p. 264), the governor of that city united with him in seeking the lovely daughter of A'SHTA'D, but without success, although during a whole year they had expended considerable sums of money in every quarter of *Tabristán*. It happened, however, that riding one day on the sea shore, MIHR FÍRU'Z crossed a river, where his servants were unable to follow him, and soon after he arrived at the stream of *Aleh*m (الهم), into which his horse plunged and was drowned, whilst he with much difficulty saved himself and his sword. He then wandered on the bank of a clear and delightful brook that murmured through the forest, until he perceived a damsel of such perfect beauty that he exclaimed, "if this be an evil spirit I shall slay her; "if she prove a human creature it must be the object of my "search;" (اگر جنیة باشد بکشم و اگر آدمیست مطلوب منست) after many expressions of mutual astonishment and explanation, she led him to her father's house, where he was hospitably received and treated with much kindness and attention for

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(97) The "Priest of Priests," *kar' êloxw*, a title given by TABRI, FIRDÁUSI, and other old writers to the chief priest of the Fire-worshippers.

three days; as according to the custom observed in *Dilem* towards strangers, during that space of time the host abstains from asking a guest any questions<sup>(\*)</sup>. After the third day they inquired what chance had conducted a person of such courtly manners and princely appearance to their sequestered habitation. *MIHR FIRUZ* replied that he was a cousin of the great king, and had come to *Túsán* that he might enjoy the pleasures of hunting, which, it was said, that place afforded beyond all others in the world; and that having outstripped his companions in the chase and lost his horse, he had wandered through the forest until good fortune brought him into the presence of the beautiful damsel; whom he then demanded of her father. *A'SHTA'D* declared that before he could bestow his daughter on any person, however well disposed towards him, it was necessary that he should consult his brother; they proceeded therefore to *YEZDA'N*'s dwelling, and as he expressed some doubts respecting the stranger's story, it was agreed, that a letter should be written to the governor of *Túsán* whose answer would confirm what *MIHR FIRUZ* had said, or prove him to be an impostor. *A'SHTA'D* immediately despatched one of his sons to *Túsán*, and the governor, hearing of the fortunate event, transmitted intelligence to the king, who convinced by *MIHR FIRUZ*'s description of the damsel that it was she who had appeared to him in his sleep, commanded that various articles of great value, splendid clothes and costly jewels, should be sent to her as a present. The servants of *MIHR FIRUZ* having now joined him, with those who brought the royal gifts; his kind hosts fell on their knees before him, and he then informed them of the king's dream, of the violent passion which it had excited, and of the honour which awaited the damsel, whom her sovereign intended to espouse. The king soon after arrived at *A'shtád-Reshták* and his happiness was complete. Our author next relates that the king one day inquired of his fair bride, how it happened that the women in her country were remarkable for the excellence of their eyes, their softness of skin, and sweetness of

(\*) و برسم دینم تاسه روز ازو هیچ سوال نکردند The ancient Greeks, according to Eustathius, (on *Iliad* VI, v. 174) allowed a stranger nine days before they made inquiries.



breath. Her answer, which is so written as to imitate the provincial idiom and manner of pronunciation used in *Dilem*, expresses, (if I have rightly understood its meaning), that the excellence of their eyes proceeded from early rising; the softness of skin from wearing linen in summer and silk in winter; and the sweetness of breath, from using milk and honey as food<sup>(99)</sup>. The queen, as we may now entitle A'SH-TAD's daughter, requested that a city might be founded on a spot which she indicated, near the river *Harhaz*, and that it might be distinguished by her own name, *A'mul*. The king immediately employed expert architects in erecting a building on that place which his wife had called *Paï-desht*, "the foot" or lower part of the plain; and the remains of that building are still visible and denominated *Päi-desht* (پای دشت), now, says the author, in my own time<sup>(100)</sup>; and a neighbouring spot, in which edifices had been erected to gratify the queen, is styled, adds he, the *Sháristáneh-i-marz* (شارستانه مرز). Soon after the commencement of these works, a prince was born whom

(99) The lady's answer appears in the Manuscript thus—

اچ بامدادان سغردین چشم افروچ اچ تاوستان کتان و زمستان پرنیان پوشین تن  
افروچ اچ سیر و انگسم خوردن دمش افروچ  
here we find the letter ز changed into چ and *udje* written for *az*, *afrúdje* for *afrúz*, and *s* for *sh* in *shir* (milk). The use of *r* for *b* in *tábistán* is not peculiar to *Dilem*; it may be remarked throughout every province in Persia; and is authorized in a multiplicity of words by the best dictionaries; thus the *Burhán Ketea* explains تاو *tav* or *táv* as equivalent in signification to تاب *táb*, (heat, sunshine, &c.) hence *tábistán* (or *távistán*) summer. The *Ketán* or linen here mentioned, we learn from the same Dictionary, "is a kind of garment woven from a certain grass or plant of which the properties are coldness and dryness; and by wearing it, the body is preserved from the bad effects of moisture and perspiration. It is said also if any person desire to become lean, let him wear in winter a new garment of this linen, and in summer one that has been washed; but let him invert this rule, if he wish not to render himself lean." کتان—نوعي از جامه باشد که انرا از علف بافند طبیعت آن سرد و خشکست و پوشیدنش رطوبت و عرق از بدن میکند گویند اگر کسی خواهد که بدن او لاغر شود در زمستان جامه کتان نو بپوشد و در تابستان جامه کتان شسته و اگر خواهد که لاغر نشود برعکس یعنی در زمستان جامه کتان شسته بپوشد و در تابستان نو

The author نام او بماند و آثار آن بنیاد تا بعد ما باقی بود و بدید است (100) within a few pages, speaking of an ancient castle, says that it continued to be inhabited "until my own time, the year 613," (corresponding to the year 1216 of Christ).

تابعد ما در سنه ثلاث عشر و ستمایه این قلعه معمور بود

the king named KHUSRAU خسرو, and considering this as an auspicious event, he resolved to establish his constant residence here. A town was then constructed where the present city stands, on the spot now called *A'sbāneh Serāi* (اسبانه سراي) but formerly *Māteh* (ماته); here is now the *Masjed Jamea* or principal mosque. And fine water was conducted thither, from a spring in the mountain of *Vendāmid* (ونداميد); and even in the time of YEZDA'DI a small remnant of that water yet existed. The city was at length finished, and fortified with a wall of burnt brick, so wide that three horsemen might ride on it abreast; and a ditch or moat thirty-three *arsch* (ارش) or cubits deep, and in breadth one arrow-flight. In the wall were four gates, called according to their different directions, the *Derwāzeh* or *Bāb-i-Gurgān*, *Bāb-i-Gilan*, *Bāb-al-Jebel* (the mountain gate), and *Bāb-i-Bahr*, or "gate that leads to the sea;" and the city covered four hundred *jeribs* (جريب) or acres of ground. In this state it continued several years, and "the *Kasr* or palace of A'MUL, the wife of king Fī'rū'z, was situate "on that spot at present called *Kūcheh-i-Kāzerān*, the quarter "inhabited by those who bleach or wash linen, behind the *Res-teh-i-bezāzān*, or shop-keeper's row; and at the same place, in "the time of SA'ID ARDASHIR, (about A. D. 1205,) some "workmen preparing clay for building, having descended to "the depth of two spear-lengths under ground, discovered several remains of ancient edifices, with *dakhmeh*<sup>(101)</sup>, or sepulchral chambers and graves"<sup>(102)</sup>. When KHUSRAU the son of Fī'rū'z became king, he augmented the city and erected mansions with gardens outside the moat; many persons also from distant countries having settled here, he founded another castle or fortress, and built it with clay; on the subject of these structures, our Persian author declares that he found

(101) *Dakhmeh* دخمه or دخم according to the *Burhān Kātea*, signified the vault or place, in general, where dead bodies are deposited; but particularly among the *Gabrs* or Fireworshippers; کورخانه کبرائرا خصوصا (See Vol. II. pp. 370, 374, 390)

(102) و قصر امل که زن فیروز بود اینجا که این ساعت کوجه کازران میگویند پس رسته بزازان بود و دخمه نیز همانجا بعد ملک سعید ارده شیر خاک شویان در نیزه بالایی آن زمین فرو رفتند و عمارات بسیار ظاهر شده و دخمه و کور پدید آمده  
The *Bezāzān* were, perhaps, more particularly those who sold clothes or linen.

many particulars in ancient writings. He then adds, that the "word *A'mul* (or *A'mal*) originally signified (in their *Dilemi* "dialect) the same as *A'húsh*<sup>(103)</sup>; and both were used to express *marg* or "death," in this sense, "may death never happen to thee!"<sup>(104)</sup>. The *Masjed Jamea* or principal mosque, was founded in the time of HA'RU'N AB'RASHI'D, about the year 177," (or of our era 793), on a spot which cost eight thousand and thirty two *dinárs*; and the *Masjed* was in length ninety three *aresh*, and in width ten; on the construction of this edifice were expended forty seven thousand three hundred and forty *dinárs*. "And in the time of king FI'RU'Z, who originally founded *A'mul*, a ditch or trench "was made along the sea coast, in a line drawn from the borders of *Gurgán* to *Gílán* and *Maukán*; and the vestiges of "this trench may still be traced in several parts of *Tabristán*, "and are denominated *Firúz-Kundeh*"<sup>(105)</sup>. From the same

<sup>(103)</sup> *Húsh* دوش used by FIRDAUSI to express *death* or *destruction*, (and not yet, perhaps, in that sense wholly, although nearly obsolete) is, according to the *Burhán Katea* a word of the ancient Persian language; for, among other meanings, (sense, reason, cleverness, life, soul, mortal poison), this Dictionary informs us that in the *Pahlavi* dialect *hush* signifies death and destruction—

بلغت پهلوې بمعني مرگ و هلاک باشد

From a variety of examples that may be found in the *Zendavesta* of Anquetil du Perron, and in *Zend* and *Pahlavi* Manuscripts, it appears that the letter *a* possessed a negative or privative power (like the Greek *alpha*) when prefixed to certain words; thus *á-húsh* becomes "immortal;" and as the text informs us that *ámul* is synonymous with *húsh*, we ascertain the meaning of *mul* to be the same with *marg* and *húsh* (death); and I suspect that as one character served in the ancient *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, for R and L, some confusion may have happened in the word, *amul*, (as in many others), and that it was originally written with an R instead of L. My reasons for this conjecture would prolong this note to an unreasonable degree, and may be more properly discussed in a future work; meanwhile, respecting the privative or negative power of *atif* in *Zend* and *Pahlavi*, Monsieur De Sacy has collected a multiplicity of most satisfactory proofs from the *Zendavesta* of his illustrious countryman above quoted; and has strongly exemplified it himself in the words AP'IANON καὶ ANAPIANIN, of a Greek inscription on a Persian monument. See the "Memoires sur div. antiq. de la Perse," p. 60. "De *petiaré*, "mal," se forme *apetiaré*, "sans mal;" de *marg* "mort," *amarg* "immortel;" de *posan*, "enfants," *aposan*, "sans enfants," &c.

<sup>(104)</sup> و معني اصل بلغت ایشان اهوش است و اهوش و اصل مرگ را كويند و پديد كنيايتست از آنكه ترا مرگ مباد هرگز  
(MS. *Tár. Tabristán*)

<sup>(105)</sup> و بوقت فیروز شاه که داني اصل بود از حد کرکان تابعد کيلان و موقان بر ساحل دريا خندق کشيده بود و هنوز اثر آن خندق به بسيار مواضع طبرستان ظاهر است و فیروز كنده ميكويند

author we learn that *A'mul* became the mart where commodities were exchanged by merchants of every country; *Tabristán* furnished "fruits and reeds or sugar-canes, and medicinal productions both of the plain and mountain; and it was enriched "with mines of sulphur, copperas; the *sang-i-surmeh*, (or stone "which yields that substance used as a collyrium for the "eyes) iron and steel, and in many places mines of gold and "silver"—"also many beautiful articles of linen, cotton, silk "and wool; stuffs for dresses, interwoven with gold; all these "are exported thence to the eastern and western regions of "the earth; and YEZDA'DI relates that in his time, on account "of the precious satin, the fine brocade, the valuable scarlet "cloth; the stuffs called *yathreb* and *káfúri*<sup>(106)</sup>, which were "not any where exceeded in beauty or in goodness, the silken "and woolen hangings, the carpets and mats, more excellent "than those manufactured at *Baghdád* or at *Abadán*; people "came to *Tabristán* and carried away those things as articles "of traffick, to other parts of the world, for no where else "could such be found; even in my own time," adds our author, "*A'mul* has been the *bázár* or place of sale for the "merchandize of *Saksín* and of *Bulghár*; in search of which "people come to *A'mul* from *Irák* and *Shám*, (Syria) and "*Khurasán*, and the borders of *Hindustán*; and the merchants "of *Tabristán* describe *Bulghár* and *Saksín* as situate on the "sea coast opposite to *A'mul*; and it is said that those who "go in a ship may arrive at *Saksín* in three months<sup>(107)</sup>. And

(106) So called, perhaps, from being whitish like camphor, or *káfúr* كافور; to which, says the *Burhán Kátea*, all white things are usually compared. This Dictionary, however, explains the word *káfúri* كافوري as signifying (like *Bábúneh* بابونه) a well known plant or herb, called by the Arabs *Babunedje* بابونج and *akhwán* اخخوان. The smell of it induces sleep, and other properties are mentioned which it is not here necessary to describe.

(107) The *Burhán Kátea* having informed us that *Bulghár* بلغار signifies a certain kind of skin (which we call Russia leather) coloured and of a pleasant smell; and also called *tallátin* تلاتين, adds, "and it is also the name of a city near the land of Darkness, "founded in the time of Alexander; and its climate is extremely cold; and parrots "cannot remain alive there. - Some say that *Bulghár* is the name of a whole country, "and of one of its cities."

و نام شهرست نزدیک بظلمات و آن در زمان سکندر بنا شده و هوايش بغيابت

"there are women in *Tabristán* who by their own ingenuity and the labour of their hands, earn in one day fifty *dirhems*; nor is that appearance of extreme poverty ever seen in this province as in other countries"<sup>(108)</sup>. Such are the principal passages concerning *A'mul* in the MS. "History of *Tabristán*." It is unnecessary to quote a multiplicity of writers who either superficially or hyperbolically notice this ancient city, or merely repeat, on the subject of it, *TABRI*'s words above translated. Thus *MENHA'JE SERA'JE*<sup>(109)</sup> assures us that it was founded by king *TAHMU'RAS*, an account adopted by many subsequent historians of distinguished

سرمد می باشد و طوطی در آن شهر زنده نمی ماند و بعضی گویند نام ولایتی که بلغار یکی از شهرهای آن ولایت است

According to this Dictionary "*Saksín* is the name of a region unknown."

سکسین—نام ولایتی است غیر معلوم

But in the Manuscript *Takwim* or geographical tables of *SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI* we read that "*Saksín* belongs to Russia;" and they place it in longitude (from the fortunate islands) (فرز) 87-30; and in latitude (from the equinoctial line) (میل) 48-30. This differs a little from the printed tables of *NASSIR ATTU'SI* and *ULUGH BEIG*, which describe *Saksín* to be situate in long. 86-30; lat. 43-0, according to *Hudson's Minor, Geogr. Vol. III. (pp. 100, 132).*

(108) از میوه های ونیها و ادویه ها دشت و کوه و کانها کوکرد و زاج و سنک سره و آهن و فولاد و به بسیار جایگاه معادن زرو سیم—و انواع ظرایف کتان و پنبه و فز و صوف و کوردیها بر اصناف مختلف زرین و پشمین که شرق و مغرب عالم از آنجا برند و یزدادی آورده است که در عهد او برای اطلس و پیش بیا و انواع دیدیاج بیای و سقلاون مرتفع و یثرب کران قیمت و کافوری که برای آن نباشد به نیکویی و خوبی و پردهای ابریشمین و پشمین—و قالیه ها و محفوری بهتر از بغدادی و حصیرهای عبادانی بطبرستان آمدند و از آنجا باقصی بلاد دنیا جلب کرد که در همه افان مثل آنکه آنجا یافتند نبود و بازار متاع سکسین و بلغار تابعه ما امل بود و مردم از عراق و شام و خراسان و حدود هندوستان بطلب متاع ایشان بامل آمدندی—و بازارکان مردم طبرستان بلغار و سکسین از آن لب دریا در مقابل امل نهاده است و چنین گویند که چون بسکسین گشتی رود سه ماه برد—و زنان باشند در طبرستان که بروزی پنجاه درهم کسب کنند بحسب صنعت دست خود باشند و هرگز روی درویشی مدفع چنان که در سایر بلاد باشد یافته نشود

(109) Author of the *Tebkát Nâseri* ناصری, in which he often mentions his own name; and, on one occasion, introduces it in the same manner as *ABUL' FAZL*'s was announced in a former quotation (p. 304), "I have heard, I, who am *MENHAJE*. "*SERA'GE*:" شدیم من که منهاج سراجم He dates the conclusion of this valuable work in the Muhammedan year 658, or A. D. 1259.

eminence<sup>(110)</sup>; and that "in *A'mul* a city of *Mázenderán*, also "called *Tabristán*, was a certain fortress so abundantly supplied (during the reign of MĪNU'CHEHR) that its garrison "wanted not any thing"<sup>(111)</sup>; and FAZLALLAH describes it as "a castle, from the battlements of which a person might grasp "the celestial ear of corn, (held by the Zodiacal virgin) "whilst from its chambers might be heard the singing of "angels"<sup>(112)</sup>. The ditch or moat, which, as I have mentioned, still appears very deep, was, according to this author, perfectly suited to the lofty battlements, for it equalled, says he, the "*Deryá-i-Omán*" or Arabian sea<sup>(113)</sup>. In the plainer language of geography, HAMDALLAH informs us that "*A'mul* belongs to the fourth climate, and is situate in longitude from the fortunate islands 87-20; and in latitude from "the equinoctial line 36-30. It was founded by TAHMU'RAS, "surnamed DĪV BEND (or the enslaver of Dæmons), and is "a considerable city. Its climate has a tendency to warmth, "and it produces together the fruits of cold and warm "regions; such as nuts, grapes, oranges, lemons and others. "in great profusion; and all kinds of provisions are there so "abundant and so good, that if the city were shut up or "besieged, it would not require any thing from without"<sup>(114)</sup>.

(<sup>110</sup>) Such as HAMDALLAH MASTOWFI in the *Tárikh Guzideh*; MĪRKHOND in the *Rauzet al Sefá*; his son KHONDEMI'R in the *Habib Asseir*; MUHAMMED SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI in the *Subeh Sádek*; MĪR YAHIA SEIFI CAZVI'NI in the *Leb al Tuárikh*; AHMED AL GHAFARI in the *Jehán Ará*; and others.

(<sup>111</sup>) و در شهر امل مازندران که انرا طبرستان گویند حصاری شد و در آن مدت از کثرت نعمت آن شهر هیچ چیز محتاج نکشت  
(MS. *Tabkát Násri*).

(<sup>112</sup>) و آن قلعه ایست که از شرفات آن سنبله فلک توان چید و از غرافتش زمزمه ملک تران شنید  
(MS. *Tárikh Maagem*).

(<sup>113</sup>) دریای عمان The "*Sea of Omán*," so called from a province of Arabia on the eastern coast. It is, according to the Geographical Manuscript *Ajáieb al Beldán*, the great Indian ocean, or *Bahr al Hind* بحر الهند extending from China to Abyssinia.

(<sup>114</sup>) امل از اقلیم چهارم است طویش از جزایر خالادات فزک و عرض از خط استوا اول طهورت دیوبند ساخت شهری بزرگ است و هوایش یگرمی مایل و مجموع میوهای سردسیری و گرمسیری از جوز و انکور و نارنج و لیمو و غیره فراوان باشد و مشروبات بغایت خوب و فراوان است چنانچه اگر شهر بند شود هیچ چیز از بیرون احتیاج نباشد  
(*Nushat al Culuv*, chap. xviii. (of *Mázenderán*).

The printed tables of NASSI'R AD DI'N TU'SI, and of ULUGH BEIG, place *A'mul* in longitude 87-20; latitude 36-35<sup>(115)</sup>; whilst according to the Manuscript *Takwīm al beldān* of SADEK ISFAHANI, it is situate in longitude (فرك) 87-20; and latitude (لوم) 36-40. Of this place the ingenious DOULET SHA'H has introduced a short account into his *Tezkerreh* or biographical history of the Persian poets. "*A'mul*," he informs us, "is "one of the ancient cities, and its foundation is by some "ascribed to JEMSHI'D, while others declare that it was erected "by FERI'DU'N; and for four farsangs, the vestiges of its "former extent may be still traced; and wheresoever the "inhabitants dig under ground, they discover burnt bricks "and stone or gravel used in building; and in this city is a "*Chār gumbēd*, or edifice having four cupolas or domes, in "which was the tomb of FERI'DU'N. *A'mul* continued to be "the royal capital of the four quarters of the world until the "time of BAHARA'M. So it is related in the book entitled "*Memālek u Mesālek*, composed by ALI BEN ISA KEHAL"<sup>(116)</sup>. That *A'mul* was the chief residence or seat of government (*pāi-takht* (پای تخت) or foot of the throne) under ARDASHI'R (second sovereign of that name who ruled in *Tabristān*, and died A. H. 640, A. D. 1242), we learn from AL GHAFARĪ, who thus mentions also the grandson of that prince; "TA'JE "AD'DOULEH YEZDEJERD, son of SHA'HRYA'R, son of "ARDASHI'R, had been the viceroy or deputy of his uncle; "and *Māzenderān* flourished so much in his time that at *A'mul* "there were seventy colleges well frequented; his death hap-

<sup>(115)</sup> The geographical syntax of Chrysococcas places *Αμουδ* (read *Αμουλ*) a city of *Ταυραπισταν*, in long. οζ, 77-10; and lat. λς λς 36-36; (See Huds. Min. Geogr. Vol. III).

<sup>(116)</sup> اما شهر امل از جمله بلاد قدیم است بنای آن گویند جمشید کرده و بعضی گویند افریدون ساخته حالا چهار فرسنگ علامت شهریت آن محسوس میشود و هر جا زمین را بکاوند خشت پخته و سنگ ریخته ظاهر میشود و چهار کنبد است در آن شهر که مقبره افریدون تا زمان بهرام تختگاه ربع مسکون امل بوده و در کتاب ممالک و مسالک علی بن عیسی کحال چنین آورده

See the MS. "*Tezkerret as'shaara*." (Account of *Mulāna Hassan Kāshi*). But I suspect that my copy of this work is defective in the passage respecting FERI'DUN's tomb; an extract from the MS. *Haft Aklim* (given in next page) will, perhaps, enable us to ascertain the true sense.

"pened in the year 698," or 1298 of the Christian era<sup>(117)</sup>. In the MS *Ajáieb al Gheráieb* we read that "*A'mul*, a place "belonging to *Tabristán*, is situate in the fourth climate, and "among the surprising circumstances observed in this world, "may be reckoned, that sheep brought to the territory of "*A'mul* in a state of leanness, can never be there rendered "fat by any means, but die after six months, reduced to "mere skeletons"<sup>(118)</sup>. The last passage which I shall extract from Eastern writers concerning this city, is the following which AMI'N RA'ZI offers in his account of its origin; having alluded to some traditions above noticed, he adds "DOWLET "SHA'H quoting the *Mesálek u Memálek*, a work of ALI BEN "ISA KĒHĀ'L, relates that from the time of FERÍDU'N until "the reign of BAHARĀ'M GU'R, *A'mul* was the capital of the "four quarters of this world; and in this city is a certain "gumbed, an arched or vaulted edifice, on or over which grow "trees of various kinds; and this *gumbed* is said to be the "tomb of IREGE, the son of FERÍDU'N: and close to the city "flows a river named *Harzah* (properly *Harhaz*), from which "the people of *A'mul*, by means of channels, derive as much "water as they require for the irrigation of their grounds and "for domestick purposes; so that there is not any habitation "without running water at all times"<sup>(119)</sup>.

.....  
<sup>(117)</sup> تاج الدوله یزدجرد بن شهریار بن اردشیر قایم مقام عم شده مازندران در  
 دوران او چنان آبادان گشت که هفتاد مدرسه در امل معمور گردید و فاش در سه  
 ثمان و تسعین و ستمایه (MS. *Jehān Arā*).

<sup>(118)</sup> امل از بلاد طبرستان و از اقلیم چهارم است و از عجایب دنیا است که چون  
 کوسفند آن با آن ولایت لافز شوند هر چند او را تربیت کنند فربه نشود و بعد از شش  
 ماه از استخوانی ماند (Section the third).

<sup>(119)</sup> دواتشاه از کتاب مسااک و ممالک علی بن عیسی کمال نقل میکند که  
 از روزگار فریدون تا زمان بهرام کور تختگاه ربع مسکون امل بوده و در آن شهر کنبدیست  
 که اقسام اشجار بر آن روینده کوبند که قبر ایرج بن فریدون است و متصل شهر  
 رودیست که آنرا هرزه خوانند و مردم امل بقدر احتیاج از آن رود نهرا ساخته بر  
 زراعت و عمارت خود می برند هر آینه ازین سبب هیچ منزل امل بی آب روان خالی  
 نیست (MS. *Huft Aklim*, clin. IV). Compare this with the passage above given  
 from DOWLET SHA'H, (note 116).



Such are the principal notices that I have collected from oriental Manuscripts, on the subject of a city which has not yet been recognised in any of the names left us by classical writers, although from Strabo's description of *Tape*, the Hyrcanian metropolis, or royal residence, in his time, an eminent French geographer, M. Barbié du Bocage, supposes it to be at *Amul*<sup>(120)</sup>; but for this opinion assigns his reasons in a manner that leaves the subject open to the discussion of others; a manner always adopted in doubtful cases, by the most ingenious and accomplished writers. The passage of Strabo, on which he grounds his conjecture, I have already quoted in my account of the place now called *Cara-Tapeh*, (p. 276). Much seems depending on the latitude that may be given to those Greek words which express the city's proximity to the Caspian sea. Can we apply the "*μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰδρυμένον*" to *Amul*, a place not nearer, I believe, to the coast in any of its inflections than fourteen or fifteen miles? and it may, perhaps, have been by many leagues farther from it at the time when Strabo wrote, according to the reports which I heard in different parts of this country, and which Hanway mentions as worthy of credit, respecting the gradual encroachment of the water upon the land; so considerable in the neighbouring district of *Langarūd*, that a tract eight miles in extent, dry and well-peopled at the beginning of last century, was, when he travelled, (between forty and fifty years after), perfectly submersed<sup>(121)</sup>. It is easier however to excite

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(120) "Cette ville (*Tape*) n'auroit elle pas été d'abord la capitale du pays des Tapyres comme son nom paroît l'indiquer; et ensuite, a cause de son heureuse situation elle le seroit devenue de toute l'Hyrcanie; lorsque les gouvernemens auroient été réunis? Dans cette idée et d'après les indications de Strabon j'ai placé cette ville de *Tape* à *Amol*. Peut être *Tape* est elle encore la même ville que celle qui est appelée *Tambracé* d. ns Polybe?" Analyse de la carte, &c. annexed to Baron de Ste Croix's "Exam. Crit. des historiens d'Alexandre;" p. 819, (Second edition; Paris, 1804).

(121) Jonas Hanway, well acquainted with the navigation of the Caspian sea and with the chief ports situate on its shores, mentions the "great inroads" made by it on the Russian side between the *Volga* and *Astrachan* within thirty years; (he wrote in 1743). "Nor has this sea been more indulgent," adds he, "to the Persians; for it is confidently said, that in the beginning of this century the land, for about eight English miles on the side of *Langarood* river, was dry and well inhabited. This I the more readily believe as the tops of some houses are yet seen where the water is several feet deep. The same thing is reported of *Astrabad*, where the inhabitants affirm that within these fifty years the bay was fordable by asses, and now there is two fathom water. Captain Woodrooffe heard the same also at *Batshan*," &c. Travels, Vol. I. p. 155.

doubts than to solve difficulties; and I shall reserve for some other occasion a conjecture on the subject of *A'mul*, suggested by Ptolemy; the arguments in favour of it would too much prolong this chapter, and, after all, might prove less satisfactory to the geographer than to the etymologist.

Having accomplished my original design of exploring the forests, and visiting, however hastily, the principal cities of *Mázenderán*, and having gratified my curiosity by a view of the Caspian sea, I now resolved on returning to the prince's villa near *Bárfurúsh*, and thence to *Tehrán* by such a road as might lead me through some places not seen probably, or at least not described, by any European traveller for nearly two hundred years. On the eighth of March, therefore, I left *A'mul* about noon, crossing on horseback the bed of the river *Harhaz* as at our entrance, and arrived after a ride of five hours, at the apartments which I had before occupied in the *Bahr al Irem*. On the ninth, in consequence of arrangements deemed necessary by the *Mehmándár*, we allowed our horses to rest, and made preparations for traversing the country to *Shírgáh* in a direction that threatened, according to every report, many obstacles and dangers from the overflowing of rivers, and the badness or total want of roads. This day's halt afforded me an opportunity of again visiting *Bárfurúsh*, and perambulating its *bázár*. In the evening I received two bottles of Russian wine from the governor, and a present of oranges and lemons from AGNATU'S, who commanded one of the vessels before mentioned, and he came soon after to my room, with MOSÉ', an Armenian likewise, and captain of the other. We conversed during half an hour in Persian; and I learned that they were *tájers* (تاجر) or merchants of *Astrakhán*; and had now come expressly from *Farakh-ábád* that they might pay their respects to the brother of an English, and a Christian Ambassador; they would send me next day, could I be induced to defer my departure, some arrack, tea and *Shamákhí* wine, of which they highly extolled the flavour and the strength. They had been, during many years, well acquainted with the neighbouring ports, as with those on the opposite coast; but feared that the rapacity and extortions practised by the Persians would always check commercial

intercourse. They described the flourishing state of *Astrakhán*, and the encouragement there given to industrious settlers, by which within a short time, two thousand Armenian families had been induced to leave Persia, and establish themselves in that city and other places under the mild government of the Emperor Alexander. What they mentioned concerning the Caspian sea has been already noticed (p. 280); their small two masted vessels were flat bottomed; but "the Russian ships of war," said they, "have *keels*;" "*kashti jang kíl*" "*dárend*" (کشتی جنگ کیل دارند); using this English word, and explaining afterwards, that in their lowest part, those large ships were constructed like our frigates. The Armenians spoke with great, and I believe, just contempt of the Persians as sailors; and confirmed the accounts, allowed indeed to be true by many inhabitants, respecting the unwholesome air of *Bárfurúsh* during summer, which generally proves fatal to numbers of the natives, and almost without exception to strangers. The plague of gnats, (or *pashchs* پشه) proceeding in myriads from the thick herbage on a rich soil, and the luxuriant foliage of innumerable trees, they represented as intolerable; **SHERIF KHÁ'N** and others had informed me that the prince was every year obliged to seek a place less infested by these troublesome flies, and of a purer air than *Sárá*; and in the warm season, it was acknowledged, that most towns were deserted by all who could afford the luxury of temporary wooden dwellings on high mountains, with *bádgír* (بادگیر) wind-catchers, or contrivances for intercepting every breath of air.

We did not set out from *Bahr al Irem* on the tenth of March, until eleven o'clock; when, after several hours of incessant and heavy rain, we were tempted by some appearances of fine weather and commenced our journey; the governor of *Bárfurúsh* having sent his son to accompany us the first stage. At two miles and a quarter we passed through the village of *Kúshen-ábád* (کوشن آباد); at three and four miles the river *Bahbul* was on our right; its bed in some places, though not by any means full of water, appeared half a mile in width. The flattering indications of fair weather which had lured us from the paradise of *Irem*, soon proved fallacious; and the rain descended in such showers, that those who had guarded them-

selves against it with the utmost precaution, were in less than two hours completely wetted, notwithstanding all their *bārānis* (بارانی) or great coats. Thus circumstanced, we persevered until night in one of the most dreary, fatiguing and unpleasant rides imaginable; going through streams which almost perceptibly increased, as we passed them, from the mountain torrents; or slowly tracing an indistinct path through entangled branches of trees in the *jungal*; which frequently recalled to my mind the words of that entertaining writer БАИНАККИ, who, describing a wearisome night-march, performed by him in this country, near eight hundred years ago, says, “we “penetrated forests through which even the creeping snakes “could scarcely find their way”<sup>(122)</sup>. The country however, in many parts afforded prospects extremely beautiful, though much obscured by clouds and rain. We passed at eight or nine miles a second village of which I committed the name to paper, but it has been obliterated by the wet; we saw afterwards some large and well-built farm houses. In the evening we met three travellers from *Tehrán*, who seemed eager to communicate the intelligence of an important victory obtained, as they declared, over the Russians, by ЛИНДИ САНДЕР (Captain Lindesay), which cost the enemy four hundred men killed, and five hundred taken prisoners; with the loss of eighty Persians, and two of their English allies. The king, they said, had caused his *Nakkāreh Khāneh* (نقاره خانه), or band of military musicians, to celebrate this event in the capital; and the prince royal, АББА’С МІ’РЗА’, had rewarded Captain Lindesay with the sword worn by himself during the battle; besides two Georgian girls, each of whom must have cost, (two suits of handsome clothes being included in the calculation) from ninety to one hundred *tumāns* or pounds. They added, that the *Ilchi Inglīzi* or English Ambassador had bestowed on the person who brought from *Tabrīz* this *mazhdeh* (مزده) or “good news,” a splendid (*Khelaat*) robe of honour,

<sup>(122)</sup> It was on the road between *A’mul* and *Nátel*, in the Muhamedan year 422, (of our era, 1030).

که چون ما از امل حرکت کردیم و همه شب برانندیم و بیشه‌های بریده آمد که مار درو  
بدشواری توانست خزید

and forty *tumáns*. The night became dark before we reached the spot where only it was reckoned safe, or indeed practicable, to cross on horseback the broad and rapid river *Túlár*. Here fortunately were two men of *Shírgúh*, who in consequence of orders sent early this morning by *SHERIF KHA'N*, had expected our arrival; and now assisted us to reach the other side by wading in the stream, and leading our horses so as to avoid the most deep and dangerous places. I found myself at last, after a journey of eight hours, and perhaps five far-sangs, in *Shírgúh*, and again occupied the same hovel that had on our way to *Sári* afforded me a lodging; this structure has been already described (p. 247) and delineated, (Pl. LXIX); but all its former inconveniences were now aggravated by the want of dry clothes; for my servant *ISMA'IL*, the muleteers with our baggage, and others of the party, had not yet arrived; and after some anxious expectation we began to entertain apprehensions for their safety, as the night was unusually dark; the forest road most intricate, and the river swelling every moment. To assist them in coming over it, several peasants were stationed on the bank, and instructed to make signals with a lantern, and to shout at certain intervals for three or four hours. Meanwhile I endeavoured to dry my clothes before a wood fire which filled with smoke every corner of the hovel. A dinner consisting of eggs, rice, and a tough old fowl, prepared by the man whom *SHERIF KHA'N* had sent forward in the morning, (and who did not evince much skill in the art of cookery) was now served without knife, fork or spoon; yet hunger rendered it most delicious, and when I had uttered the *al'íhamd' al' illah* as thanks to God for such an indulgence as this feast and the shelter of a warm hovel, and was raising to my lips a cup of very muddy water, *DERVÍSH MUHAMMED*, the groom, surprised me by offering one of the long Russian bottles of wine (holding at least two quarts) which I had left in my room at *Bahr al Irem*, and he had carried the entire day in a pocket of his immense *Shetwár* (شلوار) or loose trowsers. These serve a Persian of his class as two portmanteaus; and from the extraordinary protuberance sometimes occasioned by a full package between the hip and the knee or boot-top, the wearer acquires an appearance exceedingly awkward and ridiculous. An ample *nammed*.


was now spread for me on the floor: and a neighbouring farrier having lent a pillow and *leháf* (لحاف) or thickly stuffed counterpane, forming the usual *rakhet-i-kháb* (رخت خواب), "the "bed (or sleeping) furniture;" I lay down; but a thousand fleas seemed to have conspired against my repose.

On the eleventh, MÍ'RZA' SA'DEK arrived from *Sári* at nine o'clock in the morning, having encountered many difficulties on his journey from floods and torrents. We all hastened to inform him of the victory, and he resolved to announce it immediately, by a courier, to his father the *Vazír*; but he must have been perplexed by the variations in our respective accounts, though all derived from the same source; for whilst I reported every circumstance exactly as the travellers had described them, one of my companions liberally added *two hundred* to the slaughtered Russians, and *three hundred* to the prisoners; another doubled the original amount of both; and swore that the irresistible Persians had taken six pieces of cannon; and a third related how the *Sháhzádeh* or prince (ABBA'S MÍ'RZA'), had killed three Russians with his own hand. Our servants and baggage did not arrive until one o'clock; the *chárwádár* (See p. 228, n. 13) had been benighted, lost his way in the forest, and suffered many alarms from horrible noises, which he solemnly averred, (and we did not dispute), must have proceeded either from wild-beasts, or the sylvan dæmons called *ghúles* (غول). It was now too late for any further progress, and from every account it would have been impossible to reach *Zírab* until the river *Tálár*, increased to a certain degree by this day's rain, should have discharged its redundant water into a second channel, by which its present force and depth might be reduced. I therefore set up my camp-bedstead, dried the mattress which had been soaked in wet, and after a night of most refreshing sleep, left *Shírgáh* on the twelfth, at seven o'clock, during a heavy shower of snow; having taken leave of SHERIF KHA'N who set out for *Sári*, and of the young *Bárfarúshi*, who would gladly have proceeded with us to *Tehrán*; but he dreaded the anger of his father. We found that through the attention of MÍ'RZA' ALÍ MUHAMMED of *Suvád kúh*, (to whom I have already expressed my obligations p. 236), our passage over the *Bun-i-Kelá*, *Míán-i-Kelá* and

*Ser-i-Kelâ* (See p. 243), was much facilitated; as he had employed above twenty men in repairing the roads, and removing stumps of trees and other obstacles. That worthy chief himself met us within three miles of *Zirâb*; where, having crossed the river *Tâlar* eight or ten times, I again established my lodging in the same wooden habitation, of which a sketch has been given; (Pl. LXVII). Here the old proprietor whose orange-coloured beard, had since my first visit assumed a pink, or rather a purple tinge, welcomed me and declared that he had not forgotten to mention my name in his devotions at the tomb of his village saint; such efficacy had a piece of silver coin. The great depth of excellent soil, general throughout the province, was during this day's ride conspicuous, particularly in the vicinity of *Zirâb*; where the decayed leaves, blended with moist clay formed a rich compost, or manure. At an earlier hour of the evening than usual, innumerable jackals began to howl, and this circumstance, it was said, prognosticated a favourable change of weather; we had not beheld the sun for two or three days. Here I first remarked the chirping of crickets in the hearth.

On the thirteenth, before we mounted our horses at seven o'clock, I sketched the figure of a *Mâzenderâni* minstrel whose musick, simple as it was, had pleased me extremely at different hours of the night; for several men who occupied the hovel entitled a *caravanserâ* (not thirty yards distant from my room) had employed this poor fellow to entertain such of them as happened to be awake, by singing and playing until break of day. The instrument which he used was of the *kamâncheh* kind (See Vol. I. p. 238); but had only two strings, both made of black hair from a horse's tail; and the bow, (merely a short bent switch) was furnished with similar hair; he fingered only one string; the other, occasionally touched by the bow, produced a bass sound, which sometimes, (I believe accidentally) combined in good harmony with his voice and the notes of the higher string. In dress and attitude he nearly resembled the musician represented in Vol. I. Mis. Pl. fig. 7. We now proceeded to *Tâleh* by the road which eighteen days before had led us from that place; and having halted there an hour, went on two farsangs, to *Surkhr-âbâd* (سرخرآباد). This

name is vaguely given to some mean houses and hovels called *caravanserai*, irregularly scattered along a tract extending two or three miles. The walls of my chamber were about six feet high, formed of stones very rudely put together; the roof however, almost flat, was of good rice straw, laid on branches of trees; light entered at the door alone; up to which and for twenty yards in every direction, the wet clay was more than a foot deep, as its marks on our boots sufficiently ascertained; this day according to the prognostication of the last evening proved fair, and we enjoyed some hours of sunshine.

Early on the fourteenth, I examined the remains of an edifice, situate on the sloping ground just above my *manzel*; its immediate foundation being an extraordinary insulated rock, of which the chasms and inequalities were filled with masonwork. This is the *Kalaa-i-dukhter-i-Div-e-Awlád* (قلعه دختر دیواراد), or "Castle of the Daughter of Div' Awlad," a giant, or rather a chieftain of *Mázenderán*, celebrated by FIRDÁUSI. I have included it in the view (Pl. LXXIV), representing the subjacent valley and winding stream; the road by which some of our party were proceeding towards *Firúzkuh*; and, on the summit of a distant mountain the *Kalaa-e-Div-e-Awlád*, or fortress of the giant AWLA'D himself; near which, a peasant informed me, are other ruins entitled *Kalaa-i-Dúz*, or the "Castle of Dú'z (دوز)." The damsel's habitation appeared modern; to whatever ancient structure it may have succeeded; and (with the rock) was from forty to five and forty feet high, on the side which faced the river. Its roof had totally disappeared; the building was partly of stone and brick; some beams of wood still remained; the plan was octagonal, and inside there had been seven *tákcheh* (طاقچه), niches or recesses, (besides the door-way) of this form . About three miles beyond this, we passed the remains of a similar tower, erected on a little *tapeh* (تپه) or insulated eminence; this, according to one of our muleteers, who affected to know the country, had been AWLA'D's dwelling place; and the more distant castle, (seen in the view, Pl. LXXIV) should be ascribed, he said, to DÚ'Z. Having at last emerged from the clay and forests of *Mázenderán*, we breakfasted in the *Caravanserá-i-Gadúk*, notwithstanding the offensive smell.



proceeding from dead mules and horses, half-eaten by jackals. This building has already been delineated (in Pl. LXIX). The wind, though extremely cold, was fortunately not very violent; and we eluded its bad effects by galloping, as before, across the dreary plain of snow, and having halted some minutes to sketch the extraordinary appearance of *Firúzkuh*, (as in Pl. LXVIII), I once more occupied my apartments in the royal *emâret* of that town.

On the fifteenth of March, at seven o'clock in the morning, we mounted our horses, and winding about the rock near its base, turned off on its western side in the direction of *Damâvand*; whilst on its eastern, lay the road of *Hablahrúd* and the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, by which we had come from *Tehrán*. Very heavy clouds obscured the view of Mount *Damâvand*, but according to the best observation that I could make with a pocket-compass, its summit bore from *Firúzkuh* nearly west-north-west. The country appeared most naked and barren, scarcely one bush was visible in the course of a farsang. We were much surprised at the fourth or fifth mile, on finding my spare horses, (the gifts which I had received from the Prince and *Vazír* at *Sári*) standing near the road and fastened to a large stone; the men engaged to lead them, having abandoned their charge and fled over the mountains, where some of our servants pursued them in vain. We found, however, that their assistance was not necessary, as the social quadrupeds trotted along in company during the whole day, without either rider or leader. We crossed a small stream three or four times; then, about the sixth mile, a river called *Námrú* (نامرو), of which, though not containing much water at present, the bed seemed wide. From this we immediately ascended a hill, and here begins the territory of *Serbendán* (سرپندان). We rode for above an hour on the highest part of very elevated ground, covered with snow, and suffered much from a bleak, cold wind. About the fourteenth or fifteenth mile we came to the river of *Deli-chái*; running in a deep and narrow dingle; its stream not considerable now, and beautifully clear, and its banks furnished with many willow trees; at seventeen miles we halted near a mean but well thatched building, denominated from the river which flows beside it, the *Caravanserá-i-*

*Delichái.* This is reckoned five farsangs distant from *Firúzkúh*; four (but as some said, five) from *A'ien e werzán* (عين و رزان), and three farsangs from the house of ABDALLAH KHA'N, where I had passed one night on my way between *Tehrán* and *Sári*. Some cold rice and fowl, brought by ourselves, served for a slight refreshment at this *caravánsérá*; having crossed the river and proceeded two farsangs over hills and rocks covered with snow, we passed on the left a walled plantation of poplar and other trees, called the *Bágh-i-Sháh* (باغ شاه) or "king's garden;" and near it, on our right, the village of *Serbendán*. At length, about six o'clock, we reached *A'ien-e-werzán* after a fatiguing journey of thirty-two or perhaps thirty-four miles; reckoned by some nine farsangs, and by others ten. The room allotted to me, in a good house, was well furnished with carpets, and thoroughly warmed with a brisk fire; which, the night being extremely cold, I should have much enjoyed, but that every quarter or half hour, the wind blew with loud and violent gusts down the chimney, so as to scatter the ashes all about my room, and fill it with volumes of smoke. This was the "wind of *Shahriár*," (*Bád-i-Shahriári*) and concerning its fatal effects on the lives of unfortunate travellers wandering by night in the snow, we heard almost as many alarming anecdotes as had been related of the kindred blast so prevalent at *Firúzkúh*. Although a man had been sent forward, as usual, to announce our approach and prepare the *siúrsát* or necessary allowance of provisions, yet considerable difficulties occurred in obtaining any article of food either for ourselves or the horses; and it was ten o'clock before my scanty supper had been extorted from the people of *A'ien-a-werzán*, who being all saints, or at least the descendants of a saint or prophet, conceived that they were exempt from the laws of hospitality towards strangers, and from the necessity of obeying the *rakm* (رقم) or written order with which my *Mehmándár* was furnished; and some of them declared that, from their extreme sanctity, the king himself could not, or rather would not, have enforced the supply of *siúrsát*. This insolence of the Muhammedan saints might give a traveller occasion to quote the punning expression of Sir Thomas Herbert, who, describing a village near *Shíráz*, in which he had passed a night, says it consisted of thirty

families, most of them prophets, or prophet's children. But, adds he, "we still found least *profit* where such *prophets* dwelt," (Trav. p. 160, third edit).

On the sixteenth I rose at a very early hour, it having been our design to proceed this day through *Damávand* as far as *Jájerúd* (جارجرد), a computed distance of eight farsangs; but on consultation our plan was changed, for the inhabitants of *Jájerúd* being equal in sanctity to those of *A'ien e werzán*, we apprehended that they might also prove as inhospitable, and resolved to halt at an intermediate stage. I therefore delayed awhile to examine at leisure the village, which in summer must be beautiful, and derives its name from an extraordinary *áien* (عين), or fountain of most beautiful water that gushes from a rock near the summit of a high mountain, and descends among the houses by a natural channel which I have expressed in the view, (Pl. LXXIII) as it appears from the road of *Firúzkuh*; almost adjoining the fountain are some remains of an old castle. Many houses in the village were at this time unoccupied; as in winter the proprietors remove to *Tehrán* or other places, but return during the spring to cultivate their fields and gardens. At nine o'clock we left *A'ien e werzán*, and after a ride of two hours and a half, (though the distance did not much exceed eight miles) over hills deeply covered with snow, we alighted at *Damávand*, a very ancient and celebrated city. As we approached, our guide showed, within five or six hundred yards, a *tapeh* or rising ground, on the highest part of which, according to tradition, had stood the *Nakkáreh Kháneh* of *Zohák*, or the edifice wherein that tyrant had stationed his trumpeters and drummers. Some stones are shewn as vestiges of it; and others lower down, are said to indicate the situation of *Zohák's* palace. In the sketch (Pl. LXXIV) taken a little beyond the *tapeh*, I have endeavoured to represent the town with the adjacent plain, and as much as could be comprehended of those lofty mountains which inclose it, nearly in the form of an amphitheatre, watered by a winding river bordered with willows and poplars, and fertilizing numerous meadows and gardens. For the purpose of irrigation a *nahr* (نهر) or embanked channel has been formed, which derives its water from the river, and the inha-

bitants attribute it to ZOHÁ'K. They consider also, as of most remote antiquity, a tall *mináreh* or spire, and some *gumbeds* or cupolas and vaulted buildings, which, however, to me appeared the works of *Muselmán* ages. The great *masjed* or mosque and other publick edifices have been spacious, and richly ornamented with coloured tile-work; but the city is much decayed, and retains very little of the beauty, extent and population for which it was once celebrated. As we rode along the streets, several dogs of a large and peculiarly ferocious breed, attacked us from the low walls and flat roofs of various houses, attempting to snap at our heads; and we found it difficult to hinder some of them from seizing our horses by the heels. I was politely received at the handsome house of ASHRAF KHÁ'N, the *Hákem* (حاکم) or governor, whose sons had visited me at *Keilán*, as before related. The *Khán* was himself absent at *Iraván*; after an excellent breakfast of sweetmeats, eggs, rice, pickles, fruit and sherbet, I perambulated the town and observed many remains of large and commodious mansions, ruined, as my guides declared, during the wars of NA'DIR SHA'H. That *Damávand* had once extended over a considerable tract of ground was evident; and the inhabitants report, that its edifices covered nearly four farsangs, as still marked by the ruins of its original gates; and that the *Nak-káreh Kháneh*, above mentioned, was not formerly, as now, outside the city, but skirted with houses to the distance of at least a mile, in the direction of *Aien e' wezán*. I remarked several rooms, ceiled, as at *Firúzkhúh*, with split or whole trunks of poplar-trees, laid close together. It was reckoned among the chief wonders of this place, that the great mountain of *Damávand* cannot be seen from the city which bears its name, although distant (its base at least) only four farsangs, or about fifteen miles; whilst its snow-crowned summit is visible, according to local belief, in the farthest regions of the earth. However exaggerated this latter part of the description may be, I can testify that the former is true; a view of it taken from the roof of our house at *Tehrán* is given in Pl. LXIII. That stupendous mountain, as many persons informed me, contains vast quantities of sulphur; and the water of a fountain issuing from it, is sufficiently hot to boil an egg thoroughly without the intermediate assistance of fire.

No one, they positively declared, had ever succeeded in ascending to the top, which is at all seasons covered with snow; but many adventurous men have perished in the attempt; they sunk, it is supposed, into sulphur-pits, concealed by the snow. Few endanger their lives by climbing higher than the medicinal baths; which, during summer, numerous invalids frequent; and so far, it appears, our ingenious countryman Sir Thomas Herbert, was attracted by curiosity, early in the seventeenth century<sup>(123)</sup>. Concerning this mountain and the city to which, probably, it has given a name, I shall now extract some passages from the works of Eastern writers. Whilst in the printed version of EBN HAUKAL'S geography (p. 172), we read that Mount *Damávand* was discernible at a distance of *fifty* farsangs around; that no man was ever said to have ascended to its summit, and that according to Persian romances, ZOHAK was confined within it; that (p. 178) it is the most Eastern of all the mountains in *Tabristán*, and did not abound with trees; the MS. *Súr al beldán* thus more fully describes it—" *Damávand* is a mountain of such considerable height that some persons have "discerned it at the distance of one hundred farsangs, or "still farther; and it is said to be visible even from *Shíráz* in "*Párs*; and the humble author of this work has seen it himself from the neighbourhood of *Isfahán*; but he never heard "that any man had been exalted by ascending to its highest "point; and amongst the frivolous and erroneous traditions "of the (Fire-worshipping) Persians, there is one which "represents ZOHAK as continuing immortal in a quadrangular place high up on this mountain, where all the sorcerers and magicians have assembled, from various quarters "of the world, and constructed their habitations"<sup>(124)</sup>. The

(123) "Higher up into the air is the high peak of *Damoon*, by Strabo in his 11. lib. "called *Jasonia*; whose top (shaped like a pyramid) surmounts as some think all other "parts of *Taurus*; up which defatigating hill, nevertheless, we scrambled, but with "difficulty." "The reason why we rode up was out of curiosity to see the baths, "so generally resorted to." *Travels*, p. 209, Third Edition, 1665

(124) کوه دماوند—وان کوهی عظیم بلند می باشد چنانکه کسانرا آن کوه صد فرسنگ دورتر مشاهده می آید و می بیند که آن کوه چندان بلندست که از شیراز بارس آنرا می بینند و این ضعیفرا آن کوه از نزدیک اصفهان مشاهده شده

next page informs us, that in Mount *Damávand* are mines of copperas (چاچ), and of (سرمه) a kind of antimony; and (five pages after), the author declares that he had seen it from the city of *Rai*; “and heard that it had been discerned by several “persons from a spot near *Sáveh*; and it extends itself in the “midst of other mountains, and its summit resembles a lofty “conical dome, and from its base to the highest part is a “distance of four farsangs”<sup>(125)</sup>. He then repeats the story of *ZOHÁ’K* and the magicians *under* the mountain, from which a vast body of smoke (دودي عظيم) perpetually ascends. *FIRDAUSI*, who preserves so many old traditions of the Persians, has not omitted the story of *ZOHÁ’K*, but particularly describes his imprisonment in a dark and narrow pit on Mount *Damávand*<sup>(126)</sup>; and this circumstance is noticed by many other poets and romance writers, whom it is unnecessary to quote. *EBN KHALCA’N*, whose original Arabick work I have not seen, informs us, (according to the MS. Persian translation of it) that “*Dumbávand* (*Dunbávand* دنباوند) is a territory in the “district of *Rai* in *Jebal* (or *Irák Agem*), and by some “called *Damávand*” (دماوند); but, adds he, “the former mode “of pronunciation (or of writing) is more accurate” (والاول اصح). In the MS. *Tárikh-i-Tabristán*, an account of Mount *Damávand* is given, chiefly on the authority of *ALI EBN ZEIN AL CA’TEB*, who, in his book entitled the “Paradise of Philosophy,” (كتاب فردوس الحكمت) mentions that from the village of *Asek* (اسك) to the summit, is a journey of two days; and this, (the summit) resembles a conical tower or pointed dome



است و هرگز شنیده نشد که هیچ یک در شاهق آن کوه مرتفع و مرتقی ده است و از هدیانات و مرخرفات اهل فرس یکی انست که دعوي مي کند و مي گویند که صفاک حي قايم در بالا آن کوه مربع نشسته است و جمله ساحران از اطراف و اکثاف افاق در آنجا ماري مي سازند و مجمتع مي شوند (MS. *Sur al beldán*).

<sup>(125)</sup> و چنان شنوده شد که از نزدیک ساوه کسان آن کوه را دیده اند و آن کوهي است در میانه کوهها مغترش و در بالا آن مانند قبه بلند برآورده و از زیر کوه تا شاهق آن چهار فرسنگ است

بکوه دماوند گردش به بند  
که بود از سیهاي بندش نا پدید

<sup>(126)</sup> بسنگاه صفاک را چون نوند  
بکوه اندرون چاي تنگي کزید

of a building; and it is on every side perpetually covered with snow; but, on the very highest part, there is a space of thirty acres (سی جریب) on which the snow never rests at any season. This space, he says, is sandy, and yields to a person's foot; and from it the other mountains appear like inconsiderable hillocks. On the top of *Damāvand*, he adds, are thirty fissures or apertures (سی سوراخ), from which the smoke of sulphur issues with loud and terrific sounds; all these volcanick symptoms indicating, that "a fire certainly exists "in the interior cavities of this mountain; and so violent is "the wind which blows at this place, that no animal can "endure it"(127).

In his extraordinary MS. work, the *Ajdäeb al Makhlúkát*, or "Wonders of Creation," ZACARÍ'A CAZVÍ'NÍ has celebrated the great mountain *Damāvand*, situate in the vicinity of *Rai*; its height, he informs, is such, that, on the back of the whole earth (بر پشت زمین), there is not any mountain more lofty. From his prolix account we learn, (besides most of the circumstances above noticed by other writers) that between this place and *Hamadán* is a distance of eight *merhilleh* (مرحله) or days stages; and that King Solomon imprisoned one of the most formidable dæmons in a cavern here; he multiplies the thirty volcanick craters or openings, mentioned in the *Tárikh-i-Tabristán* to seventy; and adds, that between this mountain and the sea is a space of twenty farsangs (بیست فرسنگ); his account closes with stories of a talisman. "*Damāvand*," says the geographer HAMDALLAH, "is a celebrated and very lofty mountain, which may be seen at the distance of an hundred farsangs; it is situate east-ward of the territory of *Rai*. Its "summit is never free from snow; in circumference it is equal "to twenty farsangs, and exceeds five in height"(128). He



(127) که حقیقت شود در جوف و میان کوه آتشی است و هیچ حیوان قرار نتواند گرفت از سختی باد که جعید

MS. *Tarikh i Tabristán*,

(128) کوه دماوند مشهورست و سخت بلند از مد فرسنگ باز توان دید بر شرقی ملک ری افتاده است قله اش هرگز از برف خالی نبود دورش بیست فرسنگ است و بلندی پنج فرسنگ زیادت بود

MS. *Nuzh, Culub*,

then mentions the flat ground of *one hundred acres*, on its highest part, and the sliding sand; also the ice, which falling down the mountain, sometimes overwhelms persons and destroys them. We learn also from HAMDALLAH, that the chief town of *Damávand* "was formerly called *Meishán*; belongs to the "fourth climate, and is situate in longitude, (from the Fortunate Islands) 87-20; and latitude, (from the Equinoctial "line) 36-10. It was founded by CAIUMERATH, and the air "of this place is cold; and among the fruits which it produces, "the *Abbasis* are so excellent that they yield a *dúsháb* or paste "of which syrop is made"<sup>(129)</sup>. Another geographer, SA'DEK ISFAHÁ'NI, says that "by day a smoke issues from this "mountain on which are several cultivated and inhabited "places; these are denominated *Damávand*, and the chief town "of them *Dímeh* or *Daiméh*"<sup>(130)</sup>. This name is so written in the MS. *Tárikh-i-Tabristán*; and seems to form part of *Daimávand* or *Dímávand*, as the mountain has been sometimes denominated, according to the dictionary *Burhán Katea*, (ایما رند—نام کوه دماوند ست). But from the resemblance of *d* and *v* in various Manuscripts, it appears *Weimeh* or *Wimeh*; and the printed tables of ULUGH BEIG describe *Wímah* (ویمه) as the emporium of *Donbawand*; assigning to it the same longitude and latitude as HAMDALLAH above quoted; although this geographer entitles the emporium *Meishán*. The variation

(129) دماوند قصبه ایست انرا میشان خوانده اند از اقلیم چهارمست طولش از جزایر خالادات فزک و عرض از خط استوا لوی کیومرث ساخت هوای سرد دارد و از میوه اش عباسی نیکوست چنانکه از آن دوشاب گیرند. MS. *Nuzhat al Culáb*, (ch. xix).

(130) و روز از آن دود متصاعد شود—و بر آن کوه مواضع بسیار آباد است و انرا دماوند خوانند و قصبه انرا دیمه گویند. See the MS. *Tahakkik al Irab*, in voce. The volcanic appearances have been noticed by writers before quoted; and their accounts are partly confirmed by Sir Thomas Herbert, who having ascended to view the medicinal baths, says, "we could discover thence the Caspian Sea, albeit eight "score miles distant;—above it is composed of sulphur which causes it to sparkle each "night like *Ætna*: a pleasant object to the eye, but so offensive to the smell that it "requires a nosegay of garlick in the ascending." *Travels*, p. 209, edition of 1665. According to the celebrated historians MIRKHOOND and KHOONDEMI'R, this phenomenon is ascribed by the Magians to CAIUMERATH, who having found the body of his son or grandson SIA'MEK, murdered by the dæmons or savages, buried it in a pit of this mountain, and on the mouth of the pit kindled a great fire; since which time, as the Magians relate, a flame issues frequently every day from the pit, and sinks into it again. See the MSS. *Rauzet as Safá* and *Habib As'seir*.



in these accounts may arise from the great extent of that city which comprehended, under the general name of *Damávand*, several different villages and districts. I have already mentioned the reports of inhabitants who affirmed that the gates and walls had inclosed a space of four farsangs; and *Gilárd* at the distance of two miles, seemed to me but a continuation of the town. But the mountain has more attracted the notice of Eastern writers than the city, however extensive; and my account of it would be imperfect without mention of an extraordinary circumstance to which the poets frequently allude; while grave historians have recorded it, and some philosophers endeavoured to explain, and reconcile it with probability or rather possibility. In describing the ten years siege of *A'mul*, (p. 301), I reserved for the present occasion those terms on which peace was concluded between the Persian king MINU'CHEHR and the *Turánian* or Scythian invader AFRA'SIAB. Having informed us that hostilities ceased, TABRI thus proceeds with his narrative: "and the peace between them was made on these conditions, that a boundary should be established, separating the Scythian from the Persian territories. All beyond this line was to become the dominion of AFRA'SIAB, and all on this side was to be MINU'CHEHR's; and neither was to encroach on the other's property; and they agreed that the strongest man should be chosen from MINU'CHEHR's army, and that he should shoot an arrow, which, when fallen on the ground, was to mark the boundary. These terms having been mutually accepted, the treaty of peace was written. Then MINU'CHEHR from all his troops, selected a certain hero named A'RESH, than whom, throughout the world, there was no man of greater strength, nor one more skilled in archery. The king commanded him to ascend *Damávand*, which is not exceeded in loftiness by any mountain, and thence to shoot an arrow with all his might. A'RESH having ascended *Damávand* shot the arrow with such force that it passed from the land of *Tabristán* and fell on the bank of the river *Jaihún* or *Oxus*; and AFRA'SIAB was much afflicted, as it thus became necessary that he should resign to MINU'CHEHR his dominions situate between *Sarkhes* and the *Jaihún*; for the terms had been made and the treaty signed so that he could not

"recede from the conditions. He therefore withdrew his army beyond the river *Jaihún*, thus established as the boundary, and MINU'CHEHR came forth from the castle of "A'mul and retired to the land of *Rai*"<sup>(131)</sup>. MIRKHAND allows that this story is incomprehensible; yet relates the circumstances as preceding authors had transmitted them; the wonderful arrow, he says, was flying from sunrise till mid-day<sup>(132)</sup>. This tale is repeated in the MS. *Farhang Jehángíri*, where we read, that to commemorate this event, the thirteenth day of the month *Tír* (October, or "the arrow") is celebrated as a festival, and considered auspicious by the (Fire-worshipping) Persians, like the *Nawrúz* or *Mihrgán*, and called *Tírgán* or the "arrow-festival"<sup>(133)</sup>; and in this dictionary the river *Jaihún*, near which the arrow fell, is styled *A'mú*; and in the *Burhán Katea*, more accurately (as it appears) *Amún*<sup>(134)</sup>. As that golden arrow, of such classical celebrity, which wafted *Abaris* through the air, has been a subject of much learned conjectural explanation, so we find that some have

(<sup>131</sup>) See the MS. *Tárikh i Tabri*, history of MINU'CHEHR. In this account we further read that the king appointed A'RESH (ارش) to be commander of all his archers. But a rare work (of which I have never seen a second copy) declares that A'RESH devoted himself for the advantage of his sovereign and the honour of his country, and that, as he had foretold, the exertion of his utmost strength in shooting the arrow cost him his life, and he was torn to pieces (پاره پاره شد). See the MS. *Naurúz Náme*h in the account of ancient Persian festivals, celebrated during (تیرماه) *Tír máh*, or October.

(<sup>132</sup>) و این تیر از وقت طلوع افتاب تا نیمروز حرکت میکرد  
MS. *Rauzet al Sefa*. Hist. of MINU'CHEHR.

(<sup>133</sup>) در این روز ازین ماه عید گفتند و جشن نمایند و مانند نوروز و مهرگان مبارک گیرند و این روز را تیرگان نامند  
The learned Hyde of Oxford, who laments that his copy of the *Jehangíri* was defective and inaccurately written, seems, however, to have chiefly borrowed from it the account of this festival; and says that MINU'CHEHR was besieged "in castello *Tiristan*," (i. e. *Sagittarum regio*). (See the "Histor. Relig. Veterum Persarum," edit. 1700, p. 243 and 422). My copy of the Persian Dictionary for *Tiristan* تیرستان reads *Tabristán*, (تبرستان) more consistently with the word *A'mul* immediately following, thus,—

منوچهر که در قلعه تیرستان امل مستحصن شده بود  
The usual manner of writing *Tabristán* with the initial ط is Arabick not Persian.

(<sup>134</sup>) *Amú*, according to this Dictionary (in voce) is the abridgement of *A'mús*, a celebrated river separating *Túrán* (Seythia) from *Írán* or Persia, &c.

آمر—تخلف آمون است

attributed the exploit of A'RESH to magick, or to the assistance of an angel; whilst other ingenious commentators divest the story of its most marvellous circumstances, and suppose the arrow to express figuratively, that the Persians invaded and by their skill in archery, obtained possession of the enemy's country; that A'RESH was the successful general; that he determined the boundaries; and that by the magick characters inscribed on his wonderful arrow, nothing more is understood than the written orders which he despatched with the utmost expedition to the farthest borders of Persia. Others, however, are willing to interpret the story more literally; and, on the authority of different chronicles, DOWLET SHA'H informs us that the arrow was so contrived as to contain a chymical mixture of quick-silver and other substances, which, when heated by the sun, augmented the original force of projection in such a manner, that it reached to *Marv*. It appears incredible, says DOWLET SHA'H, that an arrow could be impelled at one shot to the distance of forty *merhillehs* or days journey; yet we are assured by the illustrious SHEIKH AZERI in his work entitled "Jewels of Secrets," that the great ABR ALI SI'NA (Avicenna) did not consider it as beyond the compass of human ingenuity. But if, according to the poet NIZA'MI ARU'ZI, the arrow flew from *A'mul*, and not from *Damávand*, the wonder may be reduced comparatively almost to nothing; for DOWLET SHA'H informs us that within one farsang of *Marv* is a place called *A'mul*, as we find near *Samarkand* the village of *Shíráz*; and in *Khuárezm* a village which bears the name of *Baghdád*. But on the authority of TABRI and other historians, we must suppose *Damávand* to be the scene of A'RESH's exploit; and it is not improbable that the poet ARU'ZI, like other writers, used *A'mul* for *Tabristán*.

After a halt of some hours at *Damávand* we proceeded nearly two miles to *Gilárd* (گیلارد), a beautiful village which the king had lately given to his son, the Prince of *Sári*, and he had consigned to the jurisdiction of his *Vazír*, the father of my *Mehmándár*. Here this young man was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of a cordial welcome; and as his guest, I partook of their hospitality. *Gilárd* (گیلارد),

sometimes written after the Arabick fashion *Jílárd* (جیلارد), is said to have been a part of *Damávand* in former times; this seems highly probable from the vestiges of buildings in the intermediate space; and I should almost suspect that Pietro della Valle had confounded one with the other, when he mentions his "passing, (on the journey between *Firúzkuh* and "*Tehrán*") several villages, and among others a large one called "*Ghilas* or *Ghilard*"<sup>(135)</sup>; but that travelling in haste, he probably chose the road which leads to this place from *Aien e werzán*, in a direction shorter by two or three miles than that through *Damávand*. My desire of visiting the ancient city had induced me to prefer the more circuitous way; but our muleteers with the baggage and spare horses came by the other.

On the seventeenth of March, we left *Gílárd* before six o'clock; at three miles a road to *Damávand* turned off on our right; at eight miles we crossed a small river running towards the south; and two miles farther we passed by the village of *Bú-mehen*, five or six hundred yards distant on our right. This is reckoned three farsangs from *Damávand*; three from *Gílárd* and as many from *Jájerúd*<sup>(136)</sup>. At fourteen miles we crossed a brook, and about the twentieth or twenty-first mile halted near the river *Jájerúd*, and having breakfasted, rode through its stream; this, though not half full, was very wide and rapid, and lifted off their feet some of our mules, and others belonging to a *kofilah* from *Tehrán*; two or three of which were carried down by the current and almost drowned. Near this ford we saw, but did not enter, a handsome brick-built *caravanserá*, erected by the present king. The village of *Jájerúd*, though situate among the adjacent hills, was not visible from the spot where we halted. According to HAM-DALLAH, "this river *Jájerúd* flows from Mount *Damávand* to "the territory of *Rai*;" he adds that it is easily and copiously distributed in irrigation, supplying nearly forty drains or

(135) "Cavalcai dunque in fretta, e passai diverse ville: ma trà le altre una grossa, chiamata *Ghilas* ò *Ghilard*." Viaggi. Lettera 4. da Cazvin, 1618.

(136) Sir Thomas Herbert, in his Travels. (third edition, p. 213) through some mistake (probably of *Damávand* for *Tehrán*) has described "*Romahsem*, five and twenty miles from *Damoon*."

channels; that *Rai* is chiefly watered by its stream, which in the spring season is subterraneously absorbed. "This river," he adds, abounds with the fish called *Kizl-áleh*, and in the "extent of its course runs five and twenty farsangs"<sup>(137)</sup>.

Having crossed the *Jájerúd* we winded among hills for two hours and a half; then entered the great plain of *Rai* and saw before us, five or six miles distant, the city of *Tehrán*, where we alighted at five o'clock, after a journey (from *Gílárd*) of about thirty seven miles.

(137) اب جاجرود از کوه دماوند بر منخیزد و بولایت ری میریزد—و ماهی قزل  
آن درین رود بسیارست طولش بیست و پنج فرسنگ باشد  
MS. *Nuzhat al Culúb*, Chapter of Rivers.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### *Second Residence at Tehrán, and Journey to Tabriz.*

**A**MONG the circumstances which occurred at *Tehrán* within a space of ten weeks, (the duration of my second residence there), I shall first notice the celebration of a festival instituted, according to the Persians, at a very early period of their monarchy; and observed, though with different degrees of splendour, through all the religious and political revolutions that have happened during the course of two thousand six hundred years. This festival is styled *Nawrúz* (نوروز), a name signifying the "New Day," first of the Persian solar year, and season of the vernal equinox; it commenced at *Tehrán* a little before midnight on the twentieth of March, when a gun was fired from the *Areg* or citadel, and the supposed entrance of the sun, at that moment, into the zodiacal sign of the ram, was announced by the royal drums and trumpets, of which obstreperous instruments the sounds did not cease for many hours. Next morning, at ten o'clock, the king sent some trays, containing *Khelaats* or dresses of honour, to be distributed by the Ambassador among the English gentlemen; a *kabá* or coat of rich gold brocade, an outer garment or *bálá-púsh*, and two shawls for each, with a specimen of the latest coinage, chiefly small pieces of gold and silver money, struck rather to serve for private gifts on this occasion, than for publick currency. About noon, and almost constantly throughout the day, pistols and muskets were discharged in various quarters of the city; there was a general appearance of rejoicing; the people interchanged little presents of oranges, flowers and other trifles, and on every side was heard the usual compliment "*Idé-i-shumá mubârek bâshed!*" "may your festival be auspicious!" At four o'clock we accompanied the

Ambassador to court, clothed in our Persian dresses. On entering the *A'reg* we were received by the master of ceremonies and other officers of the palace, who conducted us to a very handsome room, ceiled and almost lined with mirrors; the walls, to above four feet from the floor, being composed of a fine yellowish-green marble. In the middle was a square basin or fountain, wherein clear water constantly circulated by means of subterraneous tubes; near this the king sat, after our European fashion, on an arm-chair, of very antique appearance; its legs being so high that his feet scarcely reached to the carpet. He asked me several questions respecting *Mázenderán*, and seemed much pleased at my favourable report of that province, for which he has always entertained a strong predilection as the country of his tribe, the *Kajars*. There were present three of the king's sons, and one of his sons in law. After our audience, his Majesty presented to the Ambassador a star composed of diamonds and emeralds, surrounding the arms of Persia, (a lion with the sun rising over his back) enamelled in gold<sup>(1)</sup>. This festival of the *Naurúz* lasted several days, during which there were frequent discharges of artillery and musketry, and displays of fire-works; particularly on the 27th, when the king invited Sir Gore Ouseley and his party to a grand exhibition at the *A'reg*. Although this invitation was not generally accepted, I contrived, with the assistance of a Persian friend, to witness, privately, the chief entertainments. The king sat in that small chamber over the gate-way of the *Maidán*, which he had occupied at the *Muharrem* ceremonies, described in a former chapter, (p. 165). Here he reviewed a long line of mules (one hundred, as it was said) each carrying on its back a beautiful Indian shawl, and a bag containing one thousand *tumáns* in gold coin. These were the presents, or rather the annual tribute or revenue of *Isfahán*, sent by the AMÍ'N AD DOULÉH; several processions of men bearing valuable gifts of different kinds had already passed before my arrival; the

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(1) The *Shír u Khúrshíd Irání* (شیر و خورشید ایرانی) or "Persian Lion and Sun," constitute the *nishán* (نشان) or mark of distinction with which his Majesty has decorated some European ministers, military officers and others.

offerings of those princes and noblemen who governed in various provinces and great cities of the empire. To the presents succeeded rope dancing, and wrestling of *Pahlawâns*; circumstances did not allow me to see this part of the entertainment with such advantage as Mr. Morier enjoyed (in 1809), but I can bear ample testimony to the accuracy with which he has described it; and refer my reader to the account given in his "Travels," (Vol. I. p. 208). The attack of a young lion on a small bull, apparently too feeble to resist even a large dog, was the last scene that I had an opportunity of witnessing this day, which closed the *Idé* or festival. It is generally contrived that the lion should prove victorious, for as a Persian told me, (and as Father Angelo has observed) it would be deemed an inauspicious omen were the king of beasts to be defeated in the royal presence<sup>(\*)</sup>. Next morning (the 28th) we attended according to royal invitation the horse-race, usually exhibited at this season. A sumptuous tent had been prepared for the king, about a mile from the city-walls, near the *Cazvin* road, on an open part of the plain; thither we proceeded at seven o'clock, conducted by MR'ZA SHERIF, and took our stations almost opposite the tent. A very long and grand procession of five hundred camels then advanced, each camel carrying a man, gaudily dressed, who managed a *Zembûrek* or swivel gun, placed immediately before him, whilst his saddle was decorated with a small flag of different colours that fluttered behind him; next came five or six elephants, with splendid seats or covered thrones, fastened on their backs, but empty; soon after the king himself arrived on horseback, alighted and entered the tent, which circumstance was proclaimed by the discharge of some *Zembûreks* and the sounds of drums, trumpets and other instruments of

(\*) This ingenious missionary had seen the lions three times in the same day overthrown by oxen, and once even by a lean cow, at the *Naurûz* celebrated in presence of SHAH SULEYMA'N; but on this occasion two lions were set against one ox, and when he fell to the ground, overpowered in the unequal contest, his throat was immediately cut by the attendants, as any defeat of the king of animals would have been reckoned an unlucky omen. "Viddi tre volte nel istesso giorno d'il (*Nou rouz*) equi-  
"nozzio verno, calpestatî gli lionî da i bovi, anzi da una vacca magra in presenza del  
"re, (SOLIMON) mà in quel caso largono doi lionî contra un bove; accio caschi &  
"subito gli tagliano la gola; altrimenti parirebbe di mal augurio ch'il re de gli animali  
"fusse vinto." Gazophyl. Pers. p. 195, (Ital. column in *Leone*).



the royal band. The winning horse now approached, galloping with considerable fleetness; a half-starved animal, which, however, his rider, a little boy, could scarcely stop near the king's tent; another horse appeared after an interval of about ten minutes; then came two or three together; and at last within an hour the ten which had been trained were all assembled; of these, some had commenced the race at a distance of five farsangs or eighteen miles; others at three farsangs, according to their reputed strength and speed. They all seemed to have suffered most deplorably, not only from this exertion but the previous excessive reduction of their food; and, as it was acknowledged, some of those that run at this exhibition, do not in general survive it many days. The boy whose horse had won, was rewarded with a purse of money. After this, in consequence of a message from the king to the Ambassador, we alighted and were conducted to the tent. His majesty sat, as during the last mentioned interview, on a high old-fashioned chair, the Ambassador near him on a carpet, and the other gentlemen stood opposite, not on the carpet, but under the shelter of the tent. The king received us most graciously, chatted on various subjects, talked again about *Mázenderán*, and expressed much satisfaction at my account of the prince's new garden at *Sári*, and of his kindness towards me, which, he told the Ambassador, should be recompensed with a *khelaat*. He desired us to examine some dead birds which lay on the ground, as they were exceedingly rare, found in the vicinity of Mount *Damávand*; these were the *kabk-deri* (کبک دري), resembling partridges in some respects, but almost twice as large. "The smell of their feathers," said the king, "when burnt, is an infallible preservative against the plague." During this audience, which lasted nearly twenty minutes, small parties of soldiers galloped about in front, throwing the *jeríd* and firing carbines at each other; several of the princes also were close to the tent, but none of them dismounted from their horses. When the king set out on his return to the city there was a discharge of *Zembúreks*, as on his arrival at the race-ground. We followed soon after, with the multitude. It would seem, however, that the selfish and jealous men had denied to their wives and daughters the enjoyment of this show, for I could not discern one female among the thousands of spectators.

Thus ended an exhibition which we must consider rather as an appendage to the *Naurúz*, than a spectacle belonging to the original celebration of that festival which, properly, should have lasted only six whole days, as I learn from various Eastern writers and learned Europeans who have ably illustrated the antiquities of Persia<sup>(3)</sup>. According to that valuable MS. work, the *Naurúz Námeḥ* "the Persian monarchs after JEM-SHÍ'D divided a portion of the month *Farvardín* (or March) "into six parts, which constituted this festival; the first was for "kings or princes; the second for nobles; the third for servants; the fourth for dependants and relations; the fifth for "the lower classes of people in general, and the sixth for peasants. And during the Sasanian dynasty, it was customary "for the king to begin the *Naurúz*, sitting each day for the reception of a different class, to whom he dispensed his "favours; and the sixth day he passed in private, with a few "particular favourites and select companions, wherefore this "day was entitled the *Naurúz Kháseh*; on this day also, by "the king's command, the presents which had been collected, "were brought forth into his presence, and he, having inspected them, distributed some among the people, and "caused the remainder to be deposited in his treasury"<sup>(4)</sup>. The six days of this festival are likewise mentioned in that excellent MS. *Farhang* or dictionary the *Jehángiri*, which relates under the article *Naurúz* many other circumstances concerning it; and the *Farhang Burhán Kátea* gives nearly

(3) Thus Hyde in his "Historia Relig. Veter. Persarum," chap. xix. (Oxon. 1700, p. 237), "Nam est festum Hexaméron seu sex dierum." And Anquetil du Perron in his "Usages Civiles et Relig." &c. Zendavesta, Tom. II. p. 574, "Les fêtes les plus solennelles chez les Perses sont—1°. Le No rouz c'est à dire le nouveau (le premier) jour (de l'année). Cette fête dure six jours."

(4) و ماه فروردین را ملوک فرس بعد از جمشید شش حصه بوده عید میکردند اول جهت ملوک نوم جهت اشراف سیوم جهت خدم چهارم جهت حواشی و نزدیکان پنجم جهت عامه ششم جهت راعیان و رسم اکاسره آن بود که پادشاه ابتدا بروز نوروز میکرد و هر روز جهت طایفه می نشست و بایشان احسان میکرد و روز ششم را خلوت میکرد با مخصوصان و ندمای خاص و ازینجهت این روز نوروز خاصه گویند و درین روز پادشاه امر می نمود که هدایا که جمیع شده حاضر کنند و آنرا ملاحظه نموده بعضی را بر مردم قسمت میکرد و باقی را نهمزانه میدادند

the same account with some little addition; it informs us that *Naurúz* (نوروز), signifying *rúz-e-naw* (روز نو) or "the new day," is two-fold; one called *Naurúz Aameh* (عامه), the popular or vulgar; the other *Naurúz Kháseh* (خاصه), the select or noble. That styled *Aameh* happens on the first day of the month *Farvardín* (فروردین), or March; when sol begins to enter aries, and his arrival at this point is reckoned the first moment of spring. It is said that on this day the Almighty created the world, and that by divine command the seven planets first began to move in the sign of aries; Adam also was created on this day, and therefore it is entitled *Naurúz* or "the new day." But according to some traditions, JEMSHÍ'D, whose name was originally JEM, and whom the Arabs denominate METU'SALEKH (متوشلخ), having travelled round the world, arrived at length in *A'zerbaiján*, where he caused a throne richly studded with jewels to be placed in a lofty situation, and facing the East; then, having put a splendid crown upon his head, he ascended the throne, and sat in such a manner that the rising sun glistened on the brilliant ornaments of his crown and seat with a dazzling lustre; and the people being delighted, exclaimed, "This is the New Day;" and as brightness or light is expressed in the *Pahlavi* language by *Shíd*, this word was added to his original name JEM, and the monarch has been since entitled JEMSHÍ'D; and a great festival was at that time celebrated, which custom has established on the annual recurrence of this day; and the *Naurúz Kháseh* happens on the day named *Khurdád* (خرداد), which is the sixth of the month *Farvardín* (or March). On this day king JEMSHÍ'D again seated himself upon the throne, and assembled his nobles, and addressed the people with affability, saying, "Ye are creatures of the Almighty God, and it is meet that ye should render your bodies pure by ablutions with water, and that ye should employ yourselves in devotion and thanksgiving to the Lord; and on every return of this day ye shall observe these ceremonies." Therefore they called that day the *Naurúz-e-Kháseh*. It is said, that the *Akasreh* or Sasanians were accustomed every year, from the lesser to the greater *Naurúz*, a space of six days, to comply with the requests of their subjects, and to liberate prisoners and pardon criminals, occupying themselves in festivity and rejoicing;

and the word *Naurúz* is written after the Arabick manner, (نوروز) *Nirúz*. To the *Naurúz* I assigned (in p. 337) an antiquity of two thousand six hundred years, supposing that king JEMSHI'D, who is said to have instituted the festival, reigned about eight centuries before the era of Christ, according to Sir W. Jones's moderate calculation, (See his "Short History of Persia"). Dr. Hyde has collected in his admirable treatise on the religion of the ancient Persians, many interesting particulars of their solar year and various festivals; telling us in general terms that all Eastern traditions agree respecting JEMSHI'D's reformation of the calendar before used, and his institution of the new epoch, which continued until the time of YEZDEGARD, last monarch of the Sasanian dynasty, who in the year of our era 632 introduced that which bears his name. Yet this learned antiquary seems to consider as fabulous those traditions which attribute to JEMSHI'D the festival, as it exists at present with its division of six days, and lesser and greater *Naurúz*. This, he contends, was the work of JELAL AD DI'N MELEK SHA'H, third sultan of the *Seljúkian* family, a prince who reigned in the eleventh century of Christ. (See Hyde's *Relig. Vet. Pers.* capp. xiv. xix). Now, although in the *Jámia al Hekáyat*, and many MS. chronicles of most respectable historians, FAZLALLAH, BEIZA'VI, BENAKETI, MI'RKHOND, his son KHONDEMI'R, and the whole multitude of minor authors who copy one from another, the *Naurúz* is said to have been instituted by JEMSHI'D, yet I should not weigh their assertions against the doubts of such a man as Hyde, but suppose that they had erroneously ascribed to the ancient monarch, what was in reality, the work of a prince, comparatively modern, did it not appear that before SULTAN JELALEDDI'N was born, two very celebrated writers had already traced the festival up to JEMSHI'D's reign. These writers are TABRI and FIRDAUSI, whose works Dr. Hyde seems to have attentively studied, and often quotes with the respect due to such venerable authority. It is possible that the Manuscripts which he consulted may have been imperfect, like too many other Eastern writings, from the omission of certain passages, through the negligence or ignorance of transcribers; but it is not very probable that his copies of TABRI and FIRDAUSI should both happen to be defective.

in the particular history of JEMSHĪ'D. Three fine copies of TABRI's chronicle, and four of FIRDAUSI's poem, now lying before me, agree in stating that the name of *Naurúz* was first bestowed on a memorable day during the reign of JEMSHĪ'D. Having related many acts of this monarch, the historian adds that "he afterwards assembled the sages and learned men, "and placed them before his throne, and he himself sat upon "the throne, and administered justice, and all the people "were gathered together around him, and that day was named "*Naurúz*, or "the new day"(5). FIRDAUSI, in a very early part of his *Sháhnámeh*, describes the power and the virtues of JEMSHĪ'D; his various inventions and the useful arts which he introduced among men; his division of the Persians into four classes, and his splendid throne; "around which," says FIRDAUSI, "all the people crowded, lost in amazement at "his glory and prosperity. On JEMSHĪ'D they scattered "precious jewels, and called that day the "new day." It "was the beginning of the new year, on the day *Hormuzd* "in the month of *Farvardín* (or March), when the body was "relieved from fatigue, and the mind from anger or vexation, "that the nobles to express their delight, prepared a banquet "of wine, and called for musical instruments and sweet singing minstrels. From this time an auspicious festival of "the same kind has continued among us; a memorial of the "ancient kings"(6).

(5) پس حکما و علمارا جمع کردی و پیش تخت نشاندی و بر تخت نشست  
وداد کردی و همه خلق کرد آمدیدی و آن روز را نوروز نام کردند—

*Tarikh Tabri* (Reign of JEMSHĪ'D). So the passage is written in the two most ancient copies of my collection; one having (after the word علمارا) an interlinear addition, thus *signifying* (that he assembled the wise men) "*one certain day in the year*:" and a third copy, modern and replete with interpolations from the works of authors two or three centuries later than TABRI, mentions the sitting of JEMSHĪ'D in the seat of justice, adding that

روز هرمز بود از ماه فروردین پیش آن روز نوروز کردند و برما اکنون منبت گشت

"it was on the day of *Hormuz* in the month of *Farvardín* (or March): then they made "that day the *Naurúz*, a festival still observed among us." I am inclined to suspect that the transcriber of this modern copy, has borrowed his information concerning the day *Hormuz*, the month *Farvardín*, and the continuation of the *Nauruz*, from some verses of FIRDAUSI quoted in the next note.

شکفتی فرو مانده از بخت او  
مر آن روز را روز نو خواندند

(6) جهان انجمن شد بر تخت او  
بهمشید بر گوهر افشاندند

To the *Naurúz* festival succeeded on the fourth of April, some discharges of artillery, announcing the arrival of four hundred and fifty Russian prisoners, who had been taken in that battle of which I first heard an exaggerated rumour when on my return from *Mázenderán* (p. 319), and were now sent to *Tehrán* by the prince of *Tabriz*, *ABBA'S MI'RZA'*, for the gratification of his royal father. Eight were officers, the highest in rank a captain; sixty men had died on the march, and eighty others were in a lamentable condition, from their wounds, which no one amongst them was capable of dressing, their surgeon having himself been killed or disabled; all were quartered in the house of *AMÍN AD DOULEH*, which we had first occupied, and the eight officers were crowded together in the single room that had been appropriated to me. Mr. Cormick and Mr. Sharp lost not a moment's time in administering medical relief to the sick and wounded men. On the fifth, Mr. Morier, Lieutenant Willock and I, paid our respects to the Russian officers, who were indulged with the use of the great hall, or *Díván Kháneh*, for the reception of visitors. We conversed by signs, for it happened that none of the Russian gentlemen could speak or understand either English, French, Italian, Latin, or Persian. The captain, a young man of good figure, and two others, were well dressed, in uniform green coats, red collars, and gold epaulettes, having the number (twenty) on the strap; the others had lost their bag-

تن اسوده از رنج و هم دل زكين  
مي و رود و رامشكران خواستند  
بما ماند از خسروان يادگار

سر سال نو هرمزد فروردين  
بزرگان ز شادي براراستند  
چنين جشن فرخ از ان روزگار

This passage occurs in my four copies of the *Sháh Náme'h*, with a few slight variations. Before these lines (&c. سر سال نو) mentioning the new year and day of *Hormuzd*, a distich occurs in one copy which informs us that "the monarch commanded his people at the season of the *Núkrú* to prepare a banquet in his presence."

كه سازيد بزومي اهر پيشگاه

بهنگام نهرو فرمود شاه

The words *nuk rú* نهرو although distinctly written, appear marked by some critical reader with a little character, as if doubtful in the signification, or erroneously transcribed. *Nuk rú*, however, "the nine faces, or aspects," may be an astronomical expression. But as the manuscript, although extremely beautiful and rich in illuminated pictures, is not wholly free from graphical errors; I suspect that *nuk rú* نهرو should have been نو *mah nau* (the new moon), or, more probably, نوروز *naurúz*.

gage and seemed distressed for clothes. Next day the Ambassador invited all those officers to dinner; two only came; the captain and lieutenant. On this occasion a man who spoke Persian had offered to interpret, but he understood Russian so imperfectly that the officers themselves comprehended what we wished to say, much better than he. I recollect than when the Ambassador asked him what was the Russian term for wine, pointing to a bottle of Madeira or Claret, he who probably considered strong spirits as the finest of all liquors, immediately answered "*arrack*," on which the Russian gentlemen looking at the fellow with contempt and indignation, corrected his blunder, and mentioned the word which in their language served to express wine.

On the fourteenth of April we went to dine with Mr'RZA SHEFIA at eight o'clock in the evening; our party was small but select, and most of the Persian guests intelligent, polite and well-informed men, of lively manners and very pleasing conversation. The Russian captain was present; he had been graciously received by the king, according to whose desire he was now decorated with the cross of some order of knighthood, which had been found among the baggage of a Russian field-officer. One Persian of the company was well acquainted with the remote North-Western frontiers; and to a question from the Ambassador respecting *Balkh*, *Samarkand* and *Bokhárá*, he replied that no man should undertake a journey to those places, (especially from *Herát* to *Balkh*), who was not willing to sell his head for ten *Sháhís*, (the smallest pieces of silver coin). Two days after we proceeded to visit the great MUHAMMED ALI KHA'N; he had conducted the *istikbál* which met us on our approach to the capital. My praises of *Mázenderán* pleased him very much, being a native of *Asterábád*; the word *kela* (کلا) used for *dehi* (or "village"), is, he said, of the old Persick language, or *Furs Kadím* (فارس قدیم); and he mentioned that all the wood used in the construction of NA'DIR SHA'H's fifty gun ship, of which the remains are still visible near *Búshehr* (See Vol. I. p. 188), had been sent the whole way from *Mázenderán* to *Ormuz*; and that a calculation had been made ascertaining the cost of every square inch, transported by land carriage so many

hundred miles, and through countries presenting obstacles of such various kinds. I have lost the memorandum of this sum, but recollect that it almost exceeded the bounds of credibility.

On the nineteenth we went to the *Areg* soon after ten o'clock, and paid our respects to MUHAMMED ALI MI'RZA', the prince of *Kirmánsháh*, who had lately arrived, and as the king's guest was lodged in the *emâret* (عمارت) or *takht-i-khúrshíd* (تخت خورشید), "the Palace of the Sun;" a handsome range of apartments(?). The room in which he received us was ornamented with marble; this formed the walls for about four feet from the floor, it had a fine yellowish ground, with natural spots or clouds of darker and lighter tints; these were very neatly carved into various figures, the relief projecting about one third of an inch; the blackish parts represented the forms of crows or ravens; the light brown, of hares and other animals; and those of a reddish or blueish cast, served to express flowers, after the manner of *cameo* or *camaieu*-work, a style of sculpture not altogether unknown to the Persians of former ages<sup>(\*)</sup>. The prince was dressed in a plain coat of light-coloured cloth, but had many pearls, rubies or garnets, emeralds and other jewels, apparently of great value, about him, particularly in the *bâzúbunds* on his arms. His dagger, and the water-pipe which he smoked were extremely rich with diamonds; but he wore a very low *Kuláh*, or cap of black *Bokh-ará* lambskin. In age he seemed from about twenty-seven to

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(\*) We understood that the king had gone on a hunting party this morning; as, whilst he remains in the capital, his sons are not allowed to receive visits of ceremony.

(\*) Thus from the *Muggizat*, a Persian manuscript quoted by Dr. Hyde in the preface of his "Hist. Relig. Veterum Persarum," we learn that the equestrian statue of KHUSRAU (or Chosroes) in the mountain of *Biastún*, was so admirably sculptured, that some persons regarded it as the work of præternatural artists; for the minutest parts were represented in the stone, and of their proper colours, black, white and red; "et in figuræ sculptura ubi oportet ut sit nigrum ibi est nigrum, et ubi album, ibi album; "et ubi rubrum, ibi est rubrum; et hinc est quod homines dixerint illud opus non fuisse mortalium sed dæmonum." This is the statue which several travellers have visited near *Kirmánsháh* in *Curdistán*. M. Otter, Voyage, &c. Tome I. p. 184, &c. *Khaje Ab-dalkerim*; (Memoirs, &c.) Pere Emanuel de St. Albert; (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tome xxvii. Ferrieres Sauveboeuf; (Memoirs, &c. Tome II). M. l'Abbé de Beauchamps (in de Sacy's Mem. sur diverses antiq. de la Perse, p. 224). M. Olivier, (Voyages, &c.).



twenty-eight years; his figure was robust, and his countenance intelligent and manly, with an expression of the eyes which some thought severe or satirical; his beard was very long and tinged of the deepest black; in speaking he generally looked up, towards the ceiling of the room. It did not appear to me that he much resembled in face either the king or any of the other princes whom I had seen. Many of his questions related to *Yangidunia*, or America, a favourite topick of conversation with the great men in Persia; he, however, seemed particularly well acquainted with the history of the new world; the first discovery of it; the cruelties exercised there by the Spaniards; the mines and other productions. This knowledge, as we heard, he had derived from an Italian or French physician, for some time resident at his court. On many other subjects he possessed accurate information, and was reckoned by all who spoke of him, extremely clever, active and enterprising; with very strong military propensities; "generous and brave; an excellent horseman, and surprisingly dexterous in managing the scimitar;" "*kheily rashid u suvár usáheb-i-shámshír*," (خیلی رشید و سوار و صاحب شمشیر). It was whispered that the treaty between England and Persia, now nearly brought to a conclusion, and appointing as successor to the throne ABBA'S MI'RZA', the prince of *Tabríz*, had much displeased MUHAMMED ALI MI'RZA', whose friends described him as eldest of the king's sons; and occasioned his sudden visit to the capital; for he had travelled fifteen *manzels* or days stages in the time usually allowed for five. Of his troops, he had gained the affections not only by his personal boldness, but by unlimited munificence; we also heard, that during the last *Ide* or festival of the *Naurúz*, he had distributed, besides other rewards and presents, three hundred and seventy-four *Khelaats* or dresses of honour. It was mentioned that his son, seven or eight years old, accompanied MUHAMMED ALI MI'RZA' to *Tehrán*, and had been presented by him to the king, who made inquiries concerning his grandson's progress in reading, and the study of poetry. "Sir," said the boy, "I can recite by heart, the sonnets of 'HA'FIZ, the elegies of SAADI, a series of heroick verses from 'the *Sháhnámeh* of FIRDAUSI, or one of your Majesty's own poems;" this he performed in such a manner as highly

pleased and flattered the king, whose *Díván* is replete with very excellent poetry.

Early on the twenty-second, *Eliza Shirín*, the infant daughter of Sir Gore Ouseley, was relieved by death from the pains of a tedious illness; and in the evening was buried near some trees of the royal garden called *Sultán ábád*, between the *Cazvín* and the *Sháh abd al ázím* gates, within the city walls; a spot granted by the king for this particular purpose. Mr. Morier read the funeral service; and from the design drawn by him, a little monument was, within four or five days, erected over the place of interment; after my sketch is given the representation which closes the last chapter of this volume.

For several days the Persian ministers had promised to send the ratified definitive treaty, but according to their usual system of diplomacy, delayed it on many frivolous pretences; at length they assured the Ambassador that he should receive it on the twenty-eighth of April, fairly transcribed, and stamped with the royal signet; but the evening before, it was intimated from the king, that as Luna was in Scorpio, under appearances not very auspicious, he would defer business of such importance until the twenty-ninth; that he had no objection, however, to accept, meanwhile, the presents from England which the Ambassador was preparing to send him. We visited on the third of May, at seven o'clock in the morning, NAURU'Z KHA'N, a nobleman related to the king; he talked much of horses and their different breeds; their peculiar qualities and distinctions; and said that he never could sleep at night until he had inspected all his stables. We next proceeded to the house of FATEH ALI KHA'N, generally entitled *Melek as'shaara* (ملك الشعراء), or "King of the Poets." He has been for some years employed in the composition of a great work, called *Sháhinsháh námeh* (شاهنشاه نامه), or "History of the King of Kings," celebrating in heroick verse the present monarch's reign, and considered as a continuation of FIRDAUSI'S *Sháhnámeh*. He seemed a man of talents and considerable ingenuity; evincing a strong taste for painting, musick and other arts and sciences.

We partook on the twelfth of a grand dinner at the AMÍN AD'DOULEH's house, to which we went soon after seven o'clock in the evening. The general hospitality and munificence of this minister promised much, but the entertainment surpassed all that I, at least, had expected; and though there was a profusion of meat and fruit, it might have been styled the feast of roses, for the floor of the great hall or open-fronted *tálár*, was spread in the middle and in the recess with roses forming the figures of cypress trees; roses decorated all the candlesticks which were very numerous; the surface of the *hawz* or reservoir of water was completely covered with rose-leaves; which also were thickly scattered on the principal walks leading to the mansion. Our host had been detained much later than usual this evening, on business of importance at the *Derb-i-Kháneh* (or *Der-e-Kháneh*), "The house of the Royal Gate," or "King's Court;" and after we had sat about half an hour, a MÍ'RZA', who in his absence received guests, called for the musicians, and a band of *sázindeh* (سازنده) or instrumental performers immediately assembled, the most excellent that *Tehrán*, or perhaps any other Persian city could afford. With these was one man who exerted his voice only; the instruments were two *kemáncheh*; that sort of violin before described (Vol. 1. p. 238); one *santúr* or dulcimer, (of the form represented in Misc. Pl. fig. 29); the wire strings of which were struck with little crooked sticks; one *sehtáreh* or guitar; and two *dáúreh* or tambourines. All the performers occasionally joined their voices to the tones of their instruments, and the man who led this band, (playing on the *kemáncheh*), seemed at some passages to be delighted and inspired both by the words and musick, which was of a solemn or rather plaintive kind; and I confess, gratified me exceedingly. The musicians were attended by a deformed little man, whose countenance expressed much humour and shrewdness; he was frequently employed on convivial occasions to amuse the company by relating stories, generally ridiculous and not always very delicate; but this night his talents were not exerted. At eight o'clock AMÍN AD'DOULEH arrived from the palace; he stopped a few moments outside the *tálár*, and whispered an apology to the Ambassador for his delay; saying that he would only retire to perform his prayers or *nemáz* (نماز), and return.

immediately after; his devotions did not long detain him; he soon appeared, with MI'RZA' SHEFIA, MI'RZA' ABD AL WEHA'B, and some other ministers and great officers of the court; who, like him, had been engaged in business with the king. One of the guests was a young man lineally descended from the royal *Seferi's*; having heard his pedigree, I fancied that he resembled some monarchs of that dynasty, whose portraits are not uncommon in Persia. After the usual presentation of coffee, pipes, tea, sweet-meats and fruit, the dinner was at length served, on trays containing pyramids of basins and dishes; one tray with several kinds of meat, between every two guests, near whom also was placed a smaller tray with four large bowls of sherbet. During our repast, the musicians were sent to a platform erected in the garden before the house; where they played, until in consequence of some slight rain, the AMI'N AD'DOULEH commanded them to resume their seats in the recess; there they continued to perform during dinner-time, and were afterwards dismissed that they might partake of what we had left. The reservoir, on the surface of which so many rose-leaves floated that the water was visible only when the wind occasioned them to move, now blazed with hundreds of candles, closely placed along the border; and, whilst at dinner, I three or four times observed servants throwing fresh rose-leaves and rose-buds, with lavish hands, both on the water and pavement in front of the *tálár*; reminding me of HA'FIZ's expression, *Gul e fshán kun* "scatter roses around;" and similar passages in the sonnets of many other lyric poets<sup>(\*)</sup>. Of servants there was a considerable crowd; our hosts domestick establishment being numerous, and each guest having brought his own *pish khydmet* or "valet de chambre," who handed him the pipe and took care of his slippers; most of these stood near the entrance and about the steps leading to it; others constantly employed themselves in snuffing the candles, of which there was a mul-

(\*) See the ode of HA'FIZ (in *ي*) beginning *مي خواه و گل افشان کن از در چه مي خواهی* "Call for wine and scatter roses around; what more canst thou desire of fortune?" The classical reader will recollect Anacreon's fondness for the rose, expressed in his fifth ode "Τὸ πόδον το τὰν Ἐρωτων," the fifty-third "Στεφανηόπου μετ' ἡρώς," and others which I have quoted in a former work, the "Persian Miscellanies," Introd. p. xxxi, pp. 42, 88, 125, 157, &c

tiplicity; some being composed of five or six waxen tapers twisted together and branching out at the top, (as represented in the Miscell. Plate fig. 30). When these had burnt down to the place where they joined, a servant came and untwisted four or five inches more. There were several candles in glass shades (as they are called) of English manufacture; at this, as at almost every other Persian feast, besides various dishes of meat, fish and vegetables, served on the different trays, whole carcasses of roasted kids and lambs, some so large as rather to disgust than invite, were handed round by servants; these grasping the joints in their hands, separated them and distributed the flesh in pieces with their fingers to the guests, who received it, either at once in their own hands, or on a flat cake of bread, which thus served as a plate, sometimes as a napkin, and occasionally for food. I remarked this evening among the Persian noblemen, much ceremony and very strict attention to precedence; although the dinner was held in AMI'N AD'DOULEH's house, and given at his expense, yet MI'RZA' SHEFIA, the prime minister, seemed chiefly to regulate it; perhaps a deference was paid to his rank, or his age; or, not improbably, to his acknowledged skill and taste in the arrangements of splendid entertainments. He sat next to the Ambassador, and frequently turned the conversation on our settlements in Bengal, and the East India company; "to control whom," said he, "the King of England, without doubt, sends troops of his own army, lest those merchants should prove *yághli* (ياغی) or rebellious, and endeavour to "shake off his authority." There was something in the style of architecture, the great open hall, with its pillars and the curtain hanging in festoons, the gaudy pictures and gilding that ornamented the walls; the blaze of light; the display of roses; the musick, and the variety of rich dresses, that produced altogether, on this occasion, a very theatrical effect. The Ambassador retired at half-past ten o'clock; and thus ended the last Persian feast which I had an opportunity of enjoying in the capital. It was not only most sumptuous, but, notwithstanding the want of chairs and tables, and of knives and forks, as pleasant as any assembly could be, whilst deficient in that grand charm of our European entertainments, the presence of elegant and beautiful women.

From the very day of *Naurúz* (the twenty-first of March), we experienced (as the Persians had always foretold) a sensible alteration in the weather, which hourly became warmer; and now, (in May), was extremely sultry and oppressive<sup>(10)</sup>. Nightingales abounded in the gardens of *Tehrán* and the neighbouring places; and roses were sold, hundreds for a mere trifle, in the *bázárs*<sup>(11)</sup>. But scorpions, at the same time began to emerge in numbers from the crevices of old walls; and one of the black, and most venomous kind was killed by some servants in a room of our house. Many families had removed to tents or huts among the mountains near *Shemírán* (شمیران), and the adjoining villages. The king made preparations for his summer encampment; and the Ambassador was exceedingly desirous of leaving *Tehrán*, in which the heats are reckoned peculiarly noxious. His departure for *Tabríz*, where he proposed to reside until autumn, (the air of that city being comparatively cool), was only deferred on account of some presents which the king intended for the Prince Regent of England; and in expectation of several for the king, which had not yet arrived from *Búshehr*; a splendid carriage, large mirrors, and other cumbrous articles not easily transportable along Persian roads, on the backs of mules or of camels.

Meanwhile I added to my collection a few engraved gems, of which some are represented in Plate LIX; two silver Sasanian medals; two *Cúfi* *dinárs* of very pure gold, and a silver coin washed over with gold, having an Arabick legend in *Cúfi* characters. I also purchased from the *Sarráfs* or money-changers, about twenty silver coins of the Arsacidan monarchs who had adopted Greek titles. A Jew whom I had

(10) Three or four times during both the months of April and May, *Tehrán* was enveloped in clouds of dust by violent blasts of the *Shahryár* wind; and on two or three days there was much loud thunder, with some lightning; thus before sunrise on the eleventh of May; the same day, at eight o'clock in the morning, Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 68; yet I heard that some snow had fallen during the night.

(11) I have seen here many balls formed entirely of rose-buds, very ingeniously tied together so that neither the stalks nor the thread which fastened them were in any part visible; some of these balls comprised sixty, eighty, and even an hundred buds.

employed at *Shírdz* and afterwards at *Isfahán* to procure gems and medals, brought me one silver coin of Antiochus, which had been lately found among some ruins at *Raï*; and there was reason to believe that many others, and some medals of gold, had been discovered at the same time. I bought a very handsome *tabr* (تبر) or battle axe, probably 300 years old, made of the finest steel, and ornamented with figures in relief, richly gilded; and examined a large mace likewise of fine steel, which was exhibited in a shop of the *bázár*, suspended by a chain; this weapon the proprietor denominated *Gurz-i-Rustam* (گرز رستم), or "RUSTAM'S mace;" and affirmed that it had been wielded by that ancient hero; he even appealed to some pictures in a copy of the *Sháhnámeh*, as proofs of his assertion, and the extravagant price which he demanded for it, was in proportion to its imaginary antiquity.

Whilst we resided at *Tehrán* some *Gabrs* (گبر) or Fire-worshippers arrived from the city of *Yezd* (یزد); with these I had an interview, and the result of my inquiries respecting their peculiar dialect, their religious notions, ceremonies, and other circumstances, perfectly confirmed the favourable opinion that I already entertained (and have avowed) of the ingenuity and learning of M. Anquetil du Perron, and of the fidelity with which he translated the *Parsi* manuscripts at *Surat*. One of those *Yezdi Gabrs* was named KHUÐA'DA'D, the son of JA'MASP; he had a good intelligent countenance. Another who called himself JEHU'N was, although not a young man, one of the handsomest Asiatics whom I ever happened to see; and his face very strongly resembled (particularly in the length of well-marked eyebrow and high aquiline nose, such perhaps as the Persians admired in Cyrus<sup>(1)</sup>), those sculptured profiles of ancient figures so numerous among the ruins of Persepolis, and even on coins of the Arsacidans and Sasanians; a few similar faces, even among a hundred men of his race, might rescue the modern *Gabrs* from that imputation of

(1) Περσαι δὲ οὐ γροῦτὸς ἢν Κύρος, εἰ καὶ οὐκ ἐρωσι τῶν γροῦτων, καὶ καλλιστοῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. Vide "De Republica gerenda Præcepta," in Plutarchi Oper. Tom. II. p. 221. (Edit. Xylandr. Frauef. 1620).

ugliness with which some writers have charged them<sup>(13)</sup>. The Fire-worshippers whom I had seen at *Shiráz* and *Isfahán* did not seem either in face or person naturally inferior to their Muhammedan fellow-countrymen; who assumed, however, an air of fancied superiority, and improved their looks by the advantages of rich clothes; whilst the humiliated *Gabrs* expressed, both by dejected countenances and by a mean and squalid dress, the consciousness of their own degraded condition. Whether they have suffered a physical as well as a political deterioration, I cannot pretend to ascertain; but we may reasonably suppose that their fore-fathers were generally handsome, since it is acknowledged by ancient writers, in this case probably impartial, that the women of Persia were eminently beautiful<sup>(14)</sup>. KHUDA'DA'D and his companion

(13) Father Angelo declares them to be as ugly as apes, and attributes their want of beauty to exclusive intermarriages among themselves:—"potendo si vedere loro antiqua fattura n' Persiani chiamati *Gawr*, adoratori del fuoco: quali per non esserci mescolati "con altra gente sono ancora brutti come simie." Gazophyl. Persic. p. 136, in voce "*Georgiani*." "The native race of Persians," says Mr. Gibbon, "is small and ugly, "but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood." (Roman Empire, chap. xxiv. note 61). He quotes Herodotus, lib. III. c. 79; and Buffon Hist. Naturelle, Tome III. 421; but seems to confound the Fire-worshippers who intermarry among themselves, with the Muhammedans descended from mothers of various countries and sects. Chardin has given a more just, yet in my opinion not sufficiently favourable, account of their personal appearance: "Ces Perses idolâtres ne sont pas si bien faits "ni si blancs que les Perses Mahométans, qui sont ceux d'aujourd'hui; néanmoins "les hommes sont robustes, d'assez belle taille, et d'assez bon tein. Les femmes sont "grossières, d'un tein olivâtre et obscur, ce qui vient comme je crois de leur pauvreté, "plutôt que du naturel; car il y en a qui ont les traits assez beaux." Voyages, &c. Tome ix, p. 134; Edit. de Rouen, 1723. But although perfectly aware that he may be branded with the name of idolater who pays religious homage to any visible object of nature, or to any work of man; or "who worships for God that which is not God;" as Dr Johnson defines the word in its secondary meaning; aware also, that according to the high authority of Stillingfleet, (Origines Sacrae. 1663, p. 44) the "*chief point of "idolatry*" was the "worship of the Sun, and consequently the *ἡρωαζεῖα* or symbol "of the Sun, the eternal fire;" yet I am offended with the term *Idolaters* bestowed on those pure Theists, the *Gabrs* of Persia, by Chardin, as in its primary signification, ("worshippers of images"), no description could possibly be less applicable.

(14) It was not merely a few Persian ladies of high rank, such as the wife and daughters of Darius, (himself the handsomest of men, says Plutarch), that were celebrated for their beauty, (conjunxque Darii—hæc formæ pulchritudine—"Virgines enim regias excellentis formæ:"—"Conjugem ejusdem (Darii) quam nulla ætatis sæc pulchritudine corporis vicit." (Quint. Curt. Lib. III. 11. 24. III. 21. 22). Καίτοι λαγεται γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τρεπτοστατῇ γενεῶσαι καὶ αὐτὸς Δαρεῖος ἀνδρῶν καλλίστος καὶ μέγιστος τὰς δεκάδας εἰκέναι τοῖς γονευσίν. (Plut. in Alexandro).—And many other royal females might be enumerated; but we find the praise more



JEHU'N could read the *Zend* and *Pahlavi*; in which, during many centuries, the books attributed to ZARA'TUSHT or Zoroaster, have been transcribed, and the alphabet of which M. Anquetil du Perron has so accurately explained; they also recognised, because retained with little variation of form in the modern, three or four letters of the more ancient *Pahlavi*, on some Sasanian medals that I placed before them; but of the arrow-headed, or Persepolitan characters, they evinced and professed a total ignorance; although some of their learned priests, as they thought probable, might understand it. They handled with the greatest respect a small volume of their *Niáiesh* (نیايش) or prayers, each applying it to his lips or forehead when he received it from the other. In many words they used the letters *b* and *p* rather than *v* and *f*; thus pronouncing *díb* for *dív* (دبر), *pírúz* for *fírúz* (نبرد). With medals of ARDASHI'R and SHA'PU'R, exhibiting the fire-altar, they seemed much delighted; the names of those Sasanian monarchs were familiar to them; they had also preserved traditions concerning the subjugation of Persia by Greek invaders; and from KU'DA'DA'D I learned that the Muselman government still indulged the *Gabrs* at *Yezd* with the use of four temples; that near this city was a cavern which the Macedonian conqueror had used as a place of confinement, and that it still bore the name of *Zindán-i-Secander* (زندانی سکندر) or "Alexander's prison;" but being the depository of wonderful treasures, it was guarded by a talisman which had hitherto concealed them from the sight of men. His expressions corroborated my belief, founded on a conversation (already mentioned) with JUVÁ'N MARD at *Shiráz*, and other Fire-worshippers, that, at least, the well-informed of his sect are in religion simply Theists, whatever superstitious rites and ceremonies apparently absurd may be practised in their external worship; and that books of considerable antiquity are still pre-

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general—"Τας δε αλλας αιχμαλωτους ορων Αλεξανδρος καλλει και μεγαθει διαφερουσας ελεγε παιζων, ως εισιν αληγητονες ομματων αι Περσιδες. (Plut. in Alex.) Ammianus Marcellinus extends it still further—"in Perside ubi feminarum pulchritudo excellit." Lib. XXIV. And Xenophon bestows it on Median as on Persian females—και Μεδων δε και Περσων καλαις και μεγαλαις γυναιξι και παρθενοις, &c. Anab. Lib. III. It would appear that these beauties were of a tall and large-bodied race. The epithet *μεγιστος* also is applied to Darius, in the passage above quoted from Plutarch.

served among the *Gabrs* of *Yezd* and *Kirmân*. It appears from the evidence of EBN HAUKAL, who travelled in the tenth century, that, notwithstanding the Muhammedan supremacy, and most probably the destruction of many valuable works, Persia then abounded with Fire-worshippers, retaining their temples, their peculiar language and their writings<sup>(15)</sup>. FIRDAUSI next acknowledges, (early in the eleventh century), the information which he derived from old *Pahlavi* records. SEHEM AD DI'N, about the close of that century, quotes the *Pahlavi* chronicles, and books of ancient songs or historical ballads, (*Tuârikh u serûd nâmeḥ Pahlavi*) تواریخ و سرود نامه پهلوی; he likewise mentions a learned man named PÎRŪZÂN MAALEM, contemporary, (or nearly so) with himself, who

(15) See the (printed) "Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal," p. 85. "There is not any district nor any town of *Fars* without a Fire-temple." These temples were held (during the tenth century) in high veneration (ib); there was not any village without a Fire-temple, p. 85; and the books, the temples, and the religious ceremonies of the Fire-worshippers still continued in *Pars*, p. 116; although it would appear that the *Pahlavi* language began at that time to require a commentary or explanation, (p. 114). But the more ancient and accurate copy of EBN HAUKAL's work, (the Manuscript *Sûr al belḏân*) does not represent the *Pahlavi* as obsolete. "Besides the *Parsi*," says that ingenious traveller, "there is another dialect, the *Pahlavi*, which the scribes among these heathen Persians and their chiefs, their principal nobles and priests, employ in their letters and various writings; the *Gabrs* also who reside here, use this dialect colloquially."

و یکی دیگر زبان پهلوی که کتاب تحیم و بزکان و روسا و امام ایشان در مکتوبات و مراسلات استعمال می کنند و کبران که درین مواضع مقیم اند هم بدین زبان سخن می گویند

I have already quoted (See Vol. I. p. 294) a passage from EBN HAUKAL, respecting the portraits of ancient kings, generals and other illustrious personages, and the written stories of them, preserved (in the tenth century) by people at *Shâhpûr*. In his printed work (p. 95), is a short account of the Fire-temples; on this subject he is more full in the (manuscript) *Sûr al belḏân*; and prefaces the section relating to them, by declaring that their number exceeded all his powers of calculation; (See Volume I. p. 143); having enumerated the names of several, he mentions one at *Jaur* (the town now called *Firûzâbâd*); and adds, "a person who had seen this Fire-temple informed me that a *Pahlavi* inscription around the building stated the expense attending it at thirty thousand *dirhems*."

و کسی که آنرا مشاهده کرده بود مرا معلوم کرد که کرد آن بزبان پهلوی نوشته است که سی هزار درهم نخرج آن شده

In another passage of the same manuscript, EBN HAUKAL having named the castle of *Jes* قلعه جیس says, "and this is situate in the territory of *Arjân*, and all the inhabitants of this place are *Gabrs*, and their learned men read or explain books in the *Furs* و این بناحیت ارجانست و تمامت متوطنان و" "or dialect of the ancient Persians." و مقیمتان آنجا کبراند و دانشمندان ایشان در آنجا کتابها فرس را درس می گویند

perfectly understood the *Pahlavi* dialect, and translated some volumes from it, into the modern *Deri*, by command of his sovereign and patron SHAMS AL MOLU'K FARA'MERZ<sup>(16)</sup>. He also mentions the *fifteen hundred or two thousand leaves* (دهمان ورتي هزار و يانصد يا دو هزار) of ancient writings which he had seen at *Isfahán*, and which furnished him with the etymologies of many names, and the explanation of some obscure passages in the annals of *Irán* or Persia. NIZA'MI declares that he used *Pahlavi* materials in the composition of his historical poems, during the twelfth century; and in another work I shall trace this subject through the intermediate ages to the year 1721, (or 1722) when MUHAMMED ALI HAZI'N of *Isfahán* visited the city of *Yezd*, and there formed an intimate acquaintance with the Magian or Fire-worshipper RUSTAM; a man whom he describes as learned and highly accomplished in many branches of science; and possessing several treatises on his own religion or Magism; on general philosophy, and even on the modern doctrines of *Islám* or the Muhammedan faith. "With him," says the ingenious HAZI'N, "I saw a table of "astronomical observations written by ISMARET a Fire-worshipper, four thousand and thirty years ago;" this, he adds, had suffered many injuries; and he quotes, in a subsequent part of his interesting "Memoirs," an anecdote concerning ZOHAK, DHOHAK, or rather DEHAK, (the *Δηϊοκος* of Herodotus) which he had seen in the *Tárikh-i-Majús*, or Chronicles of the Magians<sup>(17)</sup>. Those manuscripts may be traced to a later period. BAHMAN of *Yezd*, assured Sir William Jones that some were preserved "in sheets of lead or copper "at the bottom of wells," near that city, (Anniv. Disc. on Pers.) This was confirmed to me by different Fire-worshippers, and I

(16) و پارسي پهلوي نيك د'نستي و اورا پيروزان معلم گفتندي فرموده بود تا ان پهلوي بپارسي دري نقل همي كرد و از ان كتاب ددين كتاب نقل همي كرد (MS. *Nuzhat Námeh Ellayi*).

(17) پس عزم اصفهان كردم و براه دار العبادة يزد روانه شدم—و در انجا بود رستم مجوسي—كتب مجوس و حكمي و اسلامي بسيار داشت—و با او صحبت بسيار داشتم—و رمدي كه ائمت مجوسي در سي و چهار هزار سال پيش از اين نوشته نك وي بديدم—و در تاريخ مجوس ديده ام كه ضحاک چون كوشاسپ را سردار كرده بپند ميپرستان &c.

am persuaded that an intelligent European, properly qualified, who should visit the chief places of their abode, and by conciliatory manners gain the confidence of the *Gabrs*, would be amply recompensed for his trouble by the discovery of ancient and most valuable manuscripts. The conversation of KHUDA'DAD, particularly, rendered me anxious to obtain for myself the honour of bringing to light those literary treasures; but domestick concerns which demanded my presence in England, compelled me to leave the Magian antiquities for the researches of some more fortunate traveller among the *Mazdiesnáns* or *Behdíns*, the *Múbeds*, *Destúrs* and *Hirbeds* of *Yezd* and *Kirmán*; those who profess the *dín-i-beh* or "excellent religion," the disciples of ZARA'TUSHT or ZARDEHESHT, (Zoroaster); a race, (as even their Muhammedan persecutors acknowledge them to be), the most virtuous of all Persians. (See Vol. I. chap. 3.)

I revert to the subject of our residence at *Tehrán*, protracted now beyond the middle of May; whilst we endeavoured to interrupt the irksome uniformity of our life by short excursions to neighbouring places. Among these we sometimes visited the royal summer-house lately erected, at the distance of about three quarters of a mile from the city, in a northern direction. This has been built on the plan of those *Kulah Farangki* before described, and it is entitled *Negáristán* (نگارستان), "the picture gallery," (or an edifice ornamented with paintings). One room at the end corresponded to this denomination, for it contained a variety of pictures, mostly portraits and of mean execution; a figure habited in the European fashion was described by the attendant as an *Ilchi Fransízi*, or "French Ambassador." The garden of this *Negáristán* had been but newly made; it promised, however, to repay the trouble bestowed upon it; the young trees and shrubs were in a flourishing state, and it will probably, in a few years, be a very pleasant spot. Nearly two miles beyond this stands the new villa called *Kasr-i-Kajar* (قصر قاجار) or "Palace of the *Kajar* family;" and sometimes the *Takht-i-Kajar* (تخت قاجار) their throne or royal residence; bearing from the city between N. E. and N. N. E. This showy edifice stands on the slope of a bleak and barren eminence near the

foot of mountains covered, during a considerable part of the year, with snow; and when I first visited this place, along with Mr. Sharp, during the winter of 1811, it was almost enveloped in thick clouds which intercepted the view of *Alburz* (البرز), that noble range of hills extending towards the west, and of the *Kûh-e-Tabristân*, the mountains of *Tabristân* or *Mâzen-derân*, as some denominate the Eastward range, although merely a continuation of the great *Alburz*. We entered at the garden gate, having left our horses outside, and walked to an *emâret-hashty* (عمارت هشتی), or octagonal building of the favourite *Kulâh Farangki* kind; from one of the arches I sketched the palace, seen almost directly in front; but my sketch is rendered unnecessary by the excellent delineation given in Mr. Morier's Travels, (Volume I. p. 226). Nothing can be more fallacious than its appearance, since it excites ideas of considerable magnitude and stateliness; which, although one room is exquisitely beautiful, are immediately dissipated on close inspection; the Persians, however, regard this edifice as an admirable work. My friend MİRZA' SA'LEH thus introduces the account of it in his MS. Journal: "and another building is the *Kasr-i-Kajar*, which may be "described as equal to the celestial bowers; its type being "the garden of paradise"<sup>(18)</sup>. But we found that the several *mertebbeh* (مرتبة) or stages, which at some distance looked like the stories of a house with rows of windows, were (except the small *Bâlâ Khâneh* or highest chamber on the roof), only brick walls, supporting and facing banks or terraces cut in the mountain; these we ascended by many stairs, and found at each *mertebbeh* a large reservoir of water; one so extensive and deep as to be entitled *deriâcheh* (دریاچه), "the lake, or "little sea;" whilst the others retained the common denomination of *Hawz* (حوض). It is impossible to comprehend this in any view taken from the garden; it was much higher than even the roof of that building in which I made the sketch. To supply incessantly with water so many and such capacious reservoirs, situate at such an elevation above the general level,

(18) و دیگر از عمارات قصر قاجار است که باغ بهشت از آن کنایتي و روضه  
رضوان از آن عبارتست

was an undertaking of prodigious labour; and the expense, as our guide assured us, amounted to almost five hundred thousand *tumáns*, or about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds. In a low wall or parapet of stone bordering the lake, we perceived numerous receptacles for the candles and torches with which this sheet of water is occasionally illuminated; and near it lay, on the dry ground, a boat of very rude construction. We reached, at length, the highest terrace, and entered the palace itself; a square and castellated edifice, by its only *derb*<sup>(19)</sup> or gateway; which is ample, and contains a double door of most solid wood, thickly studded with huge brass and iron knobs, besides very large rappers. These doors, it is said, had been lately brought from *Shíráz* on *arábahs* (عربه), (a kind of vehicle with wheels) drawn by oxen. Having passed the gate we were conducted through a long dark passage on our left, to the royal baths; then we ascended by another passage, sloping, but without steps, to the great court on the sides of which are the womens apartments. Here we saw many of the *takhts* (تخت) on which, placed in the open air, those ladies sleep during the heats of summer; they were simply frames or platforms of boards, mostly octagonal, and raised about one yard from the ground by clumsy wooden legs or supporters. But this plainness of the bedstead is lost, (as we heard and may well imagine), not only in the charms of her who reposes on it, but in the fine shawls and embroidered cushions with which it is covered for her use; the *rakht-i-kháb* (رخت خواب) or "sleeping dress;" the splendid *leháf* (لحاف) or quilt, and other articles of bed-clothes. We proceeded to a spacious open-fronted hall, furnished with portraits; many of which represented, it was said, the principal members of KARI'M KHA'N's (كریم خان) family; a race overthrown by the king's uncle. The opposite

(19) I have borrowed the term *derb* (much more generally used, though with less propriety than *der* (در), from MIRZA' SA'LEH, who describing this edifice, says, *ویک مرتبه بالاتر قصر شاه است که موسوم است بقصر قاجار و قصر مذکور قلعه است مشتمل بر چهار برج و یک درب بیشتر ندارد*—

"And one stage (or terrace) higher is the king's palace called *Kasri Kajar*; and the "aforesaid palace is a castle consisting of four *burgess* or towers, and one *derb* or "doorway; it has not any more."

*tálár*, a hall open towards the court, contained several large pictures; one of RUSTAM clad in his *babrbíán*, and wearing a tiger's head on his helmet, (See Vol. II p. 507), was placed between a portrait of the present monarch and one of SA'M NERI'MAN. Here also were pictures of AFRA'SIAB TURKI, the Scythian or *Turánian* king AFRA'SIA'B, and of other ancient heroes celebrated in the chronicle of TABRI and the *Sháhnámeh* of FIRDAUSI<sup>(20)</sup>. But that which chiefly pleased me in this royal palace of the *Kajars* was a *Bálá Kháneh* (بلا خانة) or upper-chamber, constructed on its flat roof, and rising unconnected on either side, over the centre of its front. This room, not of very large dimensions, almost realized the ideas which I had formed whilst reading Arabian and Persian tales, of an Eastern monarch's cabinet; for, although rich and minute ornaments, much gilding, painting and mirror-work, abounded in every part, the general effect produced by them was a high degree of elegance; and the light, faintly admitted through windows of various-coloured panes, only served to excite feelings of mysterious privacy, and might have deserved the Miltonick epithets of "dim" and "religious," had the edifice been appropriated to sacred uses. The door-frames were *Khátem-dár* (خاتم دار), or of that inlaying called *Khátem-bandi* (خاتم بندی), already described (p. 65); and both in the doors and windows, glass stained with most brilliant tints glowed in a multiplicity of small pieces, like precious stones; some of the fine emerald-green being particularly beautiful; these were combined with much ingenuity into the forms of birds and flowers, and into lines of poetry. It appeared that the *Kasr-i-Kajar* was intrusted to the care of two men, one of whom conducted strangers through the apartments; the other attended them in the garden; both were extremely civil, and always thankful for a trifling remuneration. At one visit the gardener ex-

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<sup>(20)</sup> Both here and at the *Negáristán* were pictures, badly executed but in glowing colours, of Persian women, and of European ladies in very old-fashioned dresses; there was also one most uncouth figure of a young man, said to be a *Farangki* or European prince, in such clothes as were antiquated probably an hundred years ago. The portraits of SHA'H ABBAS, SHA'H HUSEIN and NA'DIR SHA'H, did not seem to be the works of first-rate artists; one large painting, however, which represented the king with several of the elder princes, was of better execution, and preserved the likenesses in a very high degree.

plained to me the properties and names of various flowers and shrubs; the *Minau* (منو); the *Gul Jaqferi* (گل جعفری) or "JAAFER'S flower;" the *Gul Dâoudi* (گل داودی) or "Flower of DAVID;" the *Gul-i-sad parr* (گل صدپَر) or "Flower of an hundred feathers," and many more. Although during several months of the year silence and solitude reign within the precincts of this palace, yet on some occasions its fair inhabitants are very numerous, according to information obtained by MI'RZA' SA'LEH, the general accuracy of which my own inquiries confirmed. Having given in his Journal a concise description, highly encomiastick, of the *Kasr-i-Kajar*, he adds, "in short, language cannot do justice to this palace and its garden, the due praises of which would require a prolonged discourse. The particular purpose for which the edifice was designed is this: that when, in the summer season on account of the excessive heats, his Majesty who is the asylum of the world, removes to the plains of *Sultânîeh*, taking with him some ladies of his *Hârem* and *bâzigars* (women who entertain those ladies by dancing, singing, tumbling and various tricks), he sends the others to the *Kasr-i-Kajar*, where the royal *Harem* continues during the warm weather; for it is supposed that the king's wives of different descriptions, the Georgians, and girls purchased with money, the *bâzigars* and others, constitute altogether a *Harem* of eight hundred females; of these one hundred accompany the king to his summer encampment in the meadows or plain of *Sultânîeh*, and the remainder pass their time in the *Kasr-i-Kajar*; when the king returns they also go back to *Tehrân*"<sup>(21)</sup>. By a natural transition from the *Harem*, MI'RZA' SA'LEH proceeds to state that "the king has forty-eight male children, (شاهرا چهل و هشت اولاد ذکور است)." This account was written in May 1812; when from persons

(21) باری زبان در تعریف قصر و باغ قاصر است و مورث طول کلام میشود و این قصر مختص آنست که هنگام تابستان بعلت حدت کرمان شاه عالم پناه در چمن سلطانیه میروند و بعضی از حرم و بازی کران خود را بهمراه میبرند و بعضی را در قصر قاجار بسر میبرند چون شاهرا تخمیناً از عقدی و منقطعه و زر خرید و کرجیه و بازی کره شتند زن در حرم هست بعد از آنکه یکصد از آنها بهمراه شاه در چمن سلطانیه میروند ما بقی در قصر قاجار بسر میبرند بعد از معاودت شاه ایشان هم معاودت بطهران میکنند.



of rank, and of good authority, I heard that the princes amounted to almost sixty; of princesses no one pretended to know how many existed; and to inquiries respecting them some vague answer was generally given, such as *dukhter hem khyli dâred* (دختر هم خیلی دارد), "the king has likewise a considerable number of daughters." It has been mentioned in the preceding pages that many of the elder princes are established as governors in different parts of the empire; HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA', who resides at *Shîrâz*, rules over the province of *Fars*; MUHAMMED ALI MI'RZA', whose chief residence is *Kirmânshûh*, exercises his authority from *Hamadân* to *Shûshter*, and the vicinity of *Bâghdâd*. It is generally allowed that this prince is eldest of all the king's sons; yet in *Mâzen-derân* I found that this honour was claimed for MUHAMMED KULI MI'RZA', whose court at *Sûrî* has been already described; and ABBA'S MI'RZA', governor of *Azerbaijân*, is nominated successor to the royal throne. HASSAN ALI MI'RZA' is invested with the command of *Tehrân*; and prince ALI KHA'N of *Cazvin*. The city of *Zinjân* is assigned to NAKKI MI'RZA', whilst *Meshehd*, *Nîshâpûr*, *Tabbas*, *Tum*, and other places of *Khurâsân* as far as *Herât*, are under the jurisdiction of MUHAMMED VELI MI'RZA'.

We may reasonably suppose that the husband or master of so many women as fill the royal *Harem*, cannot always carry in his memory such a register of his children as may enable him at once to recollect the names of all; their numbers, too, are generally uncertain, fluctuating between births and deaths. When HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA' arrived at *Tehrân* from *Shîrâz* (in December 1811), he was immediately presented to the king and received with much paternal kindness. The usher attending on this occasion introduced, soon after, and announced, AHMED ALI MI'RZA'. "Who is AHMED ALI MI'RZA'?" exclaimed the king, having for an instant totally forgotten the little *Shâhzâdeh*, or prince, a boy of seven years, whom he had confided, some time before, to the care of his elder brother at *Shîrâz*. Yet this monarch is a very affectionate father, and whenever he can snatch an interval of leisure from the cares of state or the business of government, delights in witnessing and promoting the amusements,

of his children. In these too, he frequently condescends to participate, and probably finds the minutes thus employed, the happiest of his life. One night during the period above-mentioned, the king was sitting with several of his sons engaged in playing at *Ganjafeh* or cards; HUSEIN ALI MI'RZA' had won two or three hundred *tumáns*, and laid the gold close by his side. The king privately desired some of the little princes, (six or seven years old) to steal away the money, and highly enjoyed the embarrassment of HUSEIN ALI, who having lost sixty *tumáns*, and his father insisting on immediate payment, was obliged to borrow from one of the noblemen present. Entertaining himself at another time with the same family-party, he commanded one of his youngest sons to declare what profession he liked best. The boy, affecting, like most Persian children, the language of those advanced in years, replied, "I am willing, O ruler of the world, to fill the humblest station about your Majesty's person. Let me be numbered among the *feráshes* of this illustrious court." *Feráshes* are servants who spread carpets, pitch tents, sweep rooms, and perform similar offices; they are also employed occasionally in inflicting the *bastinado*. "Take a stick then," said the king, "and beat soundly those grown up princes who are laughing at you." The boy executed this order with much alacrity. The king next gave him his *kafsh* or slippers in charge; but contrived soon after that they should be removed, and then called for them; the young *ferásh* on missing them, was for a moment confounded; but recovering himself, affirmed very seriously that they must have been stolen by means of magick. "Who is the thievish magician?" demanded the king. "I suspect," replied the boy, pointing to MI'RZA' ZEKI, one of the old *Vazírs*, sitting with much gravity in a corner, "that it must be he." "Your suspicion," said the king, "perfectly coincides with mine; therefore punish the culprit with your stick, and let him, having received his flogging, pay you twenty *tumáns* for your trouble."

We heard various anecdotes respecting this monarch; several of which, indeed the greater number, highly favourable to his character, I am most willing to believe; and

although some persons, discontented or disappointed courtiers, accused him of excessive avarice, it was allowed that he had on many occasions displayed much liberality and munificence. His desire to provide for a very numerous family, for the expenses of future wars, or any other exigency of state, justifies in a considerable degree, the immense accumulation of gold and jewels which his secret treasuries are said to contain. In natural abilities and mental accomplishments few of his subjects equal FATEH ALI SHA'H; certain vices with which he has been charged, might with equal justice be imputed to ninety out of every hundred Persians; and if two or three instances of severe punishments have occurred in his time, it is acknowledged that there were more executions during one week under many of his predecessors, than in ten years of his reign. No argument can be offered in extenuation of the tortures deliberately or capriciously inflicted with a refinement of diabolical cruelty, by SHA'H ABBA'S, SHA'H SULEIMA'N, NA'DIR SHA'H, and other tyrants; who, as contemporary travellers have assured us, filled with the carcasses of their unfortunate and often innocent subjects, both the streets of cities and the courts of their own palaces; nay even the recesses of their *Harems*. But I have known some Persians who confessed that a mild system of legal punishment would be of little avail among their hardened countrymen of the present day; although if now introduced it might humanize the rising generation and prove a blessing to posterity. Whilst in England the forfeiture of a culprit's life by the most expeditious and least painful process is deemed a sufficient expiation for his crimes, however numerous or atrocious, the Persian magistrates find it scarcely possible to inspire a due terror of the law by aggravating or protracting, sometimes even for hours of agony, the sufferings of a wretch condemned to die. This extreme severity is provoked by the contempt with which clemency is generally treated in all those countries where, unhappily, the religion of Muhammed predominates; to rule its fierce and insolent professors a rod of iron seems but too necessary; hence in Persia still subsists the custom of immuring alive highway robbers, (who are most commonly murderers also), and in Turkey the horrible impaling of criminals. Sentences are

seldom mitigated, or pardon granted to those who would consider such exertions of humanity as proofs of an effeminate weakness; who suppose that the desire of punishing must ever accompany the power; and attribute even trifling acts of courtesy and kindness either to fear, to the sordid expectation of a ten-fold return, or to some other selfish and unworthy motive<sup>(22)</sup>. From this general censure we must, however, except many individuals both among the Turks and Persians; who, their good sense and good nature triumphing over the prejudices of education, are themselves perfectly capable, not only of performing a generous and compassionate action, but of rightly appreciating it when performed by others, even those usually styled in their respective countries "Infidels," and "European" or "Christian dogs." I am inclined to believe that the king is as little influenced by religious bigotry as the most enlightened of his subjects; although he has sometimes found it expedient to conciliate the *Muselmán* enthusiasts by a profuse expenditure of money. Thus, to gratify the *Seyeds*, or descendants of MUHAMMED, a powerful body in Persia, he paid, whilst we were at *Tehrán*, the debts of MÍRZA' ABDAL WEHA'B, one of their principal members, amounting to a sum not much less than thirty thousand pounds; and at the same time a grand *pilaw* feast was given to all the *Seyeds* of the capital, by MÍRZA' BUZURG, (*Vazir* of the *Tabriz* government) and a *tumán* to each, by MÍRZA' SHEFIA, the prime minister. In his publick conferences as in his private conversations with the Ambassador, FATEH ALI SHA'H evinced a considerable degree of intelligence, and quick comprehension, much curiosity respecting the state of science in England, and a strong desire to introduce into his own empire the improvements which we had made in various branches

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(22) On this subject I shall here quote Mr. Salt's *Travels in Abyssinia*, p. 210. "The punishment inflicted a short time before on the *Johassim* Arabs by the English had produced, I found, the most beneficial result throughout the Red Sea, and I believe that we in a great measure owed our safety to this event being known; as the Arabs began to think that we really dared to resist their insolent proceedings; a circumstance which the unaccountable forbearance of the Bombay government had hitherto given them too much reason to doubt. Nothing but the most resolute measures will make an impression upon Mahomedans; for as Jerome Lobo justly observes "ils sont d'un si mauvais naturel que si on a la moindre complaisance pour eux, ils deviennent bientôt insolens et insupportables, et qu'on ne peut les reduire a la raison ni être bien servi, qu'en agissant avec eux, a toute rigueur et les menant le bâton haut."

of art. But it appeared that his *Vazírs* endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way : and they were extremely indignant at the private audiences granted by his majesty to Sir Gore Ouseley : their exclusion from them, violating, as they declared, a ministerial privilege which had subsisted in *Irán* above five thousand years. Lest it should be known that he had relinquished his right of being present on these occasions, MIRZA SHEFIA, the principal *Vazír* or *Sadr aazem* (صدر اعظم), who had entered the palace one morning with the Ambassador, seated himself in such a manner, close to the doorway, that the king could not perceive him, and the *Amín ad douleh*, who possessed an equal claim to the privilege of attending at the royal audience, seeing that he had entered but did not return, was offended at the supposed preference shown to his rival. The king, however, soon afterwards, when all the ministers were admitted, asked MIRZA SHEFIA in an arch tone "pray where were you during the Ambassador's interview with me?" This question and the *Vazír's* acknowledgment of the truth, relieved *Amín ad'douleh* from his mortification. The jealousies, intrigues and consequent disputes of his courtiers, frequently excited such disturbances at the *Der-i-Kháneh* or court, as many of the former sovereigns would have terminated by the dismissal, or perhaps the decapitation of those who had caused them. FATEH ALI SHA'H contented himself one day after a quarrel among his ministers with telling them publicly that he should bestow their titles on some of his dogs; calling one the *Sedr aazem*, another the *Amín ad'douleh*, and a third the *Itimád ad'douleh*. Concerning all the great men, various scandalous anecdotes were silyly communicated in whispers, or more openly circulated; although it was acknowledged, and indeed was manifest to every one who travelled through the province under his administration, that the *Amín ad'douleh* had rendered it the most flourishing of Persia, by his excellent regulations, his encouragement of trade and of agriculture, and his kindness towards the lower classes, yet his merits and his wealth served to raise against him many enemies, some of whom were men of high rank and considerable power. But the king knew his real worth and the insidious character of his rivals. "You have lent," said he, one night in conversation with the *Amín ad'*

*douleh*, "seventy thousand *tumáns* to rescue MI'RZA' YU'SUF "from my anger, which he had so justly incurred. Now "behold the gratitude of this friend: many hours have not "elapsed since he offered me a greater sum than you pay, for "the government of *Isfahán*, and proposes that I should dis- "grace you by bestowing it on himself." One day the *Amín ad'douleh* presented to his sovereign a valuable diamond ring; some of his enemies soon discovered that he had procured it from *Baghdád* at the price of three thousand *tumáns*, whilst in company at a feast, he had seemed to estimate it at eight thousand; they therefore concluded that he had sold it to the king for this enormous advance, and insinuated their suspicions accordingly. "Here, at least," said FATEH ALI SHAH, "there cannot be any fraud; since the jewel, whatever it originally cost, was presented to me as a free gift." Similar charges had been made with as little success, and probably with as little foundation, respecting some richly-embroidered *Isfaháni* stuffs which the *Amín ad'douleh* had sent to the king. If on any occasion there appeared a momentary glimpse of royal displeasure against this minister, his rivals immediately began to conceive hopes of his ruin; the confiscation of his immense riches and perhaps the forfeiture of his head. One morning, (of April 1812), the king sent for him, and in consequence of secret accusations spoke to him very harshly. The *Amín ad'douleh* expressed much sorrow at finding that his faithful services of many years had failed to please; and requested the liberty of resigning his government, and with it, if necessary, his life, into the king's hands; he was dismissed, and on the same day invested with a splendid *Khelaat* or dress of honour. Not long after the king suddenly inquired from him the exact amount of all his property; this question was regarded by the courtiers near him as a certain prelude to his destruction. He answered, however, with a firm tone, that he could immediately furnish his Majesty with three hundred thousand *tumáns*; and in the course of a few months, add several thousands more. "But," said the king, "by "selling off all your horses, shawls, and other things, how "much could you contrive to raise at once?" "Sir," replied the *Amín ad'douleh*, "if you indulge me with a little time, I "shall deposit in the royal treasury one thousand *tumáns* every

"day during a year." The king still seemed anxious for instant payment, and the minister resigning himself to his fate which he thought impending, bowed to the ground, and calmly declared that all his wealth and his head were at the disposal of his sovereign. "Now," said FATEH ALI SHA'H, "I have tried you, but without the slightest intention of taking from you the money so honourably acquired. Call here that descendant of the prophet, MI'RZA' BUZURG, (whom the king knew to be one of *Amin ad'douleh's* enemies), and let him witness my solemn words." He then imprecated a most dreadful curse on whatsoever person, whether himself or any of his family, who should attempt to deprive this minister of even one *tumán*. Having heard these and many similar anecdotes, I was often surprised at the semblance of cordial friendship which those personages so hostile towards each other, thought it necessary to preserve in publick; proving that the most refined states of Europe could not exceed Persia in the arts of courtly dissimulation.

The presents before mentioned at length arrived from *Búshehr*, and while the Ambassador was engaged in preparing them for presentation to the king, we gladly commenced the necessary arrangements for our departure from *Tehrán*, now become extremely disagreeable, on account of its oppressive heats. The chariot, a beautiful specimen of English workmanship, and one of the chief presents, had, like most other articles, suffered many injuries on the road; almost every pannel was cracked, and many of the silver ornaments broken off and lost; such havoc indeed, had been made among the various packages, that MUHAMMED KHA'N, under whose charge they reached the capital, began to apprehend that his head would probably be required in expiation of his neglect. Early on the eighteenth of May, an officer of the king's palace brought to me from his Majesty a very splendid *Khelaat* or court dress; the *kabá* or close coat, and *bálá púsh* or outer garment, being of gold brocade, with fur; there were also two valuable Indian shawls, and an admirable *Kara-Khurasáni* sword, the mounting of which was gold; and a belt studded with solid bosses of the same metal, richly enameled; the sword, depending from it, had been worn, as the officer

declared, by FATEH ALI SHA'H himself; this, Mr. Morier justly observes, on noticing a similar present which he received, "is considered a great distinction," (Travels, Vol. I. p. 215); and as some Persian *Kháns* assured me, confers a high degree of nobility. On the same day, the king being very desirous of seeing the English carriage, it was repaired and put together in the best manner that circumstances would admit; and at one o'clock several men removed it from our house to to the palace; six fine horses, not yet trained to draw, being led before, decorated with the magnificent harness. The Ambassador and I followed soon after; we remained a few minutes in the *Amín ad'douleh's* office, until MI'RZA' SHEFIA arrived; when all persons having been driven outside the gate, who did not immediately belong to the royal household, to the ministers, or to us, the king came forth alone from the *anderún* or "inner apartment," and stood in front of the *tálár* or open-hall of the first court, to which the carriage had been drawn as close as the *hawz* or reservoir of water would allow. Having welcomed us with the *Khúshamedid*, as usual, he examined very minutely, and admired the Persian arms, and other devices painted with considerable brilliancy on this sumptuous vehicle. The Ambassador then opened the door; the step was let down, and shaking off his high-heeled slippers, the king entered and seated himself; whilst all the courtiers present exclaimed *mubárek báshed*, "may it prove auspicious!" He then inquired, and seemed instantly to comprehend the use and object of every part; the glasses, blinds, pockets, cushions, lamps and other appurtenances, whilst the ministers and three or four *Kháns* present appeared to gaze without understanding much. The king continued in the carriage about half an hour, during which he several times caused it to be pulled backwards and forwards seven or eight yards, and seemed highly pleased with the motion. Some one remarked that two persons might sit in it at once. "Yes," said the monarch, with a look of calm dignity, "*yek nafr ánjá, man ínjá*," (یک نفر اینجا), "one person there, (pointing to the floor)," "I here, (on the raised seat)." This visit afforded me an opportunity of perceiving, whilst but two or three feet from the king, that he appears much handsomer and younger when,



seen close than at a distance; yet on this occasion his dress was a perfectly plain dark brown coat; a shawl of fine texture but not very lively colour, was tied round his waist; he wore a small black lambskin cap, and coarse white *jurúb* or stockings, not reaching far above the ankle. His dagger, however, was richly set with diamonds, and from its handle hung a string of large and most beautiful pearls. Seated in the carriage he ordered that a house should be constructed for it; smoked the *kalián* and talked of my intended journey to England, the Ambassador having informed him that he designed to forward by me the definitive treaty, and presents for the Prince Regent. His Majesty declared that I was reckoned among the number of his faithful servants, and dismissed me with many other very gracious expressions. On this occasion I remarked, (what had been often mentioned) that he sometimes spoke of himself in the third person, confirming his own words, and adjuring those with whom he conversed, by the familiar oath "*be ser-i-sháh*" (پسر شاه), "by the head of the king."

Three days after, the Ambassador and other English gentlemen took formal leave of the monarch, previously to setting out for their summer residence at *Tabriz*. I did not accompany them to court, having already had my final audience. The king, at this interview, when the Ambassador had been seated a few minutes, called him towards the throne and presented to him a valuable sword, and a belt, profusely ornamented with emeralds. Among the few articles that had arrived undamaged from *Búshehr* was, fortunately, the portrait of *MI'RZA' ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N*, so exquisitely painted by Lawrance; this proved an object of wonder and just admiration to all who saw it; a bust of the same personage, beautifully modelled by Bacon, although fractured in some parts, served equally to excite astonishment.

Those presents which the king designed for the Prince Regent of England, were now packed up; one being a large full length portrait of himself; next a folio volume, comprising his own *Diván* or collection of poems, transcribed with the utmost calligraphick skill, and embellished by *MI'RZA' BA'BA'*

(میرزا بابا), the chief painter or *nakásh báshé* (نقاش باشی), who employed seventeen years on the miniature pictures, illuminations, and various ornaments, of this work, particularly portraits of the royal author, and of his uncle AGA MUHAMMED. The other presents were Indian shawls; a fine suit of chain armour (*zerreh* زره), with the breastplate and certain pieces, constituting what the Persians call *chahárátnéh* (چهار آینه) or the "four mirrors," of the most highly tempered steel; this armour had belonged to SHAH TAHMASP, who, having reigned more than half a century, died in the year of our era 1575: a sword of SHAH ABBA'S, that mighty sovereign whose name I have so frequently had occasion to mention: and two fine horses, one a *Turkmáni*, the other a *Khurasáni*.

We set out from *Tehrán*, through the *Cazvin* gate soon after six o'clock on the 25th of May. and having proceeded Westward about three miles and a half, arrived at the tents prepared for our reception near the tomb of an *Imámzádeh* or Muhammedan saint; although his name was not an object of inquiry, I made a sketch of the edifice dedicated to his memory, (See Pl. LXXII.) and generally denominated from the tract of land which it occupies, *Imámzádeh Jí* (امامزاده جی). Over the gateway were two or three rooms which some gentlemen of our party preferred to their tents. For the journey thus begun, ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N had been appointed our *Mehmándár*. Lady Ouseley travelled in her *palankin*, now altered into a sort of *takht-raván* by the addition of poles, and slung between two mules. We met on our way the prime minister MÍRZA SHEFIA, who, as a particular compliment, had gone out before break of day, to the *Imámzádeh*, and given directions himself about the pitching of tents, and other arrangements necessary for the Ambassador's accommodation. ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N remained with us all day in camp; but returned to the city early at night; for as Luna was in Scorpio and wore an aspect not favourable to any new undertaking, he thought it prudent to defer the actual commencement of his journey until the next day. Although Mount *Damávand*, as usual, and the neighbouring heights of *Alburz* were covered with snow; the Thermometer in our tents rose at two and three o'clock to 85 and 86.

On the 26th, we began our march by a delightful moonlight at half past two, and in seven hours reached our place of encampment close to *Caredge*, or *Carej* (چرك) the distance being about 23 or 24 miles. The road was sufficiently good, but lay chiefly through a flat desert, bounded on the right by hills of barren rock. Near *Caredge* were some gardens and trees, on the side of a steep mountain, and three or four villages. Here we saw the spot where foundations had been traced for a new city which the king intended to build and call *Sulimániah* (سليمانيه). It was only during last December that he sent the *Amin ad'douleh* and other *Vazirs* to fix upon the site; returning to *Tehrán* they started a fine antelope; "let us pursue it," said one, "and if we take it, the omen will be auspicious with respect to the new city;" they hunted and killed the *áhú*, which on that same evening was sent as a present to the Ambassador. Had they not succeeded in this chase it is probable that a situation, two or three miles higher or lower, would have been chosen for *Sulimániah*, which it is now proposed to erect in the immediate vicinity of *Caredge*, and on the banks of a river bearing the name of this place; at some seasons a very considerable stream, and at all times affording pleasant and wholesome water<sup>(\*)</sup>. We found several masons and labourers employed on the ground work of an *arg* or citadel, which was to comprehend (as at *Shiráz*, *Tehrán* and other places) a royal residence; and we heard that the king, having consulted ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N's description of London, had ordered that the streets should be wide, the *meidáns* or squares ample and numerous, with buildings of an uniform height and appearance, on the plan of our English metropolis. It was said, also, that he had declared his resolution of passing here two or three months of

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(\*) During some weeks after our arrival at *Tehrán*, the Ambassador's table was supplied with water from the stream of *Caredge*; for which, every morning, a man and horse were despatched eight or ten miles. It was at length discovered that the *Seká*, one day, to save his own trouble, filled the *rabias* or leather bag, at places near the city where cattle disturbed the water, and, what was still more disgusting, where the filthiest *derwishes* and other fellows were in the habit of performing their odious ablutions. The *Seká* was well flogged and discharged; after which another went daily before sunrise, with a confidential servant as a watch, to bring some of the excellent water that fertilizes the villages in the pleasant *belukát* or district of *Shemirán*.

every summer; and that he would oblige all the ministers, great officers of the empire, the principal nobles and other courtiers, to build houses and maintain establishments of servants in the new city. This day the Ambassador suffered much from the return of fever and ague, which rendered him unable to travel during the 27th and 28th; we therefore remained encamped near *Caredge*, of which I sketched from my tent the *gumbed* or cupola, with adjoining gardens, and the fine bold mountains behind them, (See Pl. LXXV). At three o'clock on the twenty-eighth, the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 90. Having occasion this day to exchange four or five hundred silver *riáls* that proved heavy and bulky articles of baggage, for more portable gold *tumáns*, I called at the tent of MÍ'RZA' ABD AL HUSEIN, (acting as treasurer in the absence of KHOJEH ARETU'N, the Arinenian), and found him engaged with several muleteers whom he had employed to stitch up in bags of cloth and leather, such quantities of gold and silver coin as amounted to thirty-five thousand pounds of our money. He assured me, (and others confirmed what he said), that very considerable sums are frequently entrusted to the Persian muleteers, who convey them to the most remote parts of the empire without the loss even of one *riál*. In consideration of the additional risk attending gold and silver, they receive, besides the established hire for carriage of common goods, four *riáls* (or half a *tumán*) for every hundred *tumáns*.

On the twenty-ninth we began to march before two o'clock in the morning, and soon after nine reached our camp at *Nasrábád* (نصراباد), 22 or 23 miles distant from *Caredge*. The plain over which we had travelled was in many places well cultivated, and we remarked on both sides, not only close to the road, but two, three, four and five miles from it, several *tapeh* or heaps of earth resembling our English barrows. According to some accounts which I received, (from persons, however, of no great authority), they had formerly been castles or edifices of which the bricks and clay had mouldered through the lapse of ages into these rude tumular masses. The Thermometer this day rose to 94 at two o'clock; about three it sunk to 80, when there was a violent whirlwind, and we were surprised by a shower of rain.

We marched from *Nasrábád* on the 30th at half-past two o'clock, and after a ride of four hours and about 13 miles, alighted at our camp near the mud-walled village of *Saffer Khuájeh* (صفر خواجه). Our course lay over a plain which in some parts, exhibited but few vestiges of any path; and we heard that there was a shorter but more difficult road. Within half a farsang of *Saffer Khuájeh* we passed by the village of *Kharfusábád*; or, more properly, *Kharbuzeh ábád* (خربزه آباد); so called from the abundance of *Kharbuzeh* or melons, for which it is remarkable. Both these places seemed rich in cows, sheep, goats and asses; flourishing trees, gardens yielding grapes, and well-tilled grounds. Through *Saffer Khuájeh* (our *manzel*) ran a pretty stream, and near it we saw the *emáret sháhi*, or "royal edifice," a room constructed for the accommodation of FATEH ALI SHA'H, when on his way to the summer camp of *Chemen-i-Uján* or *Sultánich*. We found that the country people now began to reckon by the *farsakh* or *farsang Tabrízi*, which is nearly half a mile longer than the *farsang* of *Shiráz* or *Isfahán*. They computed *Saffer Khuájeh* to be seven farsangs distant from *Cazvín*. The Thermometer this day was up to 94.

Our march on the 31st commenced before two o'clock in the morning, and ended about seven, at *Hassanábád* (حسن آباد). We had travelled 19 or 20 miles over a plain, on which appeared several mud-walled villages, and some *tapehs* or tumular heaps of clay. The soil about our *manzel* was good, and the land for many miles in a state of excellent cultivation. Soon after our arrival, a very high wind so completely filled my little Persian tent with dust, that I removed to a house in *Hassanábád*. During the day there were a few showers of rain.

On the first of June, we set out soon after four, and having proceeded by a fine road over the fertile plain, about eleven miles, alighted before seven o'clock, at *Kazvín* or *Cazvín*. An *istikhál* of fifty horsemen under MEHRAB KHA'N, chief minister or *Vazír* to the prince who governs this city, met us as we approached its walls; and near the gate, a body of four hundred militia soldiers, irregularly armed with match-lock muskets, spears and shields, received us with many tumul-

tuous demonstrations of respect. MEHRA'B KHA'N brought to the Ambassador a handsome horse as a present from the prince, ALI NEKA MI'RZA', on whom we all waited at three o'clock. He was seated in an open hall or *tálár*, (erected by NADIR SHA'H), spacious and well-proportioned, but neither painted nor ornamented in any part. He seemed about twenty-one years of age; and received us with much affability. Our visit lasted half an hour; after which, by the prince's desire, we were conducted through his garden, and sat awhile in the *Kuláh Farangki*, (built by SHA'H TAHMASEP). Here the Ambassador having taken notice of a young tame antelope, it was sent within two hours as a plaything for his little daughter, with nine lambs, also alive; besides several trays of sweet meats and fruit, and considerable quantities of roses and other flowers, disposed and tied in a very tasteful manner. Having seen so many Persian cities falling to decay, I was not surprised on finding at *Cazvin* unequivocal indications of approaching ruin. The publick buildings wore a dreary appearance of neglect; more than half the houses were without inhabitants, and the fine broad streets seemed nearly deserted. Yet if MEHRA'B KHA'N be worthy of credit, there were still here twenty-five thousand males; had he said *souls* (according to our usual mode of describing the whole population of any place), his report, in my opinion, would have been more just. He further told the Ambassador, that the country about *Cazvin* supported twelve thousand families of the *Iliats* or wandering tribes. To the city itself, this ingenious minister assigned an antiquity of one thousand eight hundred and forty years, but the accuracy of this numerical statement, apparently founded on some very minute calculation, vanished, when he added that *Cazvin* owed its origin to a monarch of the *Sasanian* dynasty; which, as we know, did not commence until the third century of our era<sup>(24)</sup>.

(24) Many whimsical conjectures have been offered respecting the derivation of this name (قزوين) which is frequently pronounced *Cazvin*; and was, I am inclined to suspect, originally written with *b* instead of *v*; "on prononce ce nom tantôt par *b* tantôt par *v*," says Chardin (Tome III. p. 30, Rouen, 1723); and he notices different explanations of the name. We can scarcely doubt, also, that its first letter should rather be the Persian *c* (ك) than the Arabick *k* (ك), although this is now invariably used. One person, as

In the MS. *Sûr al beldân* we find *Kazvîn* described as "a delightful place, with buildings and cultivated grounds, and abundantly supplied with provisions; and there is a castle containing within it a small town, in which also a castle has been constructed; and in the inner town is a *Masjed Jámaa* or principal mosque; the water of this city is derived from rain or from wells, for there is no river nor running stream but a small *karîz* or artificial conduit, which just supplies a sufficiency of water for the inhabitants to drink, not leaving any for the irrigation of land; and this place is the frontier pass towards the territory of the Dilemites." We further read of the feuds and quarrels that constantly subsisted among the *Kasvinians*, and of the murders that ensued; and that the city was a mile in length and as much in breadth<sup>(25)</sup>. HAMDALLAH, at the end of his historical work, the MS. *Târikh Guzideh*, quotes many Arabick traditions reputed holy, in favour of his native city, and representing it as "one of the gates of paradise," (قزوین باب من ابواب الجنة). Of some part, he says, the founder

native of the place, said it derived its name from *Cadge* or *Cazh* (کج or کز) "crooked," and *bin* (بین) "seeing," alluding to some obliquity of vision in those who first constructed the city on an irregular or serpentine plan. This derivation will remind the classical geographer of Chalcedon in Bythinia, which was called the "city of the blind," (*Cacorum oppidum*, Plin. Nat. Hist. V. 32; because its Megarensian founders had not perceived the numerous advantages of a neighbouring situation. Another account noticed by AMIR RA'ZI (in his MS. *Haft Aklim*) represents the original name as *Cashbin* (کشبین); for one of the ancient chiefs in a battle against the Dilemites, finding his ranks disordered, called out with a loud voice "*ân cash bin*" (آن کش بین), "look towards that corner;" and victory having ensued, a city was founded on that spot and denominated *Cashbin* or *Cashvîn*, "which the Arabs, after their manner, altered into *Kazvîn*." عرب مغرب ساخته قزوین خوانده‌اند. This city is, perhaps, entitled to a higher degree of antiquity than the Eastern writers generally allow; it seems to me, not improbably, the *Scabina* of Ptolemy, (Lib. VI. c. 2. Asia Tab. V).

(25) و اما قزوین شهری خوش و فیه است با زراعت و عمارت و خصب و فراغت و نیز قلعه در آن می باشد و در اندرون آن شهری کوچک هست و قلعه در آن ساخته و مسجد جامع در شهر اندرون است و لب آنجا از آب باران و چاه می باشد و هیچ رودی در آن نیست الا کاریزی کوچک که آب از آن چندان بیرون می آمد که می خورند و هیچ از آن آب جهت زراعت باقی نمی ماند و آن ثمر اهل دیلم است—و دایم در میانه اهل آن شهر مخالفت و مقاتلت می باشد و در طول و عرض میلی در میلی باشد

is not known, (بسیب قدیمی بانی آن معلوم نشده), on account of its remote antiquity. But when SHA'PU'R DHU'L EKTA'F (شاپور ذوالاکتاف), (Sapor II, who began to reign about A. D. 308), escaped from the Greeks, he found no repose until his arrival at that spot which is now the *Mekám-i-Kalenderán* (مقام قلندران) or "place of the *Kalenders*," (a religious order). There his ministers and nobles assembled around him, and he was soon enabled to defeat the *Kaisar*, (the Grecian or Roman Emperor); and regarding as auspicious, or connected with his good fortune, that spot where he had first halted on the territory of *Kazvin*, he commanded that a city should be there erected. The same author (in his MS. *Nozhat al Culúb*) describes *Kazvin* as belonging to the fourth climate, and placed in long. (ف. ج.) 85-0; lat. (ل. ج.) 36-0. The air is temperate, and the water derived from *kanáts* (قنوات) or subterraneous conduits; he praises the gardens of *Kazvin*, and the fruits which they yield abundantly; grapes, almonds, pistachios, sweet melons and water melons, plums and oranges; also the bread of that city; which is, besides, remarkable for excellent camels reared in the adjoining pasture-lands; "and "within three farsangs of that place is a fountain called "*A'ngúl*, of which, during the warm days of summer, the water "is frozen; if the day should be moderately cool, the quantity of ice diminishes; and should the inhabitants of the city "have exhausted their stock of ice, they may supply themselves from that fountain" (26). *Cazvin* has produced many celebrated writers and other ingenious men, besides numerous *Muselmán* saints of different degrees; yet I have remarked that in those books of jests or facetious anecdotes so popular among the Persians, and sometimes replete with humour, though often very profane, and almost always grossly indelicate, the principal character, a strange imaginary compound of simplicity, knavery and extreme libertinism, is generally described as a *Cazvini*.

(26) و بر سه فرسنگی اینجا چشمه است اثر آنکول خوانند و در روزهای گرم تابستان آب آن چشمه یخ بندد و اگر روز خنک بود یخ کمتر شد و چون یخ شهر تمام شود از اینجا آرند.



At half past two o'clock on the second of June, we set out from *Carvin* by the light of torches; which, according to the prince's orders, were carried before us until the moon rendered them unnecessary. Having passed through many spacious streets, for nearly two miles, we were impeded for several minutes at a narrow place, by the crowds of men, women and children, attending an *arúsi* (عروسی) or nuptial procession, and escorting the bride, who was muffled in a white sheet, from her father's to the bridegroom's house; the drums and pipes, producing very loud and discordant noises on this occasion, and the rockets and other fire-works causing much confusion among our baggage-mules, and the horses on which we rode. From the city we proceeded by an excellent wide road, over an extensive plain, on which, and on the sides of adjoining hills, appeared many villages. After a journey of above twenty-two miles, we alighted about nine o'clock, at *Siádehn* (سیادهن, as the name is written by HAMDALLAH in his MS. work above quoted) or *Siáh-dehán* (سیاه دهان) "the black "mouth, gap or pass", so called from some local circumstance) but universally pronounced *Siáhdehn* or *Siáhdehán*. Here and all along the road during this day's march, we observed that water was exceedingly scarce. A cooling breeze often refreshed us, yet the Thermometer, soon after three o'clock, stood at 79.

We began our march early on the third, and in five hours reached the tents at *Pársijín* (پارس جین), or, as more commonly pronounced and written *Pársijín* (پارس جین); distant from the last *manzel* about eighteen miles. Our road lay over a plain with low hills on the right, and a range of very lofty mountains, bounding the remote horizon on our left. We passed many large villages apparently flourishing and populous, although it was acknowledged, and indeed evident, that the inhabitants suffered considerably from the scarcity of water; at *Farsijín*, however, we enjoyed the luxury of a good running stream; and the well-cultivated fields, the pleasant gardens, the green trees, and rising from among them the *gumbed* or vaulted roof of an *Imámzádeh's* tomb, (not unlike the steeple of a country church), induced some of us to fancy that this place resembled an English village. Here some partridges and an antelope were shot.

On the fourth we proceeded from *Farsijin* to *Abher* (ابهر), frequently pronounced also *Avher*, where we arrived at eight o'clock, after a ride of fourteen miles; the morning being very cold, although during the day, two or three hours after noon, the Thermometer rose almost to 80. The plain through which we travelled seemed to yield a fertile soil, and exhibited in many places the marks of industrious cultivation; especially drains or channels for the conveyance of water; we saw several ploughs drawn by oxen, and villages with gardens. Two or three wolves, and two *gúrs* (کور) or wild-asses, afforded to some of our gentlemen a fruitless chase, as they escaped without much apparent difficulty among the rocks and hills. *Abher*, as we rode by the walls of its ancient castle to our tents pitched about three quarters of a mile beyond it, presented a more respectable and pleasing aspect than the greater number of Persian towns; being situate near a winding river (that bears the same name) in the midst of numerous gardens and handsome trees. I was extremely desirous of inspecting more closely the castle of this place which is still called *Kalaa-i-Dáráb*, after Darius or DÁ'RA'B, whom many Eastern writers describe as founder of the city; whilst others have attributed its origin to sovereigns of an earlier age. In hopes, accordingly, of making some antiquarian discoveries, I hastened there soon after breakfast, (although the Thermometer had risen to 80), with my gun, and two servants, and employed some hours in examining whatever appeared to myself or was indicated by my guides, as curious or ancient. I was admitted into many of the gardens, walked about all the streets, and saw through gate-ways several good houses which, in general, the high walls of their courts and lofty trees concealed from view. The castle alone bore any vestiges of antiquity, and was the principal object of my researches. It must have once been as strong as brick and clay could render any building; its ramparts still enclosed and covered a considerable space of ground. I had heard that among them were often found bricks of an extraordinary size; and having discovered some very large and thick in the remains of a wall, not far from one of the entrances, I cleared them from sand and mortar, in expectation (which proved vain) that some characters or device, stamped or cut upon

them, might reward my trouble. Within the ramparts I observed an open space, the centre of which appeared to have sunk below the general level; a depression perhaps occasioned by the yielding of some subterraneous cavity; or the hollow had, not improbably, been once a reservoir of water. Having descended from the fortifications through a garden adjoining them, and come out on the road by which we had passed in the morning, I sketched the view of "Darius's castle," (given in Pl. LXXV). At *Abher*, and many places in its vicinity, storks were very numerous, and occupied the summits of various buildings; those birds are never molested by the people, who regard their periodical migrations as resembling the religious pilgrimage made by zealous Muselmáns to the prophet's tomb at Mecca. The foundation of *Abher* is ascribed by ZACARIA CAZVI'NI to SHA'PU'R DHU'L EKTA'F; he notices a strange tradition that on account of the pure air and pleasantness of situation, it was resolved to build a town at this place; but all the ground being full of springs, walls or banks were formed of wool and the skins of beasts, and on these the city was constructed<sup>(27)</sup>. He celebrates the gardens of *Abher*, and particularly one of considerable extent, called *Beháad'din ábád*. The geographer HAMDALLAH informs us that this city was founded by CAI KHUSRAU (Cyrus), that DA'RA'B (Darius) built there a castle or citadel of clay (قلعه كنيں), which ISCANDER RU'MÍ, or Alexander the Grecian, finished. On or above this castle, another was erected by BEHA'AD'DI'N HAIDER (بها الدين حيدر), a prince of the *Seljúkian* race, after whom it was denominated *Haideriah* (حيدرآباد). "In circumference the ramparts of *Abher* extend five thousand five hundred paces; the air is cold, and "the water is derived from a river which bears the name of "the city, and rises on the borders of *Sultániah*, and flows "into the territory of *Cazvin*"<sup>(28)</sup>. He adds that the bread

<sup>(27)</sup> گویند همه آن زمین چشمه‌های آب بود پس سدها از پشم و پوست حیوانات بست و مدینه بر آن بنا کرد  
MS. *Seir al belád*.

<sup>(28)</sup> و دور با روی آن شهر پنجهزار و پانصد کام است هوایش سردست و آبش از رودخانه که بدان شهر موسوم است و از حدود سلطانیه بر می‌غیزد و در ولایت قزوین می‌ریزد MS. *Nuzhat al Culáb*, (Geogr. Sect. ch. II). In his Chapter of Rivers, HAMDALLAH assigns a course of twenty-five farsangs to the *Abher rúd* (آبهر رود) or river of *Abher*.



*Careje, p. 375.*



*Castle at Abher, p. 382.*



*Damuel's Castle, p. 389.*



W.A. del.

J. Walker sc.

*River Araxes, p. 425.*



of *Abher* is not remarkably good, and that cotton does not abound there (نانش سخت نیکو نبود و پنبه کم آید); but some of the fruits are excellent<sup>(29)</sup>.

Our *manzel* or halting place on the fifth was *Saan Kalaa* (صحن قلعه), also written *Sain* or *Sayen Kalaa*, and once distinguished by a very different name<sup>(30)</sup>; there we arrived at eight o'clock, having advanced about thirteen miles along the fertile plain, in general well cultivated, containing many villages with gardens, and bounded at the distance of eight, ten or twelve miles on both sides, with lofty mountains. Hitherto since our departure from *Tehrán* the great range of *Alburz* was on our right. We observed in the course of this morning's ride, some beautiful flowers and plants which seemed to be uncommon. From a cemetery where were several neatly-carved tombstones of Muhammedans, a little above *Saan Kalaa*, this mud-walled village with its trees, and the noble mountains beyond it, formed a very pleasing view. Here at three o'clock, the Thermometer rose to 82.

Commencing our journey early on the sixth, we were so long delayed by the difficulties of a narrow pass and broken watercourse at a mill near *Saan kulaa*, that we did not reach *Sultáni'ah* much before ten o'clock, after a journey of about nineteen miles, the road continuing through that fine plain of which a part has been already described. We rode by three villages, totally deserted, the springs and streams having

(<sup>29</sup>) I am inclined to suspect that by a transposition of letters, not unfrequent in the classical names of foreign places, the *Vera* of Strabo represents *Abher* or *Asher*, (*καὶ ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐρμῶν Οὐερα*, &c. Strab. Geogr. Lib. XI).

(<sup>30</sup>) HAMDALLAH CAZVÍ'NI in the appendix to his Geographical Treatise (or the Chapter of Roads and Stages), describing the places between *Sultáni'ah*, *Rái* and *Verá'mín*, begins the section thus—

از سلطانیه تا ده قبود که مغول انرا صاین قلعه خوانند پنج فرسنگ از آن تا شهر  
ابهر چهار فرسنگ از آن تا ده فارسیجین چهار فرسنگ

"From *Sultáni'ah* to the village of *Kehud*, which the Moghuls call *Sain Kalaa*, five farsangs; thence to the city of *Abher*, four farsangs; thence to the village of *Farsijín*, four farsangs." Had Chardin seen the name of *Saan Kalaa* written in the Arabick or Persian character he would not have supposed that it related in any respect to *HASSAN*. "*San Cala*, ce mot abrégé signifie *Chateau de Hassan*." *Voyages*, Tome III. p. 22, Rouen, 1723.

suddenly failed to supply the quantity of water absolutely necessary for the inhabitants. One of these three, the nearest to *Sultāniāh*, (within five or six miles), appeared to have been of considerable extent, and was denominated *Allah Acber* (الله اكبر). It could scarcely be imagined from the excellent view of *Sultāniāh* given by Mr. Morier, or from its real appearance when seen at the distance of three or four miles, that this vast and once populous city is now in a state of the most complete desolation, and actually without a single inhabitant; yet such is the melancholy fact, as we were surprised to find on passing through it; a few mean houses not very distant were occupied by some poor families, and near them was a *Caravansera* still habitable; but within the precincts of that space which had been *Sultāniāh* itself, and still covered many miles of ground, nothing remained but the decaying walls of edifices, (some even in ruin magnificent and beautiful), and mouldering heaps of brick and clay; these appeared to have been the materials of all the numerous structures, two only excepted, built with stone. An accident prevented me from examining the inside of SULTA'N KHUDA'BANDEH's tomb, the external appearance of that splendid and stupendous monument, with its lofty dome of azure coloured tile-work, satisfied my curiosity respecting it; and I had no reason to expect any vestiges of antiquity at *Sultāniāh*; this city, to whatever degree of magnitude and importance it may have risen, not having existed until the thirteenth century of our era; for according to HAMDALLAH CAZVINI, who flourished early in the fourteenth, "ARGHU'N KHA'N, the son of "ABEKA' KHA'N, the son of HULA'CU' KHA'N, the *Moghul*, "laid the foundation of *Sultāniāh*, which his son AUNJA'ITU' "SULTA'N completed, and denominated after his own title. "It was founded under the Zodiacal sign of the lion; and the "circumference of the walls which ARGHU'N KHA'N erected "is twelve thousand paces; but those constructed by AUN- "JA'ITU' SULTA'N, although they remain unfinished on ac- "count of his death, extend to thirty thousand paces"<sup>(31)</sup>.

(31) سلطانیه—ارغون خان بن ابقا خان بن هلاکو خان مغول بنیاد فرمود پسرش لولجایتو سلطان با تمام رسانید و بنام خود منسوب کرد طالع عمارتش برج اسدست

HAMDALLAH adds, among other particulars respecting *Sultāniyah*, that within one day's journey (from twenty to thirty miles) a warm or a cold climate may be found; he notices the neighbouring "very fine and extensive tract of pasture "ground" (<sup>32</sup>), and concludes with a statement (below given), of the distances between this city, (the capital of Persia when he wrote), and several other places (<sup>33</sup>). At what time *Sultāniyah* began to decay, I shall not here inquire; but an historian who dates his work in the year (of our era) 1596, (A. H. 1005), speaks of it as already desolate and ruined, exhibiting only the walls of those edifices which once adorned it (<sup>34</sup>).

دور باروش که ارغون خان بنیاد نهاده دوازده هزار کام است و ابکه اونجایتو سلطان میساخت و بسبب وفات او تمام ناکرده ماند سی هزار کام —

*Nuzhat al Culub*, ch. II. The barbarous Moghul names are here faithfully copied from the Manuscript, but I find them differently written by D'Herbelot, Petis de la Croix, Major Price and other eminent orientalists. ARGHU'N KHA'N died in the year (of Christ) 1291. By most writers the foundation of *Sultāniyah* is ascribed to his son, who, as appears from the quotation above given, only completed and enlarged the work commenced by ARGHU'N. On this subject the authority of HAMDALLAH seems incontrovertible; for he must have been well acquainted with the history of those sovereigns, under the latter of whom he held an honourable appointment.

(<sup>32</sup>) *علفزارهای بغایت خوب و فراوان* where perhaps, we may discover the πεδιον πυρα called *Naxos*, that great Nisæan plain, celebrated by Herodotus for the large horses which it furnished; these, according to Strabo, were used by the kings; and famous for their strength and swiftness, as we learn from various ancient authors.

(<sup>33</sup>) From *Sultāniyah* to *Abher* (ابهـر) nine farsangs; to *Rai* (ري) fifty; to *Zinjān* (زنجان) five; to *Sarak* (ساره) forty-two farsangs; to *Srjās* (سجاس) five farsangs; to *Kazvin* (قزوین) nineteen; to *Kum* (قم) fifty-four; to *Cāshān* (کاشان) seventy-four; to *Hamadān* (همدان) thirty; to *Yزد* (یزد) one hundred and forty five; to *Tabriz* (تبریز) forty-six; to *Karābāgh* (قرباغ) or *Arrān* (اران) seventy-two; and to *Shirāz* (شیراز) one hundred and seventy six farsangs.

See the MS. *Tārīkh i Curdistān* or History of *Curdistān*, (تاریخ کردستان), entitled also the *Sharf Nāmah* (شرف بن شمس الدین) composed by SHARF EBN SHAMS AD'DIN (بدلیس). Pietro della Valle (in 1619) heard that *Sultāniyah* had been peopled by families forced from their original homes, to gratify the caprice of MUHAMMED KHODA' BADER, (the AUNJA'ITU' SULTA'N mentioned in note 31), and that its depopulation commenced on the very night of that monarch's death, (December, A. D. 1316), when of women merely, fourteen thousand left the city, which having been founded in violence lasted but a short time. "Però, come cosa violenta "durò poco: e raccontano, che la medesima notte che morì quel Rè, cominciò a "spopolarsi di maniera, che solo di donne, ne uscirono quella propria notte quattor- "dici milla." (Viaggi, Lett. 5).



Our tents were pitched near the *Caravansera*, a little beyond the ruined city; and not far from a house which several workmen were busily employed in preparing for the king's residence during the encampment of his troops on the adjacent plain: this *emâret* or building was situate on a rising ground, over a stream bordered with willows; its principal room, neither very spacious nor handsome, contained a picture of the king hunting, and portraits of many princes, his sons, one in each of the different *tâkchehs* or niches

On the 7th we marched at half past three o'clock, and having proceeded about eighteen miles, passed a pretty village called *Dîzej* (دیزج), and soon after met the *Vazîr* of **ABDALLAH MÎRZA'**, the young prince who governs *Zinjân* (زنجان) or *Zingân* (زنگان), with an *istikbâl* of forty horsemen, coming to welcome the Ambassador. After a few minutes of ceremony and compliment, our parties united and we advanced to that city, distant from *Sultâniâh* about four and twenty miles. *Zinjân* appeared at some distance as a very flourishing place, abounding with gardens and trees of various kinds; but having entered it we rode for at least a mile through ruins, from which, and the ample cemetery, thickly studded with grave-stones, it was evident that the former population must have been very considerable. The inhabitants still amounted to ten or eleven thousand, according to some accounts. This town contributes, with four others, to form a *Pentapolis*, called by the Arabian name of *Khamseh* (خمسه), expressing a thing quintuple or five-fold. Our camp was about half a mile beyond the castle walls, on a parched and barren-plain. At seven o'clock in the evening, we accompanied the Ambassador on horseback into the town and waited on the prince, **ABDALLAH MÎRZA'**, a youth of fifteen or sixteen years and very pleasing manners, but whose court did not seem by any means brilliant. That the name of this city is properly *Zingân* (زنگان) appears from the Dictionary *Burhân Kâtea*, which mentions that after the Arabick manner it is called *Zinjân* (جو مغرب ان زنجان باشد). By **HAMDALLAH** (in MS. *Nuzhât al Colûb*, ch. ii.) its origin is attributed to **ARDASHÎR BABEKA'N** (in the third century); it has also been named *Shahîn* (شہین): in circumference its ramparts extended ten thousand paces; but it was ruined, he adds,

when the Moghuls invaded this country; the river which waters it and bears the name of the city, rises in the territory of *Sultaniyah*, and flows into the *Sefid-rúd* (سفیدرود) or "White River;" as *Zinjan* does not produce fruit, the inhabitants supply themselves from *Tármín* (تارمین); "and their language is pure *Pahlavi*," (وزبانشان پهلوی راستست). This was written early in the fourteenth century by *HAMDALLAH*; the poet *ARTA'R* (عطار), who flourished about an hundred years before, speaks of *Zinjan* as falling to decay in his time<sup>(35)</sup>.

We left *Zinján* at four o'clock on the morning of the 8th; two valuable mares and a foal, belonging to the Ambassador, were stolen during the night, and the men who had been employed to watch them were punished for their negligence, or participation in the theft, with a flogging. We proceeded about fourteen or fifteen miles and halted near the village of *Sahrín* (سهرین); the road was in many places rugged and hilly. We passed through various *ordús* or encampments of *Iliáts*; some of their tents covered a space thirteen or fourteen feet in length, and perhaps eight or nine in breadth; being formed of coarse felt or stuff made of hair and wool, very dark brown, or almost black; stretched over ropes, fastened to several upright sticks, about five feet high, the points of which were fixed in the ground. To each there seemed attached a vigilant and ferocious dog, and all were replete with swarms of children. At *Sahrín* we found the air temperate and pleasant, the Thermometer not rising above 72. The day before at *Zinján*, within fifteen miles, it had stood higher by seventeen degrees, at the same hour, three o'clock.

We set out from *Sahrín* early on the ninth; about the third mile passed the ruins of many stone-built houses on the left; and after a march of above eleven miles over a stony road, arrived at the village of *Armeghaneh* (ارمغانه), where our tents

<sup>(35)</sup> He describes it as being a "mine of pious and holy men," (كان اوليا) "although the city appears ruined in a considerable degree."

بصورت كرجه شهري بس خراب است

See his poem, entitled the مفتاح الفتح *Miftáh al Futúh*, or "Key of Victories."

were pitched, near the fort or castle. Here the air was cool, and the country abounded with herbs and plants of very powerful odour, such as balm, thyme, origany and others.

On the tenth we mounted our horses at four o'clock; rode over many high hills, and observed some both on the right and left of a conical form, with natural rocks on their summits, not unlike the ruins of buildings. Having advanced twelve or thirteen miles we passed through a considerable village called *Dâsh bulâk*, or, as it is generally pronounced, *Tâsh bulâk* (دانش بلق), "the stone fountain." Here we met YU'SUF KHA'N (یوسف خان) with sixty well armed horsemen, sent from *Tabriz* by the prince ABBA'S MİRZA', a few days before, to receive and attend the Ambassador; soon after, an *âhû* (اهو) or antelope crossed the road, and afforded many men and dogs a good half-hour's chase. We alighted at our tents near the little mud-walled village of *Birân-deh* (بیرون ده), distant from *Armeghâneh* eighteen or nineteen miles.

We proceeded on the eleventh ten or eleven miles by a rugged path over long and barren hills, and halted at *A'k-kand* (اکند) "the white town;" now reduced to the state of an inconsiderable village, although from the numerous ruins, it appeared to have been once both large and populous; a spring and stream in the vicinity afforded us excellent water. It was remarked, that the country between this place and *Cazvin* had risen by a gradual, but perceptible elevation; for if, in one day's ride, we ascended hills to the height of an hundred feet or yards, the descent did not seem, in proportion, to exceed sixty or seventy.

On the twelfth, still ascending by steep hills and a bad road, we advanced only eight miles, and encamped near the trees and gardens of a village called (گلتهپه) *Gultapeh*<sup>(36)</sup>.

(36) Or *Gultepéh* according to the northern pronunciation. I had found the Turkish mode of speaking predominant for the last three or four stages, in words having the vowel accent *fateh*, pronounced by the Persians like our short *a* in *manner*, *cannon*, &c. but by the Turks more as our short *e* in *men*, *pen*, &c. The Turkish language, indeed, is nearly as much used at *Cazvin* as the Persian; and at *Tabriz* rather more generally; and there I often heard *Muhammed* or *Mohammed* pronounced *Mehenmed* or *Mehmed*; according to Chardin the Persian language extends from *Abher* to India; but the Turkish from *Abher* westward; (Voyages, Tome III. p. 24; Rouen, 1723).

Our next day's *manzel* was at *Miánedge* or *Miáneje* (ميانه), as the name appears in the works of HAMDALLAH CAZVINI and other eminent geographers, although there is very good authority for writing it, as now universally pronounced, *Miánech*<sup>(37)</sup>; distant from *Gultapch* about twenty miles; in the course of which we crossed several lofty hills, especially the great *Kaflán Kúh* or *Koplán Kúh*, separating the provinces of *Irák Ajem*, the greater Media, and *A'zerbáiján*, Media the lesser, or *Atropatia*, at six or seven miles from *Miánech*<sup>(38)</sup>. Near the foot of this mountain we passed on horseback (to avoid some rugged road) the beautiful river *Kizel Ouzen*; although not far below us was the handsome bridge of which Mr. Morier has given so accurate a delineation, (Trav. I. p. 267). Having arrived at the other side we began immediately to ascend the *Kaflán Kúh*, by a path steep and winding, but in general sufficiently good, and much preferable to the remains which we saw in different places near us, of SHA'U ABBA's paved causeway or *kheyábán*. A little beyond the bridge I stopped some minutes to sketch (See Pl. LXXV.) the ruins of a fort situate on a rock, almost insulated among stupendous mountains, and denominated *Kalaa-e-Dukhter* (قلعه دختر) or "The Damsel's Castle;" some part of this structure was evidently modern, and the more ancient was ascribed, by the chief of *Miánech*, to the daughter of some Muhammedan prince or nobleman who flourished six or seven centuries ago; and who, likewise, (he said) erected the bridge before-mentioned. But a person at *Tabriz* assured me that this

(37) The manuscript of EBN HAUKAL's work, which I have so often quoted by the name of *Súr al beládán*, reads *Miáneje* ميانهج, whilst that copy from which my translation was published, has *Miánech* ميانهچ. (See Orient. Geogr. of EBN HAUKAL p. 164). In the celebrated Dictionary *Burhán Kátta* the word *Mianeje* does not occur; but among other significations, *Mianech* ميانه is described as equivalent to the Arabic *waset* وسط, or *wáset* واسط (the middle), also "the name of a city intermediate between *Irák* and *A'zerbáiján*." ونام شهر يست مابين عراق و انريايجان

(38) The river *Kizel Ouzen* and the mountain of *Kaflán Kúh* form the natural boundary of those provinces, although *Ak kand* is now within the jurisdiction of the prince who governs *Azerbáiján*; and we have seen (in note 37) that *Mianech* was once considered as an intermediate or frontier city between that province and *Irák*. In *Atropatia* or *Atropatena*, some have discovered a resemblance to the Persian compound name *A'derbáigán*, or *A'derbádekán*, (corrupted into *Azerbáiján*), which I shall soon have occasion to notice in my account of *Tabriz*.

fortress derived its name from the daughter of ARDASHIR BA'BEKA'N, and Chardin alludes to some romantick tradition concerning a princess whom that monarch imprisoned here. On the *Koflán Kúh* I saw one of those trees described in Vol. I. (p. 371), a *dirakht-i-fazl*; of which every branch was so closely covered with rags, that a new votary could scarcely have found room for his offering. Near *Miáneeh* we met the chief with fifty horsemen and a pedestrian crowd, who complimented the Ambassador with the noise of drums, the ridiculous tricks of *lúties* or buffoons, and the gesticulations of tumblers and dancing boys. We passed the river of *Miáneeh* on a long and handsome bridge, now beginning to decay; rode over a fine, fertile and well-cultivated plain, irrigated by a multiplicity of cuts and drains; then through the town which seemed extensive and populous, and alighted at our tents pitched a little beyond it. This, we had heard, was one of the warm *manzels* or stages, and I accordingly found that at noon in the shade, Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose to 93, and at four o'clock to 97. Yet on the neighbouring mountains snow was still visible in many places, and the chief sent us some, with ice, to cool our wine and water. The town was probably of some importance when noticed by EBN HAUKAL in the tenth century, (See note 37), for HAMDALLAH thus describes it in the fourteenth. "*Miáneej*, now a village, was once a city, and "several territories are dependent on it; the air is warm and "not salubrious, and it abounds with gnats<sup>(39)</sup>." But these mosquitoes are not only the living plagues that infest *Miáneeh*, which has long been remarkable for producing insects called *milleh* (مله), fortunately peculiar to it, or at least not found many farsangs beyond it. Of these creatures and their mortal venom, many extraordinary anecdotes had been related, highly alarming to strangers, for such only are they said to annoy; differing in this respect from the scorpions of *Cáshán*, which, according to popular (but erroneous) report, already mentioned (See p. 89), raise their stings chiefly against the

(39) میانچ شهری بوده و اکنون دهی مانده و چند موضع از طوابع اوست و هوای گرم و متعفن دارد و در و پیشه بسیار بود. MS. *Nuzhat al Colúb*, (ch. iii. of *Azerbaiján*).  
 One copy for پشه (*pashch*) gnats, reads پیشه (*bisheh*), forests or thick woods.

inhabitants of that place. It is recommended to those bitten by the *milleh* of *Míáneh*, to plunge immediately into cold water, and to drink the *shír* (شیر), or sweet mixture of bruised grapes. They fall, it is said, from the ceilings or beams of old houses; and we heard that of twelve muleteers who had all suffered from them in one night, six only recovered. It was also related that a servant of Sir Harford Jones had died in consequence of their bites; and a man who attended Mr. Gordon declared that he had himself nearly experienced a similar catastrophe, and only escaped after having been, during several weeks, sewed up in a cow's hide. Yet we may doubt whether these insects are very numerous, for my *ferdsh* found it difficult to procure two, which I preserved during several weeks, wrapped in paper, but have since lost; they were of a reddish brown colour, and resembled large bugs<sup>(40)</sup>.

The river of *Míáneh* or *Míánef* and its long and once handsome bridge, have been incidentally mentioned. HAMDALLAH thus more particularly describes them: "The river *Míánef* rises amidst mountains in the territory of *Aúján*, "and having passed through that country into the plains of "*Míánef*, and joined its waters to the river *Hashtrúd*, falls into "the *Sefíd-rúd*, and proceeds to the sea of *Khozar*, or the "Caspian, after a course of twenty farsangs<sup>(41)</sup>." The same geographer also informs us, that "the river *Hashtrúd* flows "from mountains in the districts of *Marágheh* and *Aúján*, "and unites its stream with the *Sefíd-rúd* in the territory of "*Míánef*; it runs twenty farsangs, and on it is situate the "bridge of *Míánef*, having thirty-two arches, erected by the "late lord of the *Diván*, the venerable KHUA'JEI SHAMS AD'

(<sup>40</sup>) I have since met in Paris (July, 1816) DAQUD BEG, whom the king of Persia sent to compliment Louis XVIII; that Armenian envoy had been bitten several months before at *Míáneh* by the *milleh*; and even when I saw him, still suffered violent pain in consequence of the bite on his arm which was much inflamed.

(<sup>41</sup>) اب میانج از حدود کوههای اوجان بر منجیزد و بر آن ولایت گرشته در  
صهرای میانج باب هشت رود نم شده بسفیدرود میریزد و به بحر خزر میرود طولش  
بیست فرسنگ باشد  
See MS. *Nuzhat al Culub*, (Section of Rivers).

"DI'N MUHAMMED<sup>(42)</sup>." These are not the only streams that contribute to swell the *Sefid-rúd*; the *Kizelouzen* which, as I have before mentioned, we crossed on horseback a few miles from *Míáne-j*, constituting a part of it; and HAMDALLAH enumerates several other rivers, such as the *Sháhrúd* (شاه رود) and *Zinján-rúd* (زنجان رود); the *A'b-i-Tármín* (آب طارمین); the *A'b-i-Sanjed* (آب منجد) and *Kidrnu* (کدرنو); the *Shalrúd* (شال رود) and *Garmrúd* (گرم رود), that join it. According to that celebrated writer "the *Sefid-rúd* or white river, called by the Turks "*Sevlán*, rises amidst those mountains in *Curdistán* which "they denominate *Peish bermak*, and the Persians *Panjan-gusht*, or the five fingers. "This river having united itself to "the *Zinján-rúd*, the *Hashtrúd*, the *Míáne-j-rúd*, and the "streams flowing from the mountains of *Tálesh* and *Tármín*, "joins the *Sháh-rúd*, passes through *Gilán Kútem*, and falls "into the sea of *Khozar* or the Caspian; and the *Sefid-rúd* in "its entire course, runs about one hundred farsangs<sup>(43)</sup>." Concerning *Míáne-j*, I shall only remark that Thevenot, one of our most ingenious European travellers, died at this place in the year 1667, (Nov. 28th).

On the fourteenth we set out at four o'clock, and soon after ten reached the camp near *Turcomán Chái* (ترکمان چای),

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(<sup>42</sup>) آب هشت رود از کوههای ولایت مراغه و اوجان بر میخیزد و در حدود میانج سفیدرود میریزد طولش بیست فرسنگ باشد پل میانج که خواجه مرحوم شمس الدین محمد صاحب دیوان که سی و دو چشمه است بران آب بسته است (MS. *Nuzhat al Culáb*, ib.)

(<sup>43</sup>) آب سفیدرود ترکان سولان خوانند از جبال پنج انگشت که ترکان بیش برماق خوانند بولایت کردستان بر میخیزد و بابهای زنجان رود و هشت رود و میانج رود و آبهای کوههای طالش و طارمین باب شهرود می پیوند و در کیلان کوه بدریای خزر میریزد طولش صد فرسنگ باشد (MS. *Nuzhat al Culáb*, Section of Rivers). I find *Kútem* (or *Gútem*) added to *Gilán* in another passage of this section, account of the river *Sháhrúd*), without any intervening particle; *كوتم* is described in the same MS. (ch. xx.) as a *bander gáh* (بندرگاه) or commercial sea-port on the Caspian, much frequented by ships from *Gurkán*, *Tabristán* and *Shirván*. I once suspected that we should have read *كوتم* and that the river was said to fall into the sea at *Kútem*, perhaps the *Cucdom*, placed near *Reast* in Hauway's "Map of the Routes of the Russian Embassy," &c. (Trav. Vol. I).

having travelled twenty-two or twenty-three miles over a series of hills, on which the soil did not seem bad, although, from a scarcity of water, it had been left uncultivated, except in the immediate vicinity of *Miáne*; nor did we see a tree during the ride, nor any human habitation besides the houses of a small village within two or three miles of our *manzel*. The country on both sides, and the very road, abounded with liquorice plants. The Thermometer was up to 93 at four o'clock, but the night proved cool.

We next proceeded (on the fifteenth) to *Karâ-chemen* (قراچمن), "the black meadow," distant from *Turcomán chái* about thirteen miles; our tents were pitched in a fine fertile valley near a stream of excellent water, and a village inhabited by Armenians. Here we found a *caraván* of above one hundred camels.

Our journey of the sixteenth did not exceed twelve miles; being from *Karâ-chemen* to the *Caravanserá*, within half a farsang of *Ticmeh-tâsh*, or *Ticmeh-dâsh* (تکمه داش). This village I was desirous of examining, and after breakfast walked to it with some of our party; having heard that there, at the *Ser-i-chashmeh* (سرچشمه) or "fountain head," were stones with inscriptions in very ancient *Cúfi* characters; "*Khatt-e-Cúfi*" "*khyly kadím*" (خط کوفی خدایی قدیم), as a Persian of creditable appearance gravely assured me. We soon discovered the fountain and inspected many large stones; one particularly, an upright rock of extraordinary shape; but none appeared to have ever borne the impression of a tool. The servant who attended us understood Turkish; and through his interpretation, (for none of the villagers spoke Persian), we learned from an intelligent old man, that the place did not afford sculptures of any kind. But he said that at the distance of six or eight miles in the direction of *Tabriz*, we should pass by a spot where once had been the immense city of *Aúján*, that some carved stones of considerable antiquity yet remained near the road side, and that these monuments were denominated *Jángú* (جانگ). On our way back to the tents we visited the *Caravanserá* of *Dingu*, built of stone and well-burnt brick;



but neglected and falling to ruin. The stream running through our camp abounded with small fish.

On the seventeenth we proceeded to the *Chemen-e-Aúján* (چمن اوجان), (or, as generally pronounced, *Oojoon*), the fine meadows of *Aúján*, between eleven and twelve miles distant from the last *manzel*. Our tents were pitched about one mile beyond the *emáret sháhi* (عمارت شاهي) or "royal edifice," a summer-house in which the king resides, during the annual encampment of his troops on the rich and extensive plain adjacent. Near our halting-place we were surprised at the appearance of a large and once handsome European coach, drawn by six horses; this, which had been received as a present from Russia, the prince, ABBA'S MI'RZA', now sent for the conveyance of Lady Ouseley; but as the numerous inequalities of the road must have rendered the motion of any wheel-carriage extremely unpleasant, she continued her journey in the *palankin*. We met soon after Captain Lindsay, with about two hundred of his horse-artillery; all Persians, whom that brave and excellent officer had admirably disciplined; they were uniformly clothed in blue jackets, with red caps and yellow lace, and managed their horses in the style of our English dragoons, performing several evolutions with considerable quickness and precision. Any reader who has been sufficiently patient to accompany me thus far, must have witnessed, perhaps but too often, my irresistible propensity to antiquarian researches, and will scarcely suppose that I forgot, during this morning's ride, the information above noticed, given by the old peasant at *Ticmeh-dásh*; information particularly interesting since it excited my hopes of discovering those ancient memorials, erected, according to TABRI, one of the oldest and most celebrated oriental historians, by RA'YESH, an Arabian prince, as records of his name, the extent of his marches and his conquests, in *A'zer-báiján* or Media<sup>(44)</sup>. I flattered myself, at least, with the more

(44) TABRI describes this RA'YESH (رايش) as sovereign of *Yemen* or Arabia Felix, and contemporary with the Persian king, MINU'CHEHR, of whom alone he acknowledged the supremacy, and in whose time Moses was sent to the Pharaoh of Egypt. RA'YESH having extended his conquests to *Hindustán*, returned with much treasure.

reasonable expectation of finding those extraordinary circles of hewn stone which Chardin observed in the year 1673; and which, long before our degenerate times, had served, it was said, as the seats of giants. This hope did not prove altogether vain; for, about six miles beyond *Ticmeh-dâsh*, we arrived at an eminence, where, on both sides, were many large and upright hewn stones, arranged in lines; one row on our right seemed to have formed part of a circle, now imperfect; and was, we may believe, what Chardin coming from *Tabriz* towards *Kar-rûchemen* saw on his left; or, as he travelled in the dusk of evening or at night, according to custom, and perhaps rode by on the other side, he may have mistaken for a circle<sup>(45)</sup>.

and many captives to Arabia; thence he passed through *Irâk* into *Azerbaigân* (آذربایگان) which the *Turcâns* (ترکان) at that time possessed; these he defeated and slew; "and in the land of *Azerbaigân* is a certain large and celebrated rock or stone, on which he caused to be sculptured an inscription recording his name, and his arrival there, and his return thence, and the amount of his troops, and his victories; so that even at this day men read it, and become acquainted with his greatness."

و بزمنین آذربایگان اندر منکبست بزرگ و معروف نام خویش و آمدن خویش اینجا و باز کشتن و مقدار سپاه خویش و طفرهای که او را بود بدان سنگ اندر بتوشته بکنده تا امروز مردمان آنرا همی خوانند و بزرگی او همی دانند

Of RA'YESH the proper name, as we learn from TABRI, was HARETH BEN ABI SHERDAD (حارث بن ابي شداد), or AL HARETH AL RAYESH, fifteenth king of *Yemen*, and the first who was entitled *Tobaa* (تبیع) according to Pococke (*Specimen Hist. Arab.* p. 58, Oxon. 1650) who does not, however, mention the circumstance here related; although he alludes to foreign spoils brought by the victorious HARETH into *Yemen*, whence he obtained the title of RAYESH; "quod reportatis in *Yamanum* "spoliis populum ditavit, cognominatus est; quoniam راس الناس فی ایامه." In the quotation above given from TABRI's *Chronicle*, I have followed the text of my oldest MS.; some copies represent the inscription as engraved on "two large rocks" or stones, (دو سنگ بزرگ).

("Le 30 (of May) nous fîmes six lieues par un chemin assez uni, qui serpente entre des collines. Après deux heures de marche (from *Vaspinge*), nous passâmes proche des ruines d'une grande ville (*Aufân*) qu'on dit qu'il y a eu là autre fois et qu'Abas le Grand acheva de détruire; on voit à gauche du chemin de grands ronds de pierre de taille." *Voyages*, Tome III. p. 13; (Rouen 1723). "Nous partions toujours le soir, une heure ou deux avant le soleil couché plus ou moins, selon la traite que nous avions à faire. Nous achevions les traites de cinq ou six lieues à minuit, ou environ. Les grandes de huit à neuf lieues nous tenoient presque toute la nuit." (ib. p. 34). According to this latter passage, we may suppose Chardin to have left *Vaspinge* (as he writes the name), at one hour before sunset; the former passage allows two hours for his journey to the *Jângû*; this calculation would bring him there one hour after sunset, always dark in *Persia*, where the twilight lasts but three or four minutes. He may as well have passed the square inclosure, like some of our party, on

Those on the left of our path were regularly disposed on the plan of an oblong square, nearly forty yards by twenty-five or thirty. Within this inclosure were lying horizontally on the ground, a few tombstones of Muhammedans, and many more close to it, outside, and near the row above-mentioned on our right; some of these sepulchral stones exhibited epitaphs in Arabick characters, but none that I examined were either ancient or important. It was here, says Chardin, that the *Caous* when making war in Media, are reported to have held their consultations, each bringing to the assembly a stone for his own seat; these *Caous*, adds he, are the Persian giants, so called after king CAOUS, the son of COBAD<sup>(46)</sup>. I know not on what authority this ingenious traveller supposes the word *Caous* equivalent to "giant;" but if we assume the monarch who first bore that name as founder of these inclosures, their antiquity ascends to the sixth or seventh century before Christ. It would, however, be considerably reduced below the age of CAOUS, and probably, below the true date, were we to adopt a local tradition related by the chief of a tribe residing in the neighbourhood, who here paid his respects to the Ambassador. He said that these rows of stones had been erected by the principal officers or nobles during the reign of GHĀ'ZĀ'N KHA'N (غازان خان), (who died in the year of our era 1304); that they assembled at the inclosures to converse on military affairs, and therefore called them *Jāngú*, (the scene of "debate" or "consultation"), but that in succeeding ages those places of assembly were used as cemeteries. A very learned, though in some respects, a fanciful antiquary, Monsieur D'Hancarville, considers the circles of stones described by Chardin as resembling, and probably coeval with, that

one side as on the other; for although we found a path near the left of it, the open untilled country, without hedges or fences of any kind, was equally easy for horsemen on either side. Darkness may have prevented him from seeing the tombstones, or perhaps he did not alight to examine the inclosure, as expedition seems to have been an object in these nocturnal journies; "La nuit on marche plus vite," &c. (ib. p. 34),

(46) "Les Persans disent que ces ronds ou cercles sont une marque que les Caous, "faisant la guerre en Medie, tiroient conseil en cet endroit; parce que c'étoit la coutume "de ces peuples que chaque officier qui entroit au conseil portoit une pierre avec lui "pour lui servir de siège. Les Caous sont des geans Persans, ainsi nommez de Kaous "Roi de Perse, fils de Cobad," &c. Voyages, Tome III. p. 13; (Rouen 1723).

stupendous British monument, Stone-henge; and he pronounces both more ancient than the great edifice of Persepolis, which differs from them in its plan, being quadrilateral<sup>(\*)</sup>. But I have already observed that one, (and perhaps the principal inclosure at *Jángú*), is an oblong square. Whether the stones of it ever bore a superstructure cannot be easily ascertained; they appeared to Mr. Morier, (who visited them in 1809; Travels, Vol. I. p. 271), as the remains of a building. I shall not here pretend to offer a conjecture on the design with which these stones were erected; but, although the space comprised within them may have served occasionally in the thirteenth or fourteenth century as a place of assembly and consultation, and has since been contaminated by the interment of human bodies, I am inclined to think these inclosures of equal antiquity with the original foundation of *Aúján*, a city fallen to decay many hundred years before the time of GHAZAN KHA'N, who rebuilt and embellished it, and of which the ruins, still discernible in scattered vestiges, are said to have extended three or four miles about this spot, or even farther, according to information received from the chief above mentioned; for he declared that during the time of its glory, it did not yield even to *Rai* in magnitude and splendour. But a less exaggerated account of its size, may be found in the work of HAMDALLAH, who traces, however, its foundation, to an age extremely remote. "*Aúján*," says this geographer, "a city of the fourth climate, is properly reckoned, in old writings (or accounts of the revenue), as belonging to the district of *Mahrán-rúd*. It was founded by *Bi'zhen*, the son of *Gi'v*, and rebuilt by *Gha'za'n Kha'N*, who surrounded it with ramparts of stone and mortar, and

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(\*) "Ces anciens edifices sont du genre de celui dont les restes subsistent encore dans la Médie, ou il passe pour être l'ouvrage des *Kaous*, ou des *Géants*, (*"Voyages de Chardin"*); ce dernier est formé de pierres énormes arrangées sur un plan circulaire, comme le sont celles de *Stone henge*, dans la province de *Wiltshire* en Angleterre. Tous deux diffèrent moins par leur distribution des edifices de Persepolis, qui sont sur un plan quadrilatère, qu'ils ne leur ressemblent, en ce que comme eux ils furent ouverts de toute part et sans aucune espèce de couverture. L'art employé dans les uns, la somptuosité de leurs marbres, la richesse de leurs sculptures, la variété de leurs inscriptions, contrastant avec la rudesse et la simplicité des autres, annoncent l'ouvrage d'un temps moins ancien, que ceux où l'on éleva ces monumens de *Stone henge* et de la *Médie*." See the Supplement (p. 127) to D'Hancarville's "*Recherches sur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce*."

"called it a city of *Islám*; and the rampart constructed by "GHA'ZA'N extended three thousand steps. The climate of "this place is cool, and it derives water from the mountain "of *Sahend*. It produces corn and herbage, but neither fruit "nor cotton. The inhabitants are fair complexioned, and "Musulmáns of the *Sháfe'i* sect; there is also a race of Chris- "tians resident here"<sup>(48)</sup>. The Thermometer at this place, rose at four o'clock (June 17th), to 77.

From the *Chemen-i-Aúján* we set out at half past two o'clock on the eighteenth, and before nine encamped near the pleasant village of *Bosmidje*, *Váspinje* or *Básfinje*, as the people variously pronounce *Fahsfinge* or *Fahusfinge*, for so the name is written<sup>(49)</sup>. This day's journey was between nineteen and twenty miles, during which we rode over one hill of considerable length and steepness; about the tenth or eleventh mile we passed on our right, a large and handsome *Caravansera* called *Shibeli* (شيلي), now almost in ruin; and a little farther on our left, the village of (سعيد آباد) *Saiedábád*. In the vicinity of *Fahsinj* or *Vaspinge*, on the road towards *Aúján*, Chardin would place the Nisæan plain, so celebrated by ancient writers for the admirable horses which it furnished to the Median or Persian kings. On this subject I shall offer some remarks in the Appendix.

After a ride of eleven miles our journey ended at half past nine o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth, when we entered the city of *Tabríz* (تبريز), near which our road led us through an ample cemetery; here was a large and rudely carved stone resembling rather a ram with curled horns, than the figure of a lion placed in many Persian burial-places. We saw also,

(48) او جان از اقليم چهارم است در دغاتر قدیم انرا از توابع مهران رود شمرده اند و مناسبست و بیژن بن کیو ساخت غازان خان تعمیرید عمارتس کرد و از سنگ و کج باره کشید و شهر اسلام خواند دور باروي غازاني سه هزار قدم بود هوايش سردست و ايش از کوه سهندست حاصلش غله و بقول بود و میوه و پنبه نباشد و مردمش سفید چهره و شافعي مذهبند و در ان از عیسویان جمعی باشند

MS. *Nushat al Culáb*, ch. iii. (of *Azerbaijan*).

فهرستگنج or, as I find it in the MS. chronicle, "*Autum Arábi Abbási*," فهرستگنج.

the large and ruined castle or citadel on our right, and many very flourishing gardens. We were received with military honours by the *Keshans* or regiments of native troops who lined the streets, soldiers excellently disciplined in the European manner and commanded by Major Christie. It afforded us equal pleasure and surprise to hear the tunes of English marches, country dances, and our national air "God save the King," exceedingly well played by young Persian fifers and drummers. The comparative coolness of *Tabriz* was perceptible, for at three o'clock (June the 19th), Fahrenheit's Thermometer did not ascend above 67. In our last *manzel* (within the distance of three farsangs), it had risen higher by ten degrees at the same hour on the day before.

On our arrival at *Tabriz* we expected that the crown prince, ABBA'S MI'RZA', would, in the course of two or three days, affix his name to the definitive treaty, which the king had already signed, and which the Ambassador proposed that I should take to England. But the usual procrastinations of Asiatick diplomacy, though without any apparent object or advantage, were here practised; and when no other pretence for delay remained, and the day of signing was fixed to be the twenty-sixth (of June), some inauspicious conjunction or aspect of the heavenly bodies, caused that ceremony to be deferred until the twenty-seventh; at which time, in consequence of negotiations on the subject of peace, commenced between the Russians and Persians, through the medium of our Ambassador, so much business necessarily engaged all his attention, that he could not then finally close the despatches, nor did he deliver them to me before the evening of July the first. During this interval of thirteen days, I was accommodated with a room at the house of my friend Major D'Arcy, who, as senior officer, commanded in the military department. The other English gentlemen whom we found at *Tabriz* were Major Stone, Major Christie, Captain Lindsay, Lieutenant George Willock, and Mr. Campbell, the Prince's surgeon. Here, besides, were M. Freygang, a counsellor, and Major Papœuf, both deputed by the Russian governor of Georgia to treat with the Ambassador. They occupied an apartment in Major D'Arcy's house, where, also,

resided a French officer, who some months before having offered his services to our Government, had been sent from London to Constantinople, and thence to Persia. The day after our arrival, we proceeded at noon to the palace, where the proper officers received us with the usual ceremonies, and conducted us to the presence of ABBA'S MÍRZA'; he had been lately indisposed and wore a scarlet *baráni* (a "rain" or "great-coat"), and a plain black *kuláh* or lambskin cap; his face appeared thin, probably from ill health, but the expression of his countenance was pleasing, and he received us with unaffected dignity, and at the same time courteousness of manner. In his discourse he evinced much intelligence and a desire of information on various subjects. We remained with him almost an hour, during which the Ambassador, having delivered a dagger richly mounted with jewels brought from England, made two or three efforts to retire, but the prince each time contrived to detain him in conversation, by the sudden introduction of some new topick. He honoured the Ambassador next day with a private audience of three hours<sup>(50)</sup>.

I met one morning at Mr. Campbell's house, a man of the tribe called *Karátchi* or *Karáchi* (قراچی); people who seemed to resemble our gypsies in many respects, besides the use of a particular dialect or jargon among themselves; for they are said to love an erratick and idle life, preferring tents to houses; to pilfer eggs, poultry, linen and other things, with great dexterity; to tell a person's fortune by inspecting the palm of his hand, and to be nearly, or perhaps altogether, without any religion. The man with whom I conversed acknowledged that most of his *táífeh* (طایفه) or tribe, had not any certain form of worship or system of faith; but some Muhammedans being present, he loudly thanked God, that he

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<sup>(50)</sup> ABBA'S MÍRZA' seemed to be in his twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year, of a good stature and muscular form; celebrated by the Persians as an admirable horseman. It was said that he frequently went to hunt during such frost and snow, that of two or three hundred men who set out with him, not more than ten or twelve were able to endure the fatigue and cold, or attend him throughout the whole excursion. With a perfect disregard of extreme heat, his brother HUSEIN ALI MÍRZA' thus hunted almost daily near *Shiráz*, at a season when most people, even in the shade, found the sun's influence oppressive.

was, himself, a true believer, a very orthodox disciple of their prophet. The *Tátárs* or Turkish couriers from Constantinople, happening to enter the room, immediately recognised this man and his companions to be *Chingánis* or *Jingánis*, a race of whom the males, they said, were all dishonest and the females unchaste; and *MUSTAFA*, who had been in England, whispered to me that they were the same as our gypsies; they confessed that with respect to the name, those *Tátár* couriers had given a correct account, as the people of their tribe were denominated *Jingáni* by the Turks. I was anxious to learn some words of their peculiar dialect, and wrote down from the lips of one who seemed the most intelligent of these *Karáchts*, a shrewd fellow, although perfectly illiterate, the short vocabulary below given<sup>(51)</sup>.

On the evening of the twenty-fourth, Major Christie invited me, with some other friends, to partake of an entertainment at his quarters; he first gratified us by an exhibition of seven

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( <sup>51</sup> ) God	<i>Khuia</i>	white	<i>paranah</i>	nose	<i>nák or nànk</i>
the Sun	<i>Gam</i>	green	<i>níla</i>	mouth	<i>zever</i>
Moon	<i>Miftaw</i>	quick	<i>khali</i>	hand	<i>khast</i>
bread	{ <i>menaw</i> or	great	{ <i>barah</i> or	foot	<i>páf</i>
	{ <i>menav</i>		{ <i>varah</i>	belly	<i>khium</i>
water	<i>páni</i>	little	<i>jumah</i>	leg	<i>lúleh</i>
horse	<i>agora</i>	a tent	<i>guri</i>	thigh	<i>búth</i>
cow	<i>mangow</i>	milk	<i>kíkr</i>	sheep	<i>bekra</i>
house	<i>gar</i>	butter	<i>tehl</i>	dog	<i>senúta</i>
salt	<i>núl</i>	gold	<i>pildaw</i>	coat	<i>geisi</i>
tree	<i>dár</i>	silver	<i>urp or ourp</i>	cap	<i>kult</i>
man	<i>manes</i>	to go	<i>jaunk</i>	earth	<i>búth</i>
woman	<i>jivi</i>	to come	<i>paw</i>	sea	<i>dahms</i>
fire	<i>aik</i>	to drink	<i>lepl</i>	star	<i>chanani</i>
boy or son	<i>zarú</i>	to eat	<i>kamen</i>	flame	<i>alaw or alaw</i>
daughter	<i>lovki</i>	to fight	<i>lakhti</i>	widow	<i>dúljíveh</i>
mother	<i>mami</i>	to bring	<i>naun</i>	old woman	<i>viddi</i>
father	<i>dadi</i>	bring bread	<i>menaw naun</i>	hot	<i>tata</i>
brother	<i>bor</i>	the wind	<i>wai</i>	cold	<i>si</i>
sister	<i>behn</i>	sword	<i>tuvrar</i>	man of the	{ <i>gara-sabi</i> or
fish	<i>metché</i>	knife	<i>cheri</i>	house	
bird	<i>chímari</i>	shoes	<i>múzi</i>	an infant	<i>khuldar</i>
smoke	<i>dadd</i>	finger	<i>angúl</i>	tent-rope	<i>schli</i>
good	<i>sona</i>	ear	<i>kian</i>	three, (the	{ <i>terán</i>
bad	<i>peis</i>	beard	<i>kúleh</i>	number)	
black	<i>kala</i>	eye	<i>aki</i>	four	<i>ishtár</i>

The other numbers nearly the same as in Persian.



or eight *pahlawáns* (پهلوان) or wrestlers, who displayed considerable activity in the *zúr kháneh* (زورخانه), (the strength house or place where bodily vigour is exerted). This was a room, half-under-ground, where those men wearing only short breeches, having performed very difficult exercises with the wooden *mils* (میل) or heavy clubs, described in a former chapter, began to struggle; the object of each being to lay the antagonist on his back; whenever this was effected, the person vanquished acknowledged his defeat by kissing, or seeming to kiss, the hand of his conqueror. A young man from *Kirmánsháh*, whose form was uncommonly robust and muscular, proved the chief hero of these athletick sports, during which we were amused with the sounds of a *setárch* or three-stringed guitar, a drum, and a *dáíreh* (دایره) or tambourine. One also of the party occasionally animated and excited the *pahlawáns* in their trials of strength, by reciting with a solemn chant several verses from the *Sháhnámeh*, celebrating the warlike exploits of AFRA'SIÁ'B, FERÍ'DÚ'N and RUSTAM. An accident terminated this part of our entertainment after it had lasted nearly an hour; one of the wrestlers having fallen with violence against the wall, some blood began to flow from his mouth and nose, and the others thought that it would not be lucky to continue the exercise. We therefore ascended from the *zúr kháneh* to a spacious room; where after the usual refreshments of coffee and *kaleáns*, a dance was exhibited; the performer being a *birish* (بیریش) or heedless boy of fifteen or sixteen years, wearing the complete dress of a woman and imitating, with most disgusting effeminacy, the looks and attitudes of the dancing girls; sometimes turning round on one spot for several minutes to the sound of a *kemáncheh* or Persian violin, or moving slowly along the floor with much ungraceful distortion or dislocation of the hips, practised, however, in perfect cadence with the musick. He played also many tricks with naked swords and daggers; tumbled over head having several sharp and long knives so fixed on his breast, that the slightest fall, or error in any movement, must inevitably have proved fatal. Another boy, disguised likewise as a woman, then stood up to dance, but as Major Christie understood that several persons celebrating a nuptial feast in the city, had long expected these performers, he

dismissed them, and after tea, gratified us with a third spectacle much more amusing; a very laughable farce acted before the windows in a court or little garden where our worthy host had permitted some of the town's people, soldiers, servants and others to assemble, that they might gratuitously enjoy one of their favourite entertainments.. The entire plot of this farce consists in the stratagem employed by a cunning rustic, the buffoon, to obtain some *mâst* (ماست) or curdled milk, which another man offers for sale in a large dish or basin placed near him on the ground. So tempting is this cooling beverage that the clown, although without one farthing wherewith to purchase any, resolves, after many ridiculous grimaces, to gratify his appetite by stealth. He accordingly watches an opportunity when the *Mâst*-seller is looking about, and having dipped his fingers slyly into the dish, two or three times, licks them with much relish, but is detected in a subsequent attempt, severely scolded and driven away. He soon returns, however, in the character of a gardener with his spade; assumes a different tone of voice; begins to negotiate about the price of *mâst*, but whilst speaking, suddenly snatches up some in the hollow of his hand, is again scolded and beaten off. He next appears as a cripple and contrives to get another mouthful; and is afterwards equally successful under a new disguise, when in the midst of earnest conversation he blows a puff of flour or white dust, from his own mouth into the eyes of the poor *Mâst*-seller, and during his embarrassment and temporary blindness, licks up a considerable quantity of the milk and runs away. He then comes back, declares himself a celebrated musician, and sings many Persian and Turkish, *Gilâni* and *Curdi* songs, but at every interval contrives to steal a little of the *mâst*, sometimes dipping his finger into it, sometimes the handle of his spade. Once more he returns and displays various feats of activity; among others, he extends himself on the ground, like a person beginning the *shenaw* (شنار) or "swimming exercise," and advancing thus towards the basin he suddenly plunges his face into it; then starting up and forcibly embracing the enraged *Mâst*-seller, bedaubs his forehead, nose and beard, with the clotted milk from his own. But the last scene of this farce excited more laughter, at least

among the spectators in the garden, than all the former. The credulous *Mást*-merchant is induced from charity to indulge the clown, representing a miserable beggar, with one taste of the milk; for this purpose he gives him a little on the end of his fingers, which the clown instantly seizes with his teeth and bites so hard, that the poor patient screams or rather bellows from pain, and is thus dragged off the stage.

To this buffoonery succeeded a puppet-show; one man having unfolded a sheet or curtain of greenish linen and fixed it on a wooden frame about three feet long, established his little theatre in two minutes and seated himself inside, where he managed the puppets and was concealed from our view; whilst another, standing close to the frame outside, conversed with the principal personages and served to explain the story. *Pahlawán*, the "illustrious hero, or warrior," (in England called *Punch*), happening to look out of his door or window, beholds a young lady and immediately becomes enamoured; but his friend, (the man sitting outside), informs him that he must not cherish a passion which would certainly prove hopeless, or perhaps cause his destruction, this fair damsel being sister to several ferocious *divs* or monstrous giants. *Pahlawán* sighs and whines in a most ridiculous manner; one brother then appears, a very formidable figure with a hideous face and two long horns. The lover betrays some symptoms of fear; but at last attacks the *div*, and after many loud collisions of wooden sculls and fists, he conquers and kills the giant, and hangs his carcass head downwards, over the stage, in front. Another of this frightful race, a yellow *div*, next encounters *Pahlawán*, and falls in the deadly combat; a red, a white, a black, and a speckled brother, one also having the head of a dog, and another with a single but immense horn, successively fight the lover, are all slain, and hung in a row with the first monster. The mother too, an old sorceress or witch, having a black face and white hair, shares the fate of her sons. *Pahlawán* immediately resolves to carry off his mistress and enjoy the fruits of victory; but the discreet monitor advises him to marry the young lady with due forms and ceremonies. A *Múlá* or priest, a *Kázi* or magistrate, a lawyer and others attend; a bargain for the dowry is regularly

made; then follows the *arúsi* or nuptial procession, in which a man displays fire-works on his head, and several dancing girls and musicians appear; at length, *Pahlawán* is introduced to his lovely bride, and expresses the force of his amorous passion by gesticulations more intelligible than delicate; although out of respect to the English gentlemen present, (or, as I believe, in consequence of a hint from Major Christie), much of the indecency was suppressed, which generally renders this concluding scene, the chief delight of Turks and Persians. We heard that ladies of high rank condescend to smile at the exhibition of this puppet-show with which their husbands sometimes treat them, and that on these occasions no part of the original performance is omitted. Both of this entertainment and of the farce which preceded, the dialogues were conducted in *Turki* or Turkish, as spoken by the wandering tribes and lower class of people inhabiting the northern provinces of Persia. My imperfect knowledge of this dialect rendered me incapable of thoroughly comprehending the many passages which excited bursts of laughter among the crowd; but they were evidently replete with humour, as I could judge even from an explanation of them in Persian. The managers of these shows, and the musicians who attended them, were said to be mostly of the *Karachi* (or gypsey) tribe already mentioned. *Pahlawán*, I must here remark, squeaked in exactly the same kind of feigned voice as Punch in our common English puppet-shows.

Since the first day of our arrival at *Tabríz*, young men from various parts of the country hastened to enroll themselves among the prince's troops commanded by Major Christie, and generally distinguished by the appellation of *Ser-bázi* (سربازی), or "players with heads;" "those who consider it as "sport to suffer or inflict decapitation." This desire of enlisting arose from the punctuality with which those soldiers were paid by the English officers; for hitherto the Persian colonels had, on various pretences, withheld at least half of their nominal allowance. The thirty-five thousand pounds, in gold and silver coin, which the Ambassador had brought with him from *Tehrán*, (See p. 375), now suddenly circulated among the *Ser-bázi*, and induced numerous rusticks and


others to offer their services; among these, a very tall, meagre and ill-made fellow presented himself one day and was rejected by the prince, who said, "if we admit him into the ranks, two men must be employed in holding him up; he is not sufficiently strong to support a musket." The poor volunteer almost wept; "try me, said he, two or three months; it is better that I should perish by the enemy's hand, than die in consequence of this disgrace; see what I shall do in the *rúz-i-meidán* (روز میدان) or day of combat in the field." The prince replaced him in the ranks. The Ambassador, who had been present on this occasion, told us that another man, soon after, expressed the utmost anxiety to be enrolled; but such was his uncommon ugliness that the prince refused to enlist him. The man, humiliated and mortified, evinced the most serious disappointment, and the Ambassador ventured to intercede for him. "His face," said he, "will serve to terrify your Royal Highness's enemies." The prince laughed and admitted him also.

Although a great part of *Tabriz* exhibited little more than ruins, yet in some of the *bázars* there seemed to be a considerable stir of business and industry. I remarked that the doors of many houses were so low that a person even of moderate height could not possibly enter without stooping very much; and to others the sole inlet was by a descent of three or four steps; they were thus contrived, as an inhabitant informed me, to hinder insolent horsemen from intruding. The houses too, in general mean-looking structures with very thick walls, were mostly low, and without any upper story; the fall of which during the earthquakes, so frequent here, would expose the tenants to additional danger. We heard that about thirty years ago one of these dreadful *zelzeles* (زلزله) or convulsions, (of which the effects were indeed still visible), nearly destroyed the whole city, and caused the death of eighty thousand people. From Major D'Arcy I learned that, "towards the north-east, at the foot of lofty mountains, several hills of sulphur and arsenick were at that time thrown up; the sulphur being of a deep red colour like ochre, evidently *crocus martius* or rust of iron, on the pyrites of which the arsenick acting, caused the earthquake."

It was said, that the French gentlemen, lately resident here, acquired a bad name among the lower classes, having made artificial earthquakes by burying under ground a composition of steel-filings and other ingredients, which, after a certain time, fermented and exploded with a violent concussion; on this account, the old women of *Tabríz* accused them of having set the mountains on fire, and attributed to those experiments the several shocks which have alarmed them since the French departed. On the twenty-third (of June), a little before two o'clock, the Thermometer being at 66, a slight shock was felt in most parts of the city but not, (as many persons declared) in all; a high and sudden wind immediately preceded it. I happened to be in Major D'Arcy's house, writing at a table, which was perceptibly, although momentarily, shaken; but I should scarcely have supposed that the tremour proceeded from an earthquake, had not a servant hastily entered the room and cautioned me against the *zelzeleh*; whilst several Persians, the Russians and others, ran out into an open court, the safest place on such occasions. Some gentlemen of our party informed me that shocks, equally slight and harmless, occurred every month or sometimes more frequently. The climate of this place is eminently salubrious; but almost every day sudden gusts of wind fill the streets with clouds of sand. From the nineteenth of June to the first of July, according to my observations made on the spot, Fahrenheit's Thermometer rose on one day only (the twenty-seventh) so high as 75. Of the intense cold which prevails here during winter, we heard many anecdotes; one of our officers related that in the year 1809, a poor man coming from *Fahsfinge*, (the *Bas-midge* or *Vaspinge* before mentioned), unfortunately arrived just as the gates of *Tabríz* were closed, and could not induce the guards, by any entreaties, to let him enter; next morning his body was discovered frozen into a solid mass. Another man, in the same year, had nearly reached the city about night-fall, and might have entered, but he dropped accidentally a load of charcoal and stopped to pick it up; at this moment the gates were shut; in hopes of preserving vital warmth, he killed his horse and placed himself within the body, but was found next day frozen to death.

Mr. Gordon, having received instructions from the Ambassador, set out on the twenty-sixth, with the counsellor, M. Freygang, for *Teflis* in Georgia; there to commence a diplomatic negotiation which might terminate the war between Russia and Persia. On the twenty-seventh I was honoured by ABBA'S MI'RZA' with a present of two shawls and a piece of rich silver brocade; and on the twenty-eighth, accompanied the Ambassador and ABU'L HASSAN KHA'N to a summer-house, where the prince admitted us to an unceremonious audience, during which he chatted above half an hour, with much good humour and good sense; he spoke of my intended journey through Armenia and Turkey, and delivered to the Ambassador, letters for the Prince Regent, the prime minister, and the directors of the East India Company in London. I saw this day at the house of an European, two very interesting females; one, about fourteen years old, had been given to him several months before by the prince; her countenance was extremely pleasing, and as a gift she was reckoned worth more than eighty pounds, three suits of clothes being included in the calculation. The other girl was also pretty, and did not appear above twelve years of age; she had been lately purchased for a friend of the European, and (with some articles of dress) cost, as her proprietor himself informed me, nearly fifty pounds. Her manners were as yet perfectly childish; and at first she seemed disconcerted in the presence of strangers, whilst the elder (with whom she was now on a visit) treated her with much kindness, assuming however all the gravity of a matron. Such are those girls whom the Persians generally denominate *Gurji* (گرجی) or Georgians; they are of Christian parents and chiefly come from Georgia, Circassia and Armenia. They consider themselves in every respect as the legitimate wives of those to whose lot they fall; and although their inclinations are never consulted, nor do they see their future companions until they appear in the character of husband, master or owner; yet it is said that these young creatures behave almost invariably with fidelity and affection.

On the twenty-ninth of June I passed some hours in rambling through the streets and market places, and found, as on

former occasions (what I had often heard others mention), that fewer insults are offered to a stranger at *Tabríz* than in most of the great Persian cities; this may proceed from the prince's well-known attachment to Europeans, and the authority with which he has invested several English officers. I visited the place where, amidst crowds of people, two men sitting on the ground were employed in coining *felús* (فلوس) or copper money, with very simple instruments, and apparently with much ease; one man placed the unstamped piece of metal on an iron die which he held, the broad or engraved face being uppermost, thus . His companion holding the other die over this, the engraved face being downwards, struck on it violently with a hammer, and thus coined the *felús* most expeditiously. These men shewed me some gold coins, (each in value equal to five *túmáns*, and very large, thick and handsome), that lately issued from the *Tabríz* mint; this has long been considered as one of the best in Persia; and I refer my reader to the Appendix of Vol. II. (No. 9), for an account of money coined here and elsewhere, by the present monarch, FATEH ALI SHA'H. This day, among several modern silver coins, strung together and forming the necklace of a little ragged child, I discovered two that appeared, at some yards distance, like ancient medals; and on examination, one proved to be of *Aradus*, (a Phœnician island), with the word ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ in Greek letters. The other was *Sassanian* with a *Pahlavi* legend. The child's mother, an Armenian, refused at first to sell these coins; but on my offering more than twice their intrinsic value, some men, who happened to be present, (and one I believe was the woman's husband), persuaded her to take them off the string. My researches on preceding days among the *Sarráfs* or money changers, had produced only a few silver medals of the Arsacidan or Parthian kings, with the usual Greek legends, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, &c. and some *Cúfi* coins of little value; besides one Roman, so admirably gilt that had not the *Sarráf* himself acknowledged it to be only silver, I should have gladly purchased it as gold. Of these coins and of several gems collected at *Tabríz*, some are delineated in Plate LIX, of which an explanation is given in the Appendix.



Such was the unimportant result of my antiquarian gleanings in this city. Of ancient edifices, incised marbles, or sculptured figures, I could not learn that the place itself, or its immediate vicinity, contained any vestiges. Yet some might reasonably have been expected in the capital of *Azerbáiján* or Media; if it really was the *Tabris* (or *Gabris*) mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>(52)</sup>; a circumstance which D'Anville (See his Geogr. Anc.) seems to think most probable, and Sir William Jones does not doubt in the slightest degree<sup>(53)</sup>. We find, however, that Strabo, who flourished one hundred and fifty or sixty years before Ptolemy, calls the summer residence of the Median princes, *Gaza*, Βασιλειον δ' αὐτοῖς Σερινον μὲν ἐν περὶ τὴν Ἰδρυμένην Γαζα. lib. xi), and in the third century after Ptolemy (or the fifth from Christ), the chief city of Media was denominated *Ganzaca* by the Armenian writer, Moses of Chorene<sup>(54)</sup>; and within a short time after, *Gazaca*, by Stephen of Byzantium, "ΓΑΖΑΚΑ, πόλις μεγίστη τῆς Μηδίας." That *Tabriz* was the ancient *Ecbatana*<sup>(55)</sup>, noticed in the books of

(52) The name in Ptolemy's Geography is, it must be acknowledged, *Gabris*, Γαβρίς; but in Greek manuscripts the capital *gamma* Γ and *tau* Τ are easily confounded; as Sir Thomas Herbert, Chardin, D'Anville and other ingenious writers have remarked on the subject of this very word. It occurs twice in Ptolemy's sixth book (ch. 2), but with different degrees of longitude and latitude; the first *Gabris* he places in long. 83, and lat. 41-15; the second in long. 87-40, and lat. 40-20. Its position, according to the Eastern geographers, shall be noticed in the course of this chapter.

(53) "That the capital of *Azerbaijan* is now called *Tabriz* I know from the mouth of "a person born in that city, as well as from other *Iranians*; and that it was so called "sixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the geography of Ptolemy." Jones on the orthography of Asiatick words; (Asiat. Researches). See also his description of Asia, prefixed to the life of NA'DIR SHA'H. But I quote with preference, though all are excellent, the works which he composed in the maturity of his judgment, and after he had conversed, at Calcutta, with Asiaticks of various nations, languages and religions.

(54) Media, he says, comprises many cities; "in quibus est *Ganzaca* urbs regia," according to the version of W. and G. Whiston, p. 364.

(55) *Ecbatana*, used in the plural; or *Aγβατα* according to Ctesias and Demetrius, as quoted by Stephanus Byzantius, (de Urbib.); and this form is adopted in the Hebrew version of Jobit (chap. v), where the city of *Rages* is described as situate among hills, and *Aghatan* in the plain; רָגֵס בְּהָרִים וְאֶגְבָּתָן בְּשָׁדֵי. That passage in the book of Ezra (ch. VI, v. 2), which our English Bible renders "and there was found at "Achemeth in the palace that is in the province of the Medes, a roll," &c. is thus expressed by the Septuagint: καὶ εὗρεθῆν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ κεφαλῆς πόλι, and in the Hebrew or rather Chaldaick, וְהָיָה בְּאֶרְצָהּ בְּבֵיתָהּ דִּי בְּמִדְיָה מְרִיתָהּ מְלִיכָה דְּחֵדָּה, thus translated by Montanus; "Et inventum est in scrinio scripturarum in palatio quod in

Esdras, Tobit and Judith, and by Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Josephus and many others, some learned and ingenious men have been induced to believe, and such is the avowed opinion of Chardin, whose various excellencies have, long since, deservedly placed him in the highest rank of European travellers<sup>(56)</sup>. But he is not infallible on the subject of antiquities; and I am as unwilling to imagine, with him, that *Ecbatana* (of which *Hamadân* seems the true representative), once occupied the present site of *Tabriz*, as that certain medals found not far from this city and said to bear the word *Dakianous* in a Greek legend, could, as he thought possible, have any reference to Darius<sup>(57)</sup>. Although ruins of a certain description may be considered as sufficient proofs of existence in remote ages, yet it would be unjust to infer,

Madai provincia, volumen unum." The learned Castel, accordingly explains *אֶכְבַּתָּנָא* *Achmetha*, as an ark, coffer or desk, for the preservation of royal records; and he adds, "Nonnulli de urbe *Hamath* aut *Ecbatanis* interpretantur." (Lexicon Heptaglotton in voce). The vulgate renders this word by *Ecbatania*, and on examination of the apocryphal books which mention this city, and of Josephus and other writers, I believe correctly.

(<sup>56</sup>) "Enfin c'est une confusion étrange que la multitude d'opinions qu'on s'en est là-dessus. La plus raisonnable, à mon avis, est celle de Molet, &c. Savoir, que Tauris "est l'ancienne et la fameuse Ecbatane dont il est fort parlé dans l'écriture sainte et "dans les anciennes histoires de l'Asie." Voyages, Tome II. p. 324; Rouen, 1723.

(<sup>57</sup>) "Ce Seigneur (MIRZA-TAHER) m'a assuré qu'il y a au trésor du Roi à Ispahan, "des médailles, &c.—et qu'il en avoit remarqué avec des figures et des inscriptions "Grecques, dont il se souvenoit, que le mot étoit *Dakianous*. Il me demanda si je "savais qui étoit ce *Dakianous*; je lui dis que je ne connoissois point ce nom là, mais "que ce pourroit bien être celui de Darius." Voyages, Tome II. p. 326; (Rouen, 1723). A Persian "Seigneur," capable of deciphering Greek inscriptions on medals or gems, would certainly be at present, (and was, most probably, in Chardin's time), as great a curiosity as any of the *antiques* themselves. It is vain to inquire through what channel he discovered the name *Dakianous*; but so the Arabian writers generally style Decius, the Roman Emperor, who, in the third century so cruelly persecuted his Christian subjects, that several young men of Ephesus concealed themselves in a cavern, where they were miraculously preserved during a sound sleep of nearly two hundred, or as some say, above three hundred years; awaking from which, as from the slumber of a few hours, they sent one of their party into the town with a coin of Decius, to purchase bread; this coin, being no longer current, led to the discovery of their retreat, and the miracle was established among Christians and soon after adopted by Muhammedans. The story of those أصحاب الكهف or "companions of the cave," we find noticed in the *Korân* (chap. 18); and TABRIZ informs us that the money of *Dekianus* (دقیانوس) which they sent for bread, was a *dirém* (درهم) or silver coin, much larger in size than the *dirém* current at the period when they awoke.

from the want of such evidence, that *Tabriz* was not the place to which Ptolemy alludes; for time, earthquakes and the hands of barbarians, may have destroyed many noble monuments of former days. It seems, however, remarkable that no Greek or Roman author besides Ptolemy has noticed the name of *Tabriz*; also that it is not mentioned by those whom we may call old writers, AASIM of *Cáfah*, TABRI and FIRDAUSI, although they furnish much interesting geographical information; and that the Persians, very ready in general to claim for their favourite cities the honour of an ancient origin, do not pretend to trace the foundation of this capital beyond the eighth century of our era, at least under its name of *Tabriz*; for, according to one account, it was formerly called *A'zerbádégán* or *A'derbádégún*, from a celebrated Fire-temple, which not only imparted this denomination to the place where it stood, but to the whole province; and this name has been altered into *Azerbaigán*, and, by those who affect to write after the Arabian manner, into *Azerbaijún*<sup>(56)</sup>. I must not here suppress, although it seems unworthy of serious attention, an etymology offered for this name from a foreign language, and wholly rejecting any allusion to the Fire-temple

(56) *A'zer* (اَذر) and *A'der* (اَدِر), as we learn from the dictionary *Burhán Kátea*, signify the same as *átesh* (آتش) "fire." *Azerábád* (اَذَراباد) or the "abode of fire," is the Fire-temple of *Tabriz* (اتشكده تبریز), *átesh kadeh i Tabriz*; also "the name of 'the city of *Tabriz*," (و نام شهر تبریز هم هست). *Azerábádégán* (اَذَرابادگان) has the same meaning, "and as in *Tabriz* were many Fire-temples, the city was called 'Azerábádégán on that account." *Azerbádégán* (اَذَرابادگان) without *alíf* before the *ba*, signifies both the Fire-temple and city of *Tabriz*; as the place where Fire was, in a particular manner, guarded or preserved; for *bádégán* is here equivalent to *دَارَدَد* or *نَکِه دَارَدَد* or *حافظ* or *دَار*, a keeper, guardian or treasurer; and *A'zer* or *A'der*, as we have seen, is Fire. *Azerbáigán* (اَذَربايگان), by the Arabs written *Azerbátján* (اَذَرباجان), is of the same signification; also (نام ولایتی هم هست) the name of that province in which the city of *Tabriz* is situate, (See *Burh. Kat.*) Some have discovered a resemblance between the Persian word *Azerbáigán* or *A'derbátján*, and the Greek name of this country, *Atropatia* or *Atropatena*, which Strabo derives from *Atropatus*, a chief who saved it from becoming subject to the Macedonians; *Τουροπα δ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τοῦ Ατροπατοῦ ἡγεμόνος*, &c. (Lib. XI). *Atropatus* might easily have been formed from the Persian *Aderábád*, which, as above explained, means the "abode of fire;" but this is rather a local than a personal name; and I suspect that the country was so called (with or without the syllable *gán* گان), long before the time of *Atropatus* or of *Alexander*.

above mentioned<sup>(59)</sup>. EBN HAUKAL, who travelled in the tenth century, speaks of *Tabríz* but incidentally, merely enumerating it among several towns of little note, or stating its distance from others; according to the printed translation of his work, (Or. Geogr. pp. 157, 164), and in the Manuscript (*Súr al beldán*) he adds, that *Deir-i-Kherkán*, *Khú*, *Selmás*, *Marand* and *Tabríz*, (I omit some names indistinctly written), "are all small and in littleness equal one to another"<sup>(60)</sup>. Three centuries after, ZACARIA CAZVI'NI describes *Tabríz* as a "city strongly fortified, and the capital of *Azerbaiján*." "It has so happened," says he, "that until the present time, (the thirteenth century after Christ), *Tabríz* is the only "town of this province which, according to report, the 'Turks "have not possessed"<sup>(61)</sup>; a circumstance which he in some measure attributes to the influence of those celestial signs, (the Scorpion and Mars), under which the city had been founded. From HAMDALLAH CAZVI'NI, (who during the fourteenth century composed so long a description of this place that I must here endeavour to content my readers with an outline of it and a few extracts), we learn that *Marághah* had been, at a former period, the capital of *Azerbaiján*; but:

(\*) It is related that the ancient Moghul conqueror OGHU'Z or AU'GHU'Z (اوغوز) a very uncertain and half fabulous personage, by some supposed contemporary with the Persian king JEMSHÍ'D, having subdued Media, was so much pleased with the fine plains and meadows of *Aúján* (اصفهان و مرغزار اوجان) that he commanded the soldiers to bring each in his skirt, a certain quantity of (خاك) clay or earth, and to deposit it on this spot; he himself performing the same task; thus a considerable heap (پشته عظيمي) was formed, and called *Azerbáigán*, "for *azer* (آذر) in the *Turki* (or *Tátár*) dialect signifies high or lofty, and *báigán*, persons of great rank and power."

چه آذر بلغت تركي بمعني بلندست و بايگان بمعني بزرگان و محبتشان  
(*Burhán Kátes* in voce *Aúján*). It seems to me probable that OGHU'Z or AU'GHU'Z KHA'N (as he is generally styled), and the clay furnished by each of his soldiers, have been by some mistake confounded with GHA'ZA'N KHA'N and the stones brought by each of his officers, according to the tradition noticed in p. 398.

(60) و دیر خرقان و خوي و سلماس و مرند و تبریز—تمامت شهرها کوچک اند و در کوچکی بیکدیگر نزدیک می باشند

(61) و تا این زمان چنانست که میگویند هیچ شهری از بلاد آذربایجان از ترکان نمانده که مقصوف آن شدند بجز تبریز  
(MS. *Seir al belád*, fourth climate).

that in his time the chief city was *Tabríz* <sup>(62)</sup>, which he places in the fourth climate, and in longitude, (from the fortunate islands), 82-0; and latitude 38-0, from the equinoctial line <sup>(63)</sup>; "ZUBEIDEH KHA'TU'N, the wife of HA'RU'N AR'-RASHI'D, founded it in the 175th year of the *Hejrah*" <sup>(64)</sup>, (or of the Christian era 791), and it was twice overthrown by earthquakes within three centuries, and twice rebuilt, as Chardin and D'Herbelot have more fully recorded in their accounts, compiled, probably, from HAMDALLAH, whose MS. Persian work is now before me <sup>(65)</sup>. But he proceeds to state some particulars which they have omitted. "The ramparts of "*Tabríz*," he informs us, "inclosed a territory six thousand paces in circumference; the gates were ten, and called, the gate of *Rai*; of *Kelaa* (or the castle); of *Sinjárán*; of *Ták*; of *Varjú*; of *Sí Sháh* (or the thirty kings); the gate of *Már-mián*; of *Núbereh*, and of *Maukeleh*. But when in the time of the Moghuls, this city became the capital, multitudes of people assembled there, and constructed habitations on the outside, in such numbers that about each gateway there were more than in the original town, and the population both within and without, amounted to the highest degree, when GHA'ZA'N KHA'N undertook to draw a line of ramparts around the whole place; so as to comprehend all the gardens and edifices, with the villages of *Valián Kúh* and

دارالملک اندریجان در ما قبل مراغه بوده است و اکنون تبریزست <sup>(62)</sup>  
He probably alludes to the thirteenth century when HULA'CU KHA'N resided principally at *Marghak*.

طولش از جزایر خالادات فب ح و عرض از خط استوا لم ح <sup>(63)</sup>  
We find the same position assigned to *Tabríz* in the tables of NASSER AD DIN 'U'SI and of ULUGH BEIG. See "Hudson's Minor Geographers," Vol. III. pp. 96 and 130.

زبیده خاتون منکوحه هارون الرشید ساخت در سنه خمس و سبعین و مایه هجری <sup>(64)</sup>  
It is not improbable, however, that an ancient city, by whatever name it was called, may have occupied the spot on which Queen ZUBEIDAH erected *Tabríz*; for it has been already shown in the course of these volumes, and might be still further proved, that by Persian writers the construction of a city from the ruins of one totally fallen to decay, (a new name being generally imposed), has sometimes been vaguely described as the original foundation.

<sup>(65)</sup> See Chardin, *Voyages*, &c. Tome II, p. 326; Rouen, 1729. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, *Tabríz*.

"*Sinjáran*. In consequence, however, of his death, the work "has remained incomplete; and the circumference of this "wall, called, (after its founder), *GHA'ZA'NI'*, amounts to "twenty-five thousand paces, and in it are six gates, distin- "guished by the names of *Aúján*, *Marsherván*, (or *Harsher- "ván*), *Sardrud*, *Shám*, *Sevárud* and *Tabriz*"<sup>(66)</sup>. He then notices the sumptuous *Masjed Jamea*, or cathedral, erected by the *Vazír*, *TA'J AD'DIN ALI SHAH* of *Tabriz*, outside the *mahalleh* (محله) (or parish) called *Shámián* (شامیان). Of this building, as he says, a full description would require many tongues, (و شرح آن را زبان بسیار باید); it exceeded in its dimensions the celebrated *Aivan-i Késra* (ایوان کسری), (or palace of *KIUS- RAU*), at *Madáien*; and was ornamented with much *sang-i-marmar* (سنگ مرمر) or marble; but having been hastily constructed, it very soon fell to the ground. "And there are "at present," continues *HAMDALLAH*, "as many stately edifi- "ces in *Tabriz* and its two suburbs, as in all *Írán* or *Persia* "besides. The city is watered by the river *Mahrán-rúd* "which flows from Mount *Suhend*; and above nine hundred "subterraneous channels or aqueducts, formed at the expense "of wealthy individuals, contribute to the irrigation of their "gardens, and yet are not sufficient"<sup>(67)</sup>. The climate is cold, he informs us, and the water of the river, is preferable to that which the drains or aqueducts convey; and these furnish better than the wells; which, in (that quarter properly called)

(66) و دور باروی تبریز گش هزار کام است و ده دروازه دارد اول ری و قلعه و سنجان و طاق و رجو و سررود و سی شاه و مارمیان و نوبر و موکله چون در عهد مغولان شهر دارالملک کشت خلایق در آن جمع شدند و در بیرون شهر عمارات کردند بمرتبه که در هر دروازه زیاده از اصل شهر شد و آبادانی درون و بیرون بعد کمال رسید غازان خان آنرا باروی کشید چنانکه تمامت باغات و عمارات و دهیهای ولایان کوه و سنجان داخل آن بارو گردید و بسبب وفات او ناتمام ماند و دور باروی غازانی بیست و پنج هزار کام است و شش دروازه دارد اوجان و مرشوران و سررود و شام و سرارود و تبریز

(67) اکنون در شهر تبریز چندان عمارات عالی و درین دو شهر چه واقع است که در تمامت ایران است شهر تبریز باغستان بسیار دارد و آب مهران رود که از سهند می آید و نهصد و چند کاریز که آبآب ثروت اخراج کرده اند در باغات صرف میشود و هنوز کافی نیست (MS. *Nuzhat al Cutáb*).

*Tabríz*, it is necessary to sink about thirty *gaz*; in another (*Shám*) only two; and in one, (the *Rabia Rashídi*), above seventy *gaz*, before water can be obtained<sup>(68)</sup>. (The *gaz*, it may be proper to repeat here, is a measure<sup>2</sup> comprehending forty English inches). Our author next celebrates the variety, excellence and cheapness of the grain, fruits and other productions of *Tabríz*; also the fair complexions and beauty of its inhabitants, condemning at the same time their pride and arrogance; on the subject of their faults and virtues he quotes some epigrammatical tetrastichs; of which two appear to have been composed by himself. He afterwards enumerates several Muhammedan saints, whose tombs have consecrated different spots in the vicinity of this place; but I shall not annoy my reader by copying such a list; although the principal poets buried at or near *Tabríz* may be here mentioned; these are ANVERI (انورى), whom he entitles *Malék as'shaara* (ملك الشعراء) or "king of the poets;" KHA'KA'NI (خاكانى); ZOHEIR AD DI'N FA'RIABI (ظهير الدين فارياى); SHAMS AD DI'N SEJA'STI (شمس الدين سجامتى) and PELEKI SHIRVANI (فلكى شروانى). He then describes the seven *Náhiet* (ناحية) or districts which constitute the territory of *Tabríz*; they are called the "*Náhiet* " of *Mahrán-rúd* (مهران رود), of *Sardrúd* (سردرود), of *Vandaher* (وندهر) or *Sáiel rúd* (ساييل رود), of *Ardanek* (اردنق), of *Rúdekáb* (رودقاب), of *Khánemrúd* (خانمروى) and of *Badúsetán* (بدوستان); and he closes his account by stating the distance of *Tabríz* from other places in *Azerbáiján*. This statement I have subjoined, according to the best copy of HAMDALLAH'S Geography in my collection; but must remark that the other three manuscripts differ considerably in some of the measurements, and that there is not one, probably, accurate in all<sup>(69)</sup>. The MS. *Ajázeb al Gheráieb* describes *Tabríz* as a city

و در تبریز چهار كمابيش مي كر باب رسد و در شام بدو كر و در ربع رشيدى  
از هفتاد كر بگذر

<sup>(68)</sup> From *Tabríz* (تبريز) to *Alján* (اوجان) 8 farsangs; to *A'rdebíl* (اردبيل) 35; to *Ashnútek* (اشنوبه) 35; to *Armiáh* or *Ormiah* (ارميه) 35; to *Abker* (ابكر) 14; to *Bishgín* or *Pishkín* (بيشكين) 18; to *Khái* (خوي) 25; to *Selmás* (سلماس) 18; to *Bhars* (برز) 25; to *Senáh* (سراء) 25; to *Marághah* (مرآغه) 25; to *Deh i Khánérkín* (دهخواركان) 8; to *Marand* (مرند) 11; to *Nakhjuván* (نخجوان) 24.

of the fourth climate, and founded by ZUBEIDEN the wife of HA'RU'N AR'RASHÍ'D, since the introduction of *Islám* or the Muhammedan religion. "The air is so excellent," adds this Manuscript, "that any sick person brought thither, recovers his health; and on this account the place has been denominated *Tab-ríz*, or fever-dispelling<sup>(70)</sup>. It is also said, "that certain springs of warm water in the neighbourhood "of this city contribute to the cure of invalids"<sup>(71)</sup>. AHMED AMÍ'N RA'ZÍ, author of the MS. *Haft Aklím*, although copious in his biographical notices of the poets whom *Tabríz* produced, has not added to our stock of information concerning the city itself; which, however, he describes as "the most considerable not only of *Azerbáiján*, but even of *Irán* or "Persia"<sup>(72)</sup>. Respecting the moral character of those who at different times inhabited *Tabríz*, as on the subject of this city's name, (always supposed to be a compound of the words *tab* (تب) and *ríz* (ریز)), as before mentioned), there are several witty epigrams besides the verses to which I have alluded in an extract from HAMDALLAH's geography.

(<sup>70</sup>) From *tab* تب, (or, according to the Turkish pronunciation, *teb*), fever, and *ríz* ریز, (participle of *rikáten* ریختن, to scatter, pour out, disperse, &c). This obvious derivation, which Chardin, Sir William Jones and others have noticed, is confirmed by a rare Manuscript now before me, the *Dilház náme*, wherein the following line rhymes to the name *Tabríz*, که خاکش عذیرست و باد تب ریز, "(a city) of which the earth is amber and the air "fever-dispelling" (*tab-ríz*). The author, it may be here remarked, was a native of the place which he thus celebrates.

(<sup>71</sup>) هوای بغایت نیک دارد و بیماری که در آنجا در آید صحت یابد و ازین آنرا تبریز جویند و در نواحی آن چشمهای آب گرم است که بیماران از آن شفا یابد

(<sup>72</sup>) تبریز معظم ترین از شهرهای آذربایجان بلکه ایران است  
(MS. *Haft Aklím*, clim. IV).



## CHAPTER XIX.

### *Journey from Tabriz to Constantinople.*

HAVING received the Government despatches, and a variety of letters from the Ambassador, I took leave of my friends in *Tabriz* on the first of July, (1812), and soon after nine o'clock at night, set out from Major D'Arcy's house; rode through the streets for above a mile, then entered the plain and passed by many gardens. On the journey thus begun, my party consisted of Mr. Price, who had for some time desired to revisit England; KERBELA'I HUSEIN KHA'N (کرلای حسین خان) appointed by the prince to attend me in quality of *Mehmándár*, as far as the Persian frontiers; MUSTAFA, a *Tátár* or Turkish courier, who, above two months before, had arrived from Constantinople; several armed men under the *Mehmándár's* command; our servants; a *chárwádár* (چاروادار) or conductor of the baggage-horses and mules, with two or three assistants; the Ambassador's English groom; two Persian *jilúdárs* (جلودار or head grooms), and two *mehters* (مهتر or inferior grooms), having in their charge the beautiful horses sent, with various articles before mentioned (p. 372), as presents from FATEH ALI SHA'H to the Prince Regent of England. These Persian grooms rode on *yábús* (یابی) or horses of a common breed and little value, and led the nobler steeds, whose great activity, strength and fiery spirit, rendered the management of them a task always difficult and, not unfrequently, dangerous. Our private baggage with the royal presents and despatches intrusted to my care, constituted ten loads, and a guide was procured to accompany us during the first stage from *Tabriz*. The night proved very cloudy; there were several showers of rain, with much lightning; and after a ride of eight or nine miles on the plain it was dis-

covered that we had lost our way; the guide, (a native of *Marand* (مرند), having in the dark, (as often happens on nocturnal excursions), ran away or "escaped," (*گریخته شد* *gurikhteh shud*) according to the Persian phrase. We proceeded, however, whilst the *Mehmándár* indulged in projects of future vengeance against our faithless guide; whose ears or nose, he swore, should suffer from the knife. This poor rustick, I had reason to believe, was not a voluntary companion; those who have probably received, or expect blows, instead of money, will not be very ready to offer their services.

About sunrise, (on the second), having wandered seven or eight miles in a wrong direction, we fortunately met several hundred soldiers, going in bodies of twenty or thirty to join the prince's army at *Tabríz*; they shewed us the right path, and behaved with much civility and respect; most of them were handsome and well-formed young men; some carried muskets and bayonets bearing the stamp of English manufacture, and they saluted us in the European style. A horseman was sent forward to announce our approach, and the chief *Ked khudá* (كدخدا) or householder of *Sufiáneh*, with many of the inhabitants came about half a mile to meet and welcome us. As we passed by a field of corn which some men were cutting, one held up in his hand as much of a sheaf as he could grasp, and offered it to me in a manner not by any means ungraceful. The same symbol of hospitality was frequently extended towards us during the course of our subsequent journey through Armenia and Turkey. About six o'clock in the morning, we alighted at *Súfiáneh* (مونیانه) or *Súfián*<sup>(1)</sup>, a pretty village with many trees and flourishing gardens. It contained, as the people informed me, one hundred and fifty houses or families; and here we enjoyed the luxury afforded by cool and excellent water; the more grateful, as soon after midway, the air became almost intolerably hot. *Súfiáneh* is distant from *Tabríz* twenty-four or perhaps twenty-five miles; the intermediate country being

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(1) مونیان, as written in the MS. *Nuzhat al Cúlub*, which merely enumerates it among the thirty villages belonging to *Ardanek* (اردنق), the fourth *náhié* (ناحيه) or territory of *Tabríz*.

flat and the road generally good; but we found it necessary at least thirty times to ride across a river and different cuts or drains of water. In the room allotted to me, and well-furnished with a carpet and *nammeds*, some swallows had domesticated themselves and established their nests on a beam of the low ceiling. When I admired their tameness and confident familiarity, the honest *ked khudú* assured me that the tenants of a palace as of a cottage were happy in giving shelter to these birds; and considered the person, beneath whose roof they sought it, as favoured with an auspicious omen. This circumstance confirms an observation which I made at the *Takht-i-Cajar* or prince's villa near *Shiráz*. We remained at *Súfiáneh* during the second of July, and I suffered extremely all night from the sultry weather and the multiplicity of gnats and fleas.

On the third we mounted at three o'clock in the morning, and proceeded along a good road, crossing some hills and many rivulets; at the ninth or tenth mile we passed a large *caravansera*, once a handsome structure of brick, now falling to decay; this stood on the right of our road, and was called the *Caravansera-i-Yam*; near it were some arches and ruined walls of another edifice. One mile farther we saw about two hundred tents, the summer camp of a *serbázi* regiment; this name, vauntingly adopted by some of the Persian troops, I have explained in p. 405. The ample and fertile plain of *Marand* (مرند) appeared thickly speckled with villages and trees; with gardens and fields in a state of high cultivation. We descended into it from lofty hills, down the sides of which flowed many little murmuring streams; these, combined at certain seasons, form a considerable river. *Marand*, with its castle, situate on a *tapeh* or rising ground, presents a very pleasing view. We were received within two miles of it, by the governor's son, and twenty or thirty attendants<sup>(\*)</sup>. We

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(\*) The young man rode a fiery and vicious horse which several times threw our whole party into great confusion; and at last kicked a pedestrian so violently on his leg that the poor man fainted; when I expressed my belief that the horse must have been broken, the governor's son very coolly replied, "*báki-nist, eib nedáred*," (باکی نیست عیب ندارد) a common Persian phrase signifying "there is nothing to be apprehended, no harm done, it is a matter of no consequence," &c.

soon after rode through a cemetery of great extent, in which were three figures of rams, cut rudely in stone and larger than the natural size; the horns, much curled, served, almost solely, to distinguish these rams from the lions that guard some Persian burial-places, (See Vol. I. p. 271). We arrived at *Marand* soon after eight o'clock, having travelled about twenty or twenty-one miles. I was lodged in a good house, to which appertained a well-stocked garden, abounding with grapes and other fruits; but the heat proved intense, and the gnats were so numerous and their stings so keen, that they deprived me of rest during the whole day, although I had not enjoyed any the night before; and my Persian, Turkish and Armenian companions, for we were a motley crew, became objects of my envy, since, stretching themselves on the floor of a room or on the bare earth, they seemed to possess the power of commanding sleep, at any moment of the twenty-four hours. *Marand* exceeded in beauty most Eastern villages that I had seen. It was once a considerable town according to appearances and local traditions, which the evidence of Chardin confirms, as he says that it contained (in the year 1673), no fewer than two thousand five hundred houses. "It has been supposed," adds he, that this was the *Mandagara* of Ptolemy (Voyage, Tome, II. p. 314); but Chardin might have perceived that both in name and position, the *Morunda* of this Geographer agrees better with the modern *Marand*<sup>(\*)</sup>; and of their identity D'Anville does not entertain any doubt (Geograph. Anc.) *Marand* (مرند) is but slightly noticed by EBN HAUKAL; he merely informs us that it is distant from *Tabriz* a journey of two days, and as much from *Selmás*, (Orient. Geogr. pp. 157, 158). By HAMDALLAH, however, it is more fully described, as situate

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(*) Ptolemy (Lib. VI. ch. 2,) places <i>Mandagara</i> in Long. 87-45 Lat. 39-30	
But <i>Morunda</i> in .....	81-20     41-30
<i>Marand</i> , according to observations quoted by Char- } din himself, is in .....	81-15     37-50
According to NASSIR AD DI'N TU'SI & ULUGH BEIG .....	30-45     37-50
According to HAMDALLAH .....	81-45     36-19
And according to the MS. <i>Takwim</i> of SA'DEK ISFA- } HA'NI .....	81-15     37-50

A comparison of these statements will sufficiently prove that *Marand* is the *Morunda* of Ptolemy.

in long. 81-45; and lat. 36-19. It was once, he says, "a city of great size, and the circumference of its walls amounted to eight thousand paces; one half of it, more or less, still remained (in the fourteenth century). The climate here is temperate, and the place is watered by the river *Zalvîr* (زلیر). It produces wheat and different kinds of grain; cotton, grapes and other fruits, among which the peaches, apricots and quinces are most excellent. The territory dependent on it comprehends sixty villages, is of good soil, he adds, and yields an ample revenue." I heard much of ancient medals discovered near *Marand*, but could not obtain any; several of the inhabitants seemed to believe that considerable treasures had been deposited under ground in the vicinity of this place, and a respectable man assured me that within a few weeks many pieces of gold and silver coin had been found here under some old walls; by labourers employed in digging, who sold them shortly after to a *Sarrâf* or money-changer of *Iravân*, whose name he mentioned, and from whom I resolved to make inquiries concerning them. We were profusely supplied at *Marand* with fowls, milk, butter, eggs and bread; besides fruits of various kinds; and I anticipated the comforts of several hours sound repose (having passed two nights and days without sleep), when the *Mehmândâr* informed me, soon after sunset, that it would be necessary for us to proceed almost immediately on our way, as he understood that between *Marand* and *Gargar*, there was not any *manzil* where we could find shelter from the heat; that the intermediate distance was very great, and that we could scarcely reach our stage before the sun should have risen to a considerable height. We set off, accordingly, about ten o'clock at night, (having neglected to visit a spot said to contain the bones of Noah, his mother, or wife); but had not advanced more than six miles, by a faint starlight, when our *châr-wâdâr* reported that one of the baggage-horses was lost; and he imprecated a thousand curses not only on the progenitors of the unfortunate horse, but on the mothers, sisters, wives and daughters, of those thieves into whose hands he had fallen; in these imprecations all the Persians united their voices; meanwhile it relieved me from much anxiety to ascertain that the absent load consisted only of some private packages; and was not, as I had

feared, any portion of the royal presents. Horsemen were sent off in different directions, but their search proved vain; and after an hour's halt I proceeded with the main body of our party, whilst HUSEIN KHA'N and two servants galloped back towards *Marand*. About the nineteenth mile we passed a ruined *caravansera*; and at ten o'clock on the fourth (of July), after a most unpleasant ride of about forty miles, over a bleak and barren desert, some high hills, and deep riverbeds between them, we alighted at *Gargar* (گگار), both men and horses nearly exhausted from fatigue and excessive heat.


Here we remained some time exposed to a burning sun, as it was found that the people could not, or rather would not, receive so many guests; but they directed us to two small villages, one called *Alemdâr* (المدار), the other *Lûârjân* (لوارجان), each within the distance of three miles. To these places several of our party were detached; for though I knew, and assured the inhabitants, that *Gargar* was assigned for our *manzil* of this day, yet as HUSEIN KHA'N had in his possession the prince's *rakm* (رقم) or written order, respecting the stages of our journey, I could not reasonably, nor legitimately, until his arrival from *Marand*, attempt to enforce quarters or accommodation. After an hour's halt and vain remonstrance, I resolved to seek shelter in one of those villages above mentioned; we most reluctantly mounted our weary horses, and slowly proceeded about one mile (which seemed equal to a league), when some of the men who had gone forwards met us, and declared that the people of *Lûârjân* were still more inhospitable than those of *Gargar*; for they had insulted and beaten one groom, and obliged another to produce his pistol (as he said) in his own defence. On this report I turned back towards *Gargar*, alighted and seated myself under the shade of a garden wall; here, after half an hour, one of the chief householders came to apologize for what had happened; ascribed it to a mistake, and added that a room was ready for my reception in his own house, and that quarters and refreshments should be immediately provided for all the party. At five o'clock, HUSEIN KHA'N, the *Mehmândâr*, arrived, and found us comfortably settled and enjoying profound repose. The horse which he went to

seek had wandered into the field of some poor man, who very honestly delivered it with its load, to the *Buzurg* (بزرگ) or chief person of *Marand*, and at his house it continued until claimed by the *Mehmándár*, whose violent exertions during many hours of the sun's greatest heat, produced a considerable degree of fever. *Gargar* appears to have formerly been more considerable than at present; it is thus noticed among the towns of *A'zerbáiján* by HAMDALLAH; "*Gargar*, its products are wheat and cotton, grapes and a sufficiency of other fruits. Near this place *ZIA'AL MULK* of *Nakhjewán* erected a bridge over the river *Aras* (or "*Araxes*), a work of great size and excellent construction" (4).

Early on the fifth we prepared to set out; I previously inquired after the health of HUSEIN KHA'N; he had slept on the flat roof of a high house, and was sitting, ready booted, in the same place, surrounded by his servants and many villagers, concluding a very summary trial of those men who treated us with such inhospitality on the preceding day. The culprits had been represented to me as young, tall and active; but those now standing before the *Mehmándár* were old and feeble; one he had already flogged, being himself the judge and executioner; another *sefid rish* or white bearded peasant was undergoing an examination, his hands tied behind him with a rope. As it had often happened on similar occasions, that the poorest, oldest, or meanest, and not the most guilty suffered, I interceded for this man and he was released. We then proceeded seven or eight miles from *Gargar*, and at half past six o'clock alighted on the banks of the *Rúd-i-Aras* (5), or celebrated river Araxes, which here divides Media from Armenia. A *keshún* (تشون) or regiment of Persian foot-soldiers had unluckily arrived at this spot an hour before, and completely occupied the only ferry-boat: their commander having

(4) کرکر حاصلش غله و یدیه و انکورست و میوههای دیگر نیز بقدر شود و در حدود ان ضیا الملک نسیجوانی پلی بر رود ارس ساخته و از جمله کبار ابنیه خیرست

(5) ارس. To express river the word *rúd* (رود) is generally prefixed to this name; sometimes *sh* (شب) and in several manuscripts (نهر) *nahr*.

just gone over with fifty or sixty men, and encamped on the Armenian side, where we saw him seated in lazy state, smoking a *kaleén* at the door of his splendid tent. Meanwhile, the sun glowed with intense heat and dazzling glare; the bank or strand on which we stood afforded not the smallest shade, and I became extremely desirous of passing the river and proceeding on my journey; but when the boat returned from the other side so many Persian soldiers rushed into it that my efforts to procure room were vain. I applied in this distress to an officer, but all that could be effected by the exertion of his authority, was a place for one person; and as I had resolved not to leave behind me the Prince Regent's horses, nor the royal presents, it was deemed advisable that HUSEIN KHA'N, availing himself of this opportunity, should go over to the general, and obtain an order for our passage. This was accordingly done, HUSEIN KHA'N returned with the order; yet five hours had elapsed before the impatient soldiers would allow the horses and baggage to be ferried across. During this interval I was much amused, notwithstanding the excessive heat, in observing those extraordinary groups that all around me covered the strand; several men had deposited their muskets together, and slept beside them, basking in the fullest sunshine; others entertained a few comrades with songs, and some related the wonderful exploits of ancient heroes; told fairy tales, or ludicrous anecdotes, whilst many boasted of their own warlike feats, or amorous adventures, digressing, but too frequently, into circumstances that bespoke depravity the most disgusting. I delineated also, during this tedious halt, the unwieldy ferry-boat on its passage, comprehending in the sketch (See Pl. LXXV), a solitary guard house, the commander's tent, and distant mountains, at the Armenian side. The boat was most clumsily constructed of thick planks, between which the water entered in several parts; its plan may be described thus , and seen in profile, it appeared as in the Miscellaneous Plate, (Fig. 31). It was, however, capacious, and sufficiently adapted from strength to the purpose of a ferry on the Araxes, so impetuous in its current, so liable to violent floods, and here sixty or perhaps eighty yards broad. Of this noble river the first view excited in my mind the recollection of two or three lines



from Virgil and Statius, which with many other classical quotations may be found appended to the name *Araxes*, in various works of lexicographical compilation<sup>(6)</sup>. The stream here runs in an Easterly direction towards *A'rdúbád* (اردوباد), (a town distant from this ferry five or six farsangs), having descended in its progress from the North West. Yet by some extraordinary error pervading every copy of the *Nuzhat al Culub* which I have been able to consult, it is described as running in a very different course. That work, according to my best manuscript, informs us, that "the river *Aras* flows "from South to North. It rises in the mountains of *Káli* " *Kelán* and *Arzen ar'rám* (or *Arzerúm*), passes through the "regions of *Armen* or *Armenia*, *Azerbáiján* and *Arrán*; and "having united its stream with the *Kur* (or *Cyrus*) and the " *Kará sú* (or black water) in the province of *Gushtsúfi*<sup>(7)</sup>, "falls into the sea of *Khazar* (or the Caspian). It highly "promotes, by irrigation, the agriculture of those countries "through which it runs. In length its course is equal to one "hundred and fifty farsangs"<sup>(8)</sup>. With more accuracy res-

(6) Such as the "Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum," &c. "Aureo theore Caroli Stephano," 2to, Genevæ, 1650. The same work, with numerous and valuable additions, by Nicholas Lloyd, folio, Oxon. 1670; and the "Lexicon Universale," (Lugd. Bat. 1698), of the indefatigable and voluminous Hofmann; who has not, however, respecting the *Araxes*, added much to the information given by his predecessors above mentioned.

(7) The countries and rivers mentioned in this extract are particularly described in a geographical work, which some years ago I had nearly prepared for publication. Here it may be observed concerning *Gushtsúfi*, that in the fourteenth century its inhabitants appear to have used the *Pahlavi* language.

(8) اب ارس از جنوب بشمال می‌رود از کوه‌های قالیقلان و ارزن الروم بر می‌خیزد و بر لایت ارمن و اندر ایلیان و ارزن می‌گذرد و اب کرو قراموسم شده در حدود ولایت کشتافی بدریای خزر می‌ریزد و درین ولایات که بر می‌جری این آبست بران زراعت بسیارست طول این رود صد و پنجاه فرسنگ باشد MS. *Nuzhat al Culub*. (ch. of Rivers).

It is added on the authority of the *Ajaleb al Makhlúkat*, that any person who has passed through this river in such a manner that the lower part of his body was under water, may relieve a pregnant woman from the dangers of a difficult labour, by placing his foot upon her back; and that those afflicted with the *rishtek*, will be cured of that disease, (by divine permission), if they go into the river so that the water may touch their feet. *Rishtek* (رشته), I believe, is used to express the "tape-worm;" but here, perhaps, it signifies those worms that breed in the flesh, at Aleppo, Bagdad, in many parts of

pecting the direction of its course, the *Aras* is described in the *Ajaieb al beldân*, as "flowing from West to East; its source "being among the mountains of Armenia, and its current "extremely rapid. This is a blessed or fortunate river," adds the manuscript, "and animals that fall into it generally "come out in safety"<sup>(9)</sup>. It is unnecessary to remark a resemblance so obvious as that which exists in the words *ارس* *Aras*, *Αραξης* and *Araxes*; they may, perhaps, be traced to the Armenian name of this river, which is written *Erusch* by Moses Chorenensis, (Hist. Arm. edit. Whiston, pp. 32, 87, &c.) That through some inexplicable confusion the name of *Araxes* was applied to different streams by Herodotus, Aristotle, Polybius, and other ancient writers, the learned Vossius informs us, in his observations on a passage of Pomponius Mela<sup>(10)</sup>. The Oxus appears to have been so denominated; and the ingenious Bayer endeavours to prove that in former ages, under the name of *Rus*, *Ros*, *Rhas*, *Rha* and *Araxes*, the river *Volga* was designated<sup>(11)</sup>; whilst that able geographer, Rennel, notices the mistake of Herodotus in confounding the *Jaxartes*. Eastward of the Caspian, with our Median or Armenian *Aruxes*, which flows into that sea on its

Persia, and elsewhere. The *Burhân Kâtes* informs us that they resemble threads of a cord proceeding from the human limbs or members, and that they more particularly affect the inhabitants of *Lêr*.

از اعضاي مردم بميان تاريخسمان بر مي آيد و بيشتر در شهر لر بهم ميرسد  
That the danger of parturition might be removed by the means above mentioned, seems fully as credible as that they should yield to the "stone called Astiges," (*Λιθος Αστειγης καλουμενος*), found in the Euphrates, according to the tract *Περί Ποταμων*, "on Rivers," generally ascribed to Plutarch. (See Hudson's Minor Geo. Vol. II).

(9) نهر ارس—جزیران او از مغرب بمشرق باشد و ابتدا او از جبال ارمینیه است و آب او بغایه شریع العزیران بود—نهری مبارک است، هر چه از حیوانات عروبی افتد بيشتر آنست که بسلامت بیرون آید

(10) "Apparet ex his," says Vossius, "quam variè nomen Araxis à veteribus acceptum. fuerit et quam diversis fluminibus adtributum." The passage of Mela which produced this observation is "*Araxes Tauri latere demissus*." Lib. III. c. 5. Vossii, Observ. ad Pomp. Melam. (Hagæ-Comitis, 1658, 2to, p. 244).

(11) "Nihil horum ad Araxem Mediæ convenit—omnia autem ad Volgam—Et fuisse antiquè Volgae vetustis temporibus nomen *Araxes*, sive *Rus*, *Ros*, et *Rhas*, satis exploratum habeo—Claudius autem Ptolemæus Volgam vocat *Pa*, *Ras*," &c. "Theoph. Sigef. Bayer," de origine et priscis sedibus Scytharum, pp. 394, 395, &c. (in Act. Petropol. annè 1720),

Western shore, (Geogr. of Herodot. pp. 204, 206). I have already observed (See Vol. II. p. 328) that the name of Araxes is given to a river near Persepolis, by Strabo and Diodorus; we learn too from Strabo and Stephanus Byzantium, that the Peneus in Thessaly was also called Araxes.

HUSEIN KHA'N, at his return from the Persian commander's tent, found me exclaiming bitterly against a violent wind that almost suffocated and blinded us with thick clouds of sand. "Think it not an evil," said he, "we are rather indebted to your good fortune, and the influence of your auspicious horoscope (or *tákia* طالع), that this wind has happened to blow and cool the air; for without it, few could have borne the sun's excessive heat, exposed thus, like you, during several hours on the naked strand." At last, though eighteen or twenty soldiers, after many struggles, forcibly intruded, we obtained places in the boat; were ferried over from the Median or Persian side of the Araxes, and landed in Armenia<sup>(\*)</sup>.

Through some mismanagement of our people amidst the bustle and confusion caused by the Persian rabble, many of our baggage horses strayed away, and above an hour elapsed before they were all collected and reloaded. During this delay I was induced to drink copiously two or three times of the river water; which, although brown from the quantity of sand excited by the rapid current, was to me, at that time heated and thirsty, extremely palatable. We set out at length, and proceeded over a parched and barren country about three miles; then descended by a steep *kutel* or hilly-road, and saw the remains of *Julfá* (جلفا), a city now in perfect decay; situate on the bank of the Araxes, among rocks and mountains of most extraordinary appearance, and near it the ruins of a castle and a small tower. We winded about, close to the river which ran on our left, and at the foot of those rocks and mountains on our right; passed by a

(\*) The Persian Geographers not regarding the natural limits marked by the Araxes, describe many places of Armenia as still belonging to the Persian province of *Aur-sháhm*.

beautiful spring of the purest water, called *chashmeh-i-gulistán* (چشمه گلستان) or "fountain of the rose garden," and arrived at *Julfá* about three o'clock, after a ride (from the ferry) of five or six miles; during which HUSEIN KHAN pointed out, far distant in Armenia, the *Kúh-e-Már* or "mountain of "serpents;" so denominated from the immense number of these reptiles which are said to assemble there at certain seasons, and fight in distinct bodies like men<sup>(13)</sup>. My *manzel*, the best that *Julfá* afforded, was the humble dwelling of a poor Armenian who evinced much hospitality, and soon provided an excellent dinner; fowls, eggs, good milk, butter and bread, besides fish which I saw alive, just taken out of the Araxes, within twenty paces of the house; this was raised against the wall of an old and half-ruined *caravansera*, which, however, still retained its handsome stone gateway.

Next morning, (the sixth), at an early hour I examined the principal remains of *Julfá*, whereof forty-five Armenian families, apparently of the lowest class, constituted the entire population. But of its former inhabitants, the multiplicity was sufficiently evinced by the ample and crowded cemetery, situate on a bank sloping towards the river, and covered with numerous rows of upright tomb-stones, which when viewed at a little distance, resembled a concourse of people, or rather, regiments of troops drawn up in close order. But these were the memorials of many generations, the aggregate of several centuries; and I much doubt whether the local reports concerning this city's former size and splendour are entitled to credit<sup>(14)</sup>. The houses were chiefly built of stone and

(<sup>13</sup>) *Kúh e már* (كوه مار); a place called *Sár Mári* (سور ماری) is slightly mentioned by HAMDALLAH, as one of the territories belonging to *Nakk chván*. That Geographer also notices *Dizk i már* (دژ مار) a considerable district, northward of *Tabbís*, and consisting of about fifty villages. (ch. of *Anrúbéján*.)

(<sup>14</sup>) Our countrymen, John Cartwright, above two centuries ago, estimated the houses of *Cháissal* at 2000, and the inhabitants at 10,000; he found the buildings "very faire, all of hard quarry stone; and the inhabitants very courteous and affable; great drinkers of wine, but no braver in that drunken humour; and when they are most in drink, they pour out their prayers, especially to the Virgin Mary, as the absolute commander of her Sonne JESUS CHRIST," &c. (The Preacher's Travels, p. 25, Lond. 1611). The population of *Julfá* was reduced in 1672, as Chardin informs us, to about

most appeared very mean habitations. From a rising ground among the ruins near the old church, where one handsome sepulchral monument yet exists, with an Armenian inscription and ornaments, I sketched, (See Pl. LXXVI), the fragments of a bridge which not far below the town once crossed the Araxes, terminating on the Persian or Median side in an *emâret* or building which some styled a castle, but which seemed to be rather a gateway. Beyond this the view represents, connecting the rock, several steep and lofty mountains which offer very extraordinary aspects. Many huge masses of rock had lately fallen, during earthquakes, and indeed the whole country, for many leagues around *Julfâ*, bespeaks some ancient and most tremendous convulsion of nature, which seems to have torn the hills into uncommon forms, leaving their outlines broken and irregular. I walked through several fields to visit the *Gumbed-i-dukhter* (کنبد دختر) or "dam-*sel's* tower;" an edifice of uncommon architecture, erected as tradition relates by, or for, the daughter of KHOJËN NAZER, a wealthy merchant, at whose expense also were founded, the *caravansera* on the Persian, and one on the Armenian side of the river, and other buildings of publick utility. The daughter's tower is of a brownish-red stone, that easily yields to the impression even of a pen-knife, as I found on cutting the initial letters of my name. The base is a square of seven yards each front, but the upper part consists of twelve faces. The sketch which I made will best describe the plan and appearance of this structure. It exhibits (See Pl. LXXVI), the two door-ways; one, (the undermost), very low; giving admission to a vaulted chamber, in the ceiling of which is a

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thirty Armenian families; it was said that the houses of this city once amounted to 4000; but judging from the ruins he could not allow half that number; and he regarded *Eski Julfâ*, or "Old Julfâ," (for so it is distinguished by the Turks from new *Julfâ* near *Isfahân*), as one of the most barren and frightful spots imaginable. "Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait au monde un endroit plus stérile et hideux." (Voyage, Tome II. p. 308, Rouen, 1723). I was myself much inclined to adopt this opinion; yet an ingenious traveller regards it as the ancient Ariamene, "c'étoit l'Ariamene des anciens," "ville d'un très grand commerce," and containing, until the time of SHA'H ABAS'S, 3000 houses. See the "Voyages d'un Misionnaire," p. 187, Paris, 1730. (The author, whose name does not appear in the work, is now known to have been Pere Villot; he was at *Julfâ* in 1691. The remote antiquity seems to me very doubtful; *Julfâ* is not mentioned by the Armenian geographer and historian Moses of Chorene, nor by the Persian, HAMDALLAH.

circular hole; through this I could perceive that the upper room was occupied by a few pigeons, and that the walls presented neither inscriptions, paintings, nor any object worthy of minute inspection. Externally, the damsel's tower is neatly decorated with sculptured flowers, and in some compartments, with reticulated work; also a line or border at the base of the upper chamber, resembling that pattern called by antiquaries the Mæander, so often delineated on Greek or Etruscan vases, thus ~~~~~~~~~. As KHOJEH NAZER, for whose daughter this tower is said to have been constructed, was contemporary with SHA'H ABBA'S, its antiquity cannot be traced much beyond two hundred years. I thought it, however, worthy of some notice, on account of its singular architecture. Besides the ruined bridge (represented in Pl. LXXVI), there yet appear many vestiges of another, likewise built of stone, and nearer to the town; that one of these was the famous bridge already celebrated by HAMDALLAH (See p. 424), and by SHERIF AD'DI'N ALI as below quoted, I have not ascertained, but am much inclined to believe<sup>(15)</sup>. It is said that SHA'H ABBA'S demolished all the bridges of

(15) The bridge of ZIA' AL MULK (نصیا الملک) on which TAIMUR crossed the Araxes in 1386, is described as unequalled throughout the world for strength and beauty, (کس نظیر آن در جهان نشان نداده) by SHERIF AD'DI'N ALI, in the history of that barbarian conqueror, (Book. II. ch. 63), translated into French by Petis de la Croix, very faithfully and ingeniously, as appears from a collation of his work with the original Persian. It was situate in the territory of *Nakhjuân*, "near the town or village of *Juldak* (بلقرب قریه جولده), where the river *Aras* "flows at the foot of a mountain," (از دامن کوهی میکدرد). Among the arches one exceeded in breadth sixty *gaz* (شصت گز باشد و زیاده) or nearly seventy English yards; and this great *ták* (طاق) or arch was immediately connected with the mountain (بکوه پیوسته), whilst its lower part was formed into a *Caravanserai*, and each end of the bridge was guarded and ornamented by a beautiful *derwāzeh* or gateway of stone (دروازه از سنگ برآورد). The ruins delineated in Plate LXXVI, agree sufficiently with this description; and I suspect that the name of *Juldak* has been altered into *Julfa*. The bridge is not noticed by HATIFI, in his poetical history of TAIMUR; for he informs us that the conqueror having advanced from *Tabriz*, placed boats on the river *Aras*, or Araxes, (در آرد کشتی باب ارس), and "then passing into the country of infidels, he over-threw their idol-temples."

کنز بر وطنکاز کفار کرد  
 صتم خانها را نکونسار کرد  
 burning the Christian crosses and erecting *mosjeds* (or mosques) in the place of churches,  
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burning the Christian crosses and erecting *mosjeds* (or mosques) in the place of churches,  
(بنا کرد مسجد بجای کنشت).



this country that the Turks might be arrested in their hostile invasions; but the Araxes would, probably, before this time, have effected their destruction, conformably with the character of this impetuous river, familiar to every classical reader from the words of Virgil, "pontem indignatus Araxes." (*Æneid.* lib. viii. v. 728). I shall not here attempt to inquire whether on or near the site of these modern structures, stood the ancient bridges which "indignant Araxes" was "compelled" to bear, by Xerxes, Alexander and Augustus<sup>(16)</sup>.

It was observed in p. 47, that SHA'H ABBA's removed the inhabitants of *Julfá* to a spot in the suburbs of *Isfahán*, which they distinguished by the name of their old Armenian residence. Of the few householders that now remain in the original *Julfá*, five or six came to solicit my interest with the Ambassador; representing their extreme poverty; the oppression they suffered in contributing to the levies of *serbázi* troops, and requesting through his influence, an amelioration of their wretched state. They informed me that near the town was an ancient place of Christian worship, (which the Persians called *Kelisiá Latini*, or the "Latin church;") another, I have already mentioned, as completely decayed; and the people, it was said, generally assembled in a small *gumbed* or tower of very simple and rude construction, for the performance of their religious ceremonies. Here I remarked that whole families slept in the open air, not merely on the roofs of houses, (a common practise elsewhere during the warm weather). but on mats or carpets spread near the river side. Both men and women, (it must be considered that they were poor), seemed to have made, when retiring at night, scarcely any alteration in the dress which they had worn during the day; and some little boys and girls enjoyed the luxury of almost perfect nakedness. Thus at *Súfánch*, when setting off about three o'clock in the morning, I saw my landlord



(16) Quem pontibus nixus est Xerxes conscendere; vel cui Alexander magnus pontem fecit; quem fluminis incrementa ruperunt; quem postea Augustus firmiore ponte ligavit." See the commentary of Servius on the line above-cited of Virgil; to which Statius alludes (in his *Silv.* lib. IV. v. 79), "Patens Latii jam pontis Araxes," and Claudian, (lib. I), "Pontemque pati cogetur Araxes."

reposing on a *nammed* in the garden, his wife sitting up beside him, apparently just awaking, wrapped in a white sheet, and nursing an infant, whilst other children slept at her side. Many similar groups may be seen by those who travel among the dwellings of Asiatick peasants, during the intense heat of summer. At *Julfá* I found it necessary to leave the door and windows of my room open all the night; it did not therefore much surprise me to discover in the morning an old familiar cat purring on my bed, and five or six lambs, besides several chickens, collected near it; they had frequently visited me the day before.

We departed from *Julfá* about ten o'clock at night, and reached *Nakhjuán*, or more correctly, *Nakhchuán*<sup>(17)</sup>, on the seventh, a little before six in the morning; the distance between those places may be estimated at twenty-six or twenty-eight miles; the road in general, being very good, but intersected by many streams. When nearly half-way, the dawn not having yet appeared, we were alarmed by a sudden call from some men concealed among bushes close to the road side. *MUSTAFA* the *Tátár* answered, and almost immediately after discharged his long-barrelled pistol, (such as the Turks so generally wear in their girdles), directly at the spot whence the voice had issued; and recommended that we should gallop on a few hundred yards, apprehending that robbers might be lying in wait for us. What was the result of his shot we never heard; but it is probable that the lives of many innocent persons are thus sacrificed through that precipitancy and culpable promptness of the Turks in using their long knives and pistols. *Nakhchuán*, as seen from the path by which we approached it, offered to the eye nothing more than a flat line of trees and gardens, mud houses, and ruined walls, with a *gumbed* or edifice, that shall hereafter be more particularly described. But over the left or western end of this line appeared the majestick *Ararat*, distant fifty or sixty miles, yet

(17) The orthography of this name is thus ascertained in the Dict. *Burhán Kátea*.

نخجوان باچیم فارسی و وار بروزن مرزبان نام موضعی و ولایتی باشد  
 " *Nakhchuán* (or *Nakhcheván*), spelt with the Persian letter *chím* and *wau*, and equivalent in metre to the word *Marzébán*, is the name of a certain place and territory."

seemingly near; and in this point of view resembling an immense pyramid; the summit and part of the sides covered with an eternal snow; whilst the base was enveloped and concealed in mist. When one of our party first pointed towards *A'gridagh* and said "That is the mountain on which the ark" (*Kashti-Nuhh* کشتی نوح or the ship of Noah) rested," I looked in vain for some moments all around the general range of hills; but at length discovered its white head exalted high above them among the heavens, and apparently separated from the horizon by a thick volume of clouds. Its evening aspect I sketched when the snow and inequalities of the sides were lost in shade, (See Plate LXXIX); and afterwards during the progress of my journey delineated, from different places, its greater and lesser ridge, as will appear in the same plate. We met near the town, eight or ten horsemen who had come out to welcome us; one of them informed me that the governor was then at *Tabriz*; and they conducted us through the burial-place, and across a fine stream of limpid water, on which had once been a handsome bridge, (the ruins of eight or nine brick arches still remaining), to our respective *manzels*. Mine was a very good house, where I found an ample breakfast provided; excellent bread, eggs, milk and butter; besides cherries, apricots and apples; served up in bowls and dishes of the finest old porcelain, or real china-ware. In the evening I received a visit from the governor's brother; a young man who held the rank of *Sarhang* (سرهنک) or field officer, under the new military *Nizám* (نظام) or system of European discipline, directed by Major Christie. The principal monument of antiquity here, according to his report, was a lofty *gumbed* or tower, with inscriptions in some unknown character; and near *Nakhchuan* several pieces of money had been found, which he pronounced coins of *Dakianus*; a name, as I afterwards perceived, bestowed by the people of this country on all the ancient medals which they did not understand; these, he said, were commonly given to women or children, who wore them as ornaments. In the course of our conversation, I learned from this intelligent *Sarhang* that at *A'rdubád*, (about twelve farsangs distant), a certain tree, of the elm species, supposed to be more than one thousand years old, (its vast trunk being hollow from

decay, but the upper branches still flourishing), was almost worshipped by the inhabitants of that place, who protected it from injury with superstitious care; observing towards it the respect due to a *pír* or venerable and aged personage of religious celebrity; and he added, that persons when afflicted by the *tab-u-larz* (تب و لرز), (fever and ague), or any other malady, placed themselves before this tree and fancied that they beheld the figure of a *jin* or præternatural being, among its leaves, or in the combinations of its branches; and then invoking it, fastened on its boughs, rags or small pieces of their clothes, as I have before remarked, concerning the trees called *dirakht i fazl*, (See Vol. I. Append. No. 9). There were, also, he said, in the neighbouring mountains, several rude stones regarded by the peasants with a degree of respect almost equal to that in which they held the famous tree of *Aurdúbád*; all this he condemned as remains of the ancient *but-peresti* (بت پرستی) or idolatry, still lingering in this country since the time when Noah and his family descended into it from Mount Ararat. Another person spoke of a ruined *Atesh-khánéh* (اتش خانه) or "Fire-temple," five or six farsangs distant from *Nakhchúan*; but unfortunately, like the tree and stones above-mentioned, which I longed much to visit, not situate on, nor very near, the line of my intended journey.

It was now reported to me by KARI'M BEG (كریم بيگ), the chief Persian groom, (who, from the commencement of our expedition, assumed the dignity of *Mír-ákhúr* (میر اخور) or "Master of the Stables"), that our horses required this night's and the next day's rest. I resolved therefore to defer until morning my examination of the *gumbed* and other ruins in *Nakhjewán*; meanwhile contenting myself with the prospect of Ararat, which I sketched a little before sunset, from a spot South-Eastward of the town. Thus seen, the magnificent mountain appeared as I have already described it in the morning view; differing solely through the effect of sunshine, which at an early hour showed the snow upon its summit, but now illuminating only the western side, left in uniform shade, of a dark blue or misty colour, that face which was visible from *Nakhchúan*; the clouds of evening and the distant horizon being gloriously tinted by the setting rays. Neither

were the two ridges, nor the inequalities of Ararat discernible; all seemed blended or fore-shortened into the form of a pyramid, having its base longer than the sides; but as we subsequently advanced along it in a North-Western direction, the two summits seemed gradually to separate, as I have endeavoured to express in the outlines accurately delineated on the plain of *Sherúr* and at *Iraván*, (See Pl. LXXIX).

On the eighth, I began soon after six o'clock to explore the town of *Nakhchuán*, extensive even in decay; by far the greater part consisting of ruins; among these were numerous remains of excellent houses, and in the deserted streets a limpid stream which had supplied fish for my last dinner. The *gumbed* already mentioned, comprised a spacious vaulted chamber, the brick walls of which were perfectly bare inside; but it exhibited, on the outside, a *Cúfi* inscription, of blue glazed tile-work, much defaced. Beyond, were the ruins of a mosque with two cylindrical towers or *minárehs*; the front of this edifice presented three *Cúfi* inscriptions; one resting horizontally over the door-way, in blue tile-work; the other two perpendicularly placed at the sides, were in raised characters of plain brick. Both these edifices I sketched (as in Pl. LXXVI). Amid such a scene of decay and desolation, it afforded some pleasure to meet three or four young women, who, after a slight affectation of holding up their veils, displayed faces extremely pretty; but since our departure from *Tabríz*, I had remarked a gradual decrease of prudery. The females did not here, as sometimes in the southern provinces of Persia, seem disconcerted when we rode by their houses about sunrise, and saw them reclining on *cursis* (كرسي) or wooden frames covered with carpets, or felt *nammeds* (نمد); or lying under *leháfs* (لحاف) or quilts, on the flat roof. *Nakhchuán*, where we suffered much from heat, is liable in winter to intense cold. People of the lower classes, as in almost every place between this and *Cazvín*, speak Turkish only; even a man of genteel rank who visited me here, did not converse in Persian with ease or fluency.

The name *Nakhjewán* (نخجوان or نخچوان *Nakhchuán*, as perhaps more correctly spelt, See p. 433), sufficiently agrees with

*Naxouana* (Ναξουανα), as Ptolemy (Lib. V. c. 13), called this place in the second century; imitating, without doubt, the original pronunciation of the Armenians themselves, which, probably, was *Nakhdzhuván* (or like it), for so one of their writers, Moses Chorenensis (Hist. p. 71), in the fifth century, entitled this city, which his countrymen believed to have been founded by Noah immediately after the deluge. By an ecclesiastical author it is styled *Nakhidsheván*, or "the first place of descent," in allusion to the patriarch's coming down from the ark; and this signification is preserved by Josephus in a Greek word<sup>(18)</sup>. The Persian Geographer, HAMDALLAH, though well acquainted with the history of Noah, transmitted through the *Korán*, ascribes the building of *Nakhchuán* (نخچوان) to BAHRA'M CHU'BI'N (ابرا بهرام چوبین ساخت); he places it in long. 81-15, and lat. 38-40; notices its brick edifices; the wheat, cotton and fruits, and the fair-complexioned inhabitants of this city; to which, he says, appertained some territories and strong castles, such as *Alenjeck* (النجق), *Súrmári* (سورماري), *Mughán* (مغان) and others. He must, however, allude rather to the rebuilding than to the original foundation of *Nakhchuán*; since not only Ptolemy, but even Moses of Chorene, had already noticed it before the birth of BAHRA'M CHU'BI'N, who rendered himself conspicuous about the close of the sixth century, and is called by our historians "Varamus." We learn from SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI that the monastery of *OuchKelisiái*, or the "Three Churches," belonged to *Nakhjewán*<sup>(19)</sup>; and from Moses Chorenensis that

(18) As Whiston remarks (in a note on Mos. Choren. Hist. Arm. lib. I. c. 20, p. 71). The passage of Josephus to which he alludes, is *Αποβατηριον μεντοι τον τοπον τουτον Αρμενιοι καλουσιν*. (Antiq. I. 3). Whether the two last syllables were pronounced *jewán*, *chuán* or *shiván*, both Persians and Armenians, as far as I could judge, invariably accented the first syllable with a short *a*, as in our word *battle* or *animal*. Some English gentlemen, however, who had learned Persian in India, always wrote *nukh*, and pronounced it as if accented with our short *u* in *nut*, *cup*, a sound not authorized either by the Armenian or Persian orthography.

(19) *نخچوان از اذربایجان است و اوج کلیسای نصارا در آنست* (MS. *Tukwán*). "*Nakhjewán* is in the province of *Azerbáiján*, and comprehends the *Three Churches* of "the Christians." He places the city in long. 81-0; lat. 39-30, a position but slightly differing from that assigned by NASSIR AD DI'N, ULUGH BEIG and HAMDALLAH. Ptolemy places it (*Naxouana*) in long. 78-50; lat. 42-45.

*Marand* was comprehended among its territories, (Geogr. p. 360). Both places are assigned by Persian Geographers to the province of *Azerbaiján*, although separated from each other by that great natural boundary, the river *Araxes*; and they are connected in some degree by the tradition which relates that Noah was interred at *Nakhchuán*, and his wife at *Marand*; this I heard at both places, and it was noticed in the seventeenth century by Tavernier, (*Voyages de Perse*, Liv. I. p. 43, 1679). When Guillaume de Rubruquis visited *Naruum* in 1253, returning from the embassy on which he had been sent by Louis the ninth; that city, once very beautiful and the capital of a great kingdom, was even then in such a state of ruin caused by the *Tátars* and Saracens, that of eight hundred Armenian churches, two only, and those very small, existed in his time<sup>(20)</sup>.

We proceeded on our journey in the evening, and rode for almost two miles among the ruins of *Nakhchuán*, whilst the sun, setting behind *Ararat*, again delighted me with the gorgeous display which I have already attempted to describe; that mountain still retaining its pyramidical appearance. But when day broke and we had advanced several farsangs on our way, its greater and lesser summits were distinctly visible, and I sketched them (See Pl. LXXIX) from the *Chemén-i-Sherúr*<sup>(21)</sup>. This is an extensive and beautiful plain said to comprise twenty-six villages and watered by numerous streams, of which some might be styled considerable rivers, and all seemed as if alive with the multiplicity of fish. We crossed at least fifty drains or channels, and saw probably an hundred more, contrived for the distribution of water; and so thoroughly was this tract of country irrigated that it produced the most luxuriant herbage, and abundant crops of rice, wheat and barley, besides cotton and castor plants; even the spots that had not been cultivated, yielded flowers and shrubs of

<sup>(20)</sup> "Une certaine ville nommée *Naruum*," &c. See the "*Voyage de Rubruquis en Tartarie*," chap. II. p. 142; edit. de Bergeron, à la Haye, 1735.

<sup>(21)</sup> چمن شرور. By many Persians called *Sherúl*, according to the vulgar interchange of *l* and *r*. It is the "*Campus Sarurensis*" of Mos. Choren. (Geogr. p. 361).

various kinds, in wild profusion. This ample and fertile plain, which one historian calls the "*Sherúr of Nakhchuán*," was the scene of a remarkable battle in 1531, (A. H. 907), when twenty thousand *Turcománs* were slaughtered by the victorious Persians<sup>(22)</sup>. In most of the villages we saw tame storks, and many very large and fierce-looking dogs.

Our intended *manzel* was *Yangiján*; but all the houses were deserted through dread of those soldiers whom we had left at the Araxes; for the march of Persian and Turkish troops through a friendly country is often felt as an evil almost equal to the progress of a hostile army. After a fatiguing ride, therefore, of twelve hours, we proceeded five or six miles farther and alighted early on the ninth at *Dudongah* (دودنگه), distant from *Nakhchuán* about forty miles. To refresh our horses we remained in the mean village of *Dudongah*, tormented by heat, fleas, and gnats, until two o'clock on the tenth, when, the morning being yet dark, we set out and reached *Develú* (درو), after a journey of nearly 28 miles, chiefly on a parched and barren plain without trees or houses. I was lodged in a hovel the least filthy of *Develú*, and gladly quit-  
 ted it soon after midnight, proceeded about seven and twenty miles and arrived at *Iranván* early on the eleventh<sup>(23)</sup>. Near

(<sup>22</sup>) See the MS. *Aulúm Aráí Abbási*, (Vol. I), in the history of ISMAAIL PA'D-SHA'H (اسماعيل پادشاه) the passage beginning

القصه در شرور نخبوان در شهر سنه سبع و تسعمایه

For the number of killed in this battle the author refers to a very celebrated Chronicle the *Tárikh Jehán Ará*, composed by AHMED AL GHAFARI. This rare manuscript I have examined and verified the quotation. Some of the *Turcomán* chiefs are enumerated by GHAFARI who adds that *هزار نفر دیگر بقتل آمدند* "they were slain with twenty thousand other persons,"

(<sup>23</sup>) Nearly half-way between *Develú* and *Iranván*, and not far from the monastery of *Coner Virab*, some ruins, (which I suppose we must have passed in the dark), were regarded by the Armenians in Chardin's time as remains of ancient Artaxata, (*Voyages*, II. p. 229). The present name *Ardashat* or *Ardasht*, seems to confirm this opinion; but Strabo (lib. xi), places Artaxata on the very bank of the Araxes, from which the ruins are distant several miles; and M. de la Porte du Theil, (See the excellent French translation of Strabo, in quarto, Tome IV. p. 321, note 2, Paris, 1814), doubts whether the true position is actually known; "et peut-être ne connoit on pas, au juste, l'emplacement qu'elle occupoit." On the authority of Captain Monteith, a situation corresponding better to Strabo's description, is indicated by Mr. Morier (*Trav.* II. p.



this city we met Captain Monteith, with a party of his horse-artillery, Persians whom he had excellently trained in the European style. They accompanied us to the town where I found apartments prepared in the palace of HUSEIN KHA'N (حسین خان), a member of the royal *Kajar* tribe, governor of this province, and *Serdâr* (سردار) or General, commanding on the North-Western frontiers; a situation of high importance, as the Russians, now enemies, had established their outposts near his camp, which was about twenty miles from *Irvân*. Thither I immediately despatched a messenger, requesting from the *Serdâr* such a guard of soldiers as might protect me through some part of the country, much infested, as rumour stated, by wandering *Curds* and other robbers. Meanwhile I learned that the security and advantages resulting from this general's government of *Irvân* had within a few years increased the population from four thousand inhabitants to thirteen or fourteen thousand. Yet half of the streets appeared filled with ruined houses; but the citadel was in most perfect condition, and reckoned stronger than any other fortress in the SHA'N's dominions. From the window of my room I observed in the river *Zangi* flowing below it, many trouts of considerable size; this fine stream abounds also with carp; but is said to be contaminated in its course through a neighbouring territory by the accession of unwholesome water.

In the name of this place, *Irvân* written اروان and generally pronounced as of three syllables (the second short) *Irvân*, *Ervân* or *Irouân*, we may, perhaps, discover a clue to the date of its original foundation, if credit be due to Moses of Chorene, who in the fifth century after Christ composed his Armenian History; he informs us (Lib. II. c. 39) that ERUAND or EROUAND, a prince contemporary with the last Darius, king of Persia, erected three cities; one called after him *Eruanda-kerta*, or *kert*, ("Eruand's town,") may probably, be this of which we now speak. The Armenians, however,

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316), and indeed Chardin himself believes (but erroneously), that another place (*Nakhchuân*), was Artaxata (Voyage, II. 305, Rouen, 1723). From Mr. Morier's account of the ruins which he saw at *Ardasht*, chiefly "mounds of decayed mud-walls," my regret for having passed them unobserved, is considerably abated.

who seldom forget their great ancestor Noah, imagine that *Eriván*, signifying "apparent," must express the region which first presented itself to the Patriarch's view when he descended from Mount Ararat<sup>(\*)</sup>. The ingenious Anquetil suggests a resemblance between the name of *Eriván* and *Eeriené vedjo*, or *Irán vedj*, a place celebrated in the *Zendavesta* for unequalled beauty and antiquity, being the first produced by ORMUZD, or the great principle of good, (*Zendav. Tome I. part 2. pp. 263, 264, 301*) I am aware also, that in the meagre and unsatisfactory map of Armenia Major, prefixed by those learned brothers, the Whistons, to their edition of Moses Chorenensis, *Eriván* is described as the representative of ancient *Valarsapata*. Yet Chardin (*Tome II. p. 224; Rouen, 1723*), thinks the origin of *Eriván* comparatively recent, because it does not exhibit any monuments of antiquity; but a deficiency in this respect, (as I have before observed), may sometimes prove a very fallacious criterion. It has been conjectured, that this place is the *Terva* (Τερρα) of Ptolemy, (*Lib. V. c. 13*), and if we might suppose that in manuscript copies of his work, the Greek T, by an elongation of its horizontal stroke, had been written for I, (and we know already that his copyists have put I for T, see p. 410), as strong a resemblance would be found between *Ierva* and *Iraván*, as between many other ancient and modern names, of which the identity has never been disputed. In geographical situation the coincidence is almost perfect; if with Ptolemy we describe *Terva* in long. 78-0, lat. 41-50; and *Iraván*, according to Chardin, in long. 78-20; lat. 41-15. This place is but briefly noticed by SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI; he merely says that (ایروان بر وزن قیروان قلعه ایست بارمنیه) "*Iraván* or *Airwán*, equivalent in metre to *Kairwan*, is a fortress of Armenia," I did not know whilst on the spot, that *Iraván* bears on the gold and silver coins struck in its mint, the title of *Chukhúr Saad*; a *riál* which afterwards fell into my hands at *Amásiah*, exhibits this inscription. ضرب چخور سعد ایروان | PPO "Coined at the *Chukhúr Saad*, *Iraván*, in the year 1225,"

(\*) "Quia regio ista primò apparuit Noë cum descenderit ex Monte Ararat." See "Villotte's" *Dict. Arm.* p. 278.

(A. D. 1810); and I learned that in the *Turki* language, *Chukhûr* signified a place of abode, (perhaps also of sepulture), and that *Saad* was the name of some distinguished personage<sup>(25)</sup>. Here my own inquiries proved unsuccessful respecting ancient medals found near *Marand*, (See p. 422); and, as usual, erroneously supposed by the people of this country, to be money coined by Dekianus; but one of the Persian grooms procured for me at *Iravân* a silver medal (delineated in Pl. LIX), exhibiting on one side the head of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia; and on the reverse these words, ΑΡΙΑΡΑΘΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.

During the eleventh we were much annoyed by flies, which in great numbers and variety, caused painful tumours on the face, hands and legs. Next day, my messenger returned, and brought me a polite invitation, from the *Serdâr* or general; who promised the guard that I had requested. Accordingly, on the thirteenth, having detached most of our party, with the heavy baggage and spare horses, under MUSTAFA's care, to the *Ouch Kelisiû* or "Three Churches," I set out early with Captain Monteith, Mr. Price, the *Mehmândâr*, and two or three servants; and proceeded to *Ashtarek*, of which the population, it was said, had decreased, within a few years, from one thousand families to twenty; all of the Armenian faith. At this romantick and beautiful place, distant from *Iravân* about thirteen miles, (and watered by a fine stream abounding with trout), we breakfasted, and examined the old churches and houses built of stone; then went on five or six miles, in a direction almost northerly, and alighted at the Persian camp, pitched not very far from the mountains of *Aligaz* and *Abaran*.

(25) The MS. *Aulum Arâi* makes frequent mention both of *Iravân* and *Chukhûr Saad*; I shall here quote one passage from the first volume, stating that "LILLAH "PA'SHA" proceeded from *Arzerûm* to the district of *Kâra*, which is situate between "the territory of *Chukhûr Saad* and *Arzerûm*."

لله پاشا از ارض روم کرشته بولایت فارس که ما بین ولایت چخور سعد و ارض روم واقعست  
It is possible that *Iravân* was a name originally and peculiarly applied to the fortress, and *Chukhûr Saad* to the adjoining territory.

I was graciously received by the *Serdár*, who assigned for my accommodation the magnificent and ample tent, belonging to his brother; furnished with rich hangings and splendid carpets. Here various refreshments were provided, and the military bustle of the surrounding scene afforded me much gratification. The troops encamped consisted of five hundred Persian, and one thousand *Turcománi* horsemen; two *keshúns* (قشون), or regiments of regular *Serbázi* foot-soldiers, amounting to fourteen hundred men; two thousand irregular *tufangchis* or musketeers; and sixty-five artillery-men, with four guns. I was indebted for this statement to Captain Monteith; who, in the evening, accompanied me to the *Serdár's* tent, where we partook of an excellent dinner, and sat above an hour enjoying the conversation of that general and his principal officers; who talked very pleasantly on various subjects. I learned that the *Serdár* governed in this country with most absolute sway; and enforced the strictest discipline, possessing not only the power of inflicting death, but of delegating that power to another. Having one day remarked some soldiers whom Captain Monteith had found it necessary to punish slightly, he with great coolness desired that gentleman, in future, to kill such culprits, if he should think proper. He dictated a letter to the *Páshá* of *Kárs*, and an order which the *Mehmándár* was to take, commanding that KA'SIM BEIG, the chief of *Kará Kelaa*, should attend me with a number of horsemen, sufficient for my protection from the farther bank of the Araxes to the Turkish frontier; no danger on this side of the river being apprehended. At sunset a guard of thirty men, uniformly clothed in watch-coats for the night duty, paraded with much regularity opposite our tent, and centinels were stationed at the door; a compliment probably intended for the *Serdár's* brother, to whom the tent belonged. I observed in the camp several hundred English muskets and bayonets, all in most perfect condition; a circumstance resulting from the pecuniary fine levied on those who either lost or injured, even accidentally, any part of their arms; to this penalty was generally added, a proportionate number of blows. In the system of manual exercise, it appeared that the Persian regiments had been chiefly instructed by French officers. The word of command was sometimes given in the

Turkish language, and several Russian prisoners were employed to teach the drummers. I heard that amidst the neighbouring mountains of *Aligaz*, many religious persons had come to reside from the most remote parts of *Hindústán*. Those mountains produce fine herbage and various plants of extraordinary medicinal properties; and abound in streams, among which rises the river *Kará sú* (قراسو) or "black water." They yield also, sulphur and salt-petre; this oozes from the stone in pieces resembling icicles. The pious Indians have chosen some verdant little spots for dwelling-places, and perform their devotions in caves and fissures of the rocks. From those heights of *Aligaz*, a keen and violent wind blew for some hours; and although the tent in which I slept was lined with hangings, yet the nocturnal cold rendered additional bed-clothes necessary. During many nights before, even the thinnest sheet seemed superfluous.

On the fourteenth, we mounted our horses at an early hour; and Captain Montieth having obligingly consented to accompany me, we passed near *Ashtarek*, the beautiful village before mentioned, and alighted at the monastery of Armenian Christians; where we were received by the Monks with much hospitality, after a ride of sixteen miles; this edifice being distant from *Ashtarek* about ten miles, and nearly as much from *Iraván*. It is styled by the Armenians *Edshmiashin*, and constitutes, with two others in its vicinity, what the Turks have long called *Utch* or *Outch Kelisiá*, the "Three Churches;" for this name occurs in the history of *TAIMU'R*, composed nearly four hundred years ago by *SHERIF ALI YEZDI*<sup>(26)</sup>. This monastery has been already well described by ingenious travellers; the view and plan given by Chardin render it unnecessary for me to offer any minute account. We were lodged in commodious apartments; furnished with chairs and tables, which now seemed articles of considerable

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(\*) *TAIMU'R*, in June 1394, "having passed *Aleshgard*, rested at night in the *Ouch Kelisiá* of *Alehták*."

(Book III. ch. 3). و از الش کرد كزشته شب در اوج كليسيا اله تاق استراحت نمود  
From the same chapter it appears that the conqueror, on another occasion, alighted at the *Ouch Kelisiá* فرمود نزول نمود and held his court there several days.

luxury; close to the windows of my room were three very large willow trees, growing in the garden, through which flowed a rivulet of limpid water. We were fortunate in meeting here the *Padre Serafino*, who had been educated at Rome, and spoke Italian and French; he had also learned a little English whilst living at *Baghdád* with Mr. Rich, there Resident on the part of our East India Company. At one o'clock, the worthy monks served up an abundant collation. The dishes and plates were of China, and we were feasted with delicious cream, fine bread, butter, cheese and *caviar*, and profusely regaled with wine. Soon after this repast, it was intimated that the Supreme Bishop, generally entitled *Catholicus* or Patriarch, intended to honour me with a visit. I had previously heard that he was in a very infirm state of health, and therefore expressed my wish of saving this venerable prelate any trouble concerning a matter of ceremony, and proposed to wait upon him at his own apartments. This offer proved acceptable; and, in the evening at seven o'clock, I was introduced to the Patriarch in a long and handsome room, at the upper end of which a high arm-chair was placed for me; near this were some other chairs, lower and smaller; but the Patriarch himself and three of his bishops sat on *nammeds* in the Persian manner, whilst several of the inferior clergy and monks stood in respectful silence. During this interview, Father *Serafino* acted as interpreter, for the Patriarch did not understand any language but Armenian, although he had travelled in Russia, and passed some time in India. He mentioned Lord Cornwallis with much respect. Lemonade having been presented in beautiful porcelain cups, I returned to my own chamber, where, at eight o'clock, our reverend hosts fully evinced their persevering hospitality in a sumptuous dinner; the table being covered with a white cloth of very fine texture, and amply furnished with china plates and dishes, napkins, forks, and silver spoons; among other dainties, this feast comprised fowls dressed with curry-powder, carp, pillaw of lamb, and a plumb-pudding. The dessert consisted of fresh fruits and admirable sweet-meats; confits made at *Haleb* or *Aleppo*, and others brought from *Baghdád*. There was red Georgian wine of very pleasant flavour, besides white, the produce of common Armenian grapes; French

brandy, and arrack of peculiar strength, whilst, with polite attention to English taste, Father *Serafino* provided a bottle of excellent Port. But in these luxuries neither would he nor any of his brethren participate; this, according to their monastick institutions, being a season of rigid abstinence.

Next day, with Captain Monteith, who had often visited this convent, I examined the principal church; of which the inside offered to view, a confused mass of painting and gilding that reached to the very ceiling, yet such as in general effect was not wholly devoid of grandeur. The pictures mostly represented extraordinary figures of saints, with attendant devils; one saint appeared as if hair had grown over all his body. We saw the altar piece, a lamp burning, and some thrones of inlaid work. This Christian church, placed nearly on the line that separates two nations, generally hostile, and suffering at various times from Turks, Persians and Russians, has been saved, probably through a superstitious veneration, from total ruin. The monks were much favoured by many of the former kings; SHA'H ABBA's endowed their monastery with a considerable sum of money, and imprecated curses on any of his successors who should molest them. Their powerful neighbour the *Serdár*, who in my hearing described the holy fathers as good and pious men, has always treated them with kindness, allowing a guard of two hundred soldiers whenever necessary for their protection; declining the presents which they offered to him; paying them frequent visits; and, though a *Musulmán*, soliciting their prayers on any enterprize of importance. The prince, ABBA'S MI'RZA', also, has declared himself to be their friend; and lately punished, in an exemplary manner, three or four sacrilegious thieves, who had stolen a few trifling articles from the convent, by burying them alive with their heads downwards; or, as a Persian expressed it to me, *planting* them with their legs in the air, *misl shákh-i-dirakht* (مثل شاخ درخت), "like the forked branches of a tree." Yet the monks, it was confidently said, had refused to comply with ABBA'S MI'RZA's request, by suppressing, or removing to some less conspicuous situation, a picture which I must here notice with due censure, as disgracing the church-door over which it was

placed; a picture equally contemptible on account of its mean execution, as offensive in its subject; an attempt to exhibit the Almighty himself under a form not only deficient in beauty, grace or majesty, but absolutely ridiculous; the painter, it would seem, having taken for his model some miserable, aged and decrepit mendicant<sup>(\*)</sup>. At four o'clock, the Patriarch honoured me with a visit at my own room; nine or ten of his clergy attended him; they remained but a quarter of an hour, after which dinner was served. It had been proposed by the worthy fathers to entertain us with a feast, prepared in tents pitched for that purpose, at a distance of seven or eight miles; but this I declined, being apprehensive that it might occasion delay, and extremely anxious to proceed on my journey, notwithstanding the good cheer and kind treatment we enjoyed. Accordingly, about seven o'clock in the evening, we set out from *Edshimiazin*, where, during two days, I had been induced almost to fancy myself in some European monastery or college, from the appearance of crucifixes, fat old priests walking in the square, hooded Monks, students in their black gowns, boys reciting their lessons, the singing of psalms, the chiming of bells, and other circumstances.

After a ride of two or three miles, I took leave of Captain Monteith; who, with Padre Serafino and some others of the Armenian clergy, had accompanied us so far on the way. To Captain Monteith I was much indebted, not only for the pleasure of his company, but for the most polite attention on every occasion, and for much valuable information respecting several remote parts of Persia which he had explored, more especially the interesting province of *Khúzistán* or *Susiana*.

(\*) For this abominable picture, regarded by the Muhammedans as perfectly blasphemous, I should have recommended the substitution of some historical scripture-piece which all could understand, and which could not offend any, such as Noah's descent from the neighbouring mountain of Ararat; a subject locally appropriate, since tradition has indicated the site of this church, as the very spot where that Patriarch offered a sacrifice on the first altar erected after the deluge. But it were presumptuous to expect that my suggestion should influence those, on whom the expressed wish of ABBA'S MI'RZA had no effect. Yet they might consider that this prince is more accustomed to command than to request; that he is heir to the Persian crown, and that should they lose his favour through an absurd obstinacy, the slightest symptom of his displeasure might be the signal for their destruction.



We continued our journey the whole night, and until two o'clock on the morning of the sixteenth, when, apprehending some danger from fords which it was necessary to pass, we halted during the darkness; then at day-break mounted our horses again, and went on to the Araxes; near this we met the guard which had been ordered for our protection by the *Serdâr*; forty armed men under the command of KA SIM BEIG. With this chief and his troop of horsemen, we rode across the river, here almost three feet deep, and distant from the Three Churches about one and twenty miles; forming what geographically and naturally might be styled, the boundary of Persia and Turkey; but this did not seem to accord exactly with the political line of partition. We subsequently crossed the river in other inflexions; and I found, even beyond them, the SHAH'S supremacy, or rather his influence, still acknowledged for several miles; though, during the space of ten or twelve farsangs, the country was constantly subject, as usual on frontiers, to depredations. Here the *Curdi* pillagers abounded; and I shall suppose the Persian province of Armenia, (for the ancient kingdom so named extended considerably farther westward), to be at this place divided by the river *Aras* from the Turkish province of *Rûm*; a denomination bestowed by Eastern writers on a vast expanse of territory, reaching from Georgia to the extremity of Syria on the borders of Egypt; and comprehending most of the regions situate between the Euxine and the Mediterranean Sea; the ancient Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Lydia and others<sup>(\*)</sup>.

Having crossed the Araxes on horseback, we proceeded four or five miles farther, and alighted at *Kara Kelaa* or the

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(\*) HAMDALLAH devotes the seventh chapter of his Persian Geography, to the description of *Rûm*. "This region," says he, "is bounded by the countries of "*Armen* (or Armenia), *Gurjestan* (or Georgia), *Sis*; *Misr* (or Egypt); *Shâm* (Syria), "and the sea of *Rûm* or Mediterranean."

حدود مملکت روم تا ولایات ارمن و گرجستان و سیس و مصر و شام و بحر روم پیوسته است and he accordingly describes as belonging to this province, the cities of *Siwâ* (سیواس), *Amâsiâh* (اماسیه), *Antâkiâh* (انطاکیه) (or *Antioch*), *Shemshât* (شمشاط) (or *Samosate*), *Kûniâh* (قونیہ) (or *Iconium*), *Kaisariâh* (تیسریه) (or *Cæsarea*), *Maldîâh* (ملاطیه), &c.

“Black Castle;” an extraordinary edifice, standing boldly on the edge of steep and lofty rocks, immediately over a rapid and winding branch of that river, and commanding fine views along its noble stream. The walls of stone-work, exceeded five feet in thickness; three door-ways gave admission to the room where I was lodged; and it received light, with air, through two large and square apertures; but there were neither doors, nor window frames. Here a good breakfast was provided, and I might have slept luxuriously on the rich carpet and soft *nammeds* that covered the floor, had not a multiplicity of tormenting flies and the excessive heat denied such repose; I therefore walked out and rambled among the numerous ruins of stone built houses, evincing that this place, now an inconsiderable village, was once of greater importance; and tradition vaguely dated its foundation at a remote period of three or four thousand years; but no proofs were adduced in support of such antiquity; although its general appearance offered something grand, and what is commonly styled romantick; it occupies, not improbably, the site of Ptolemy’s *Armaviara*. I was now under the protection of KA’SIM BEIG, lord of this castle, and a border-chief; the subject, or at least friend of FATEH ALI SHAH, though understanding only the Turkish language, and professing, (as an indignant Persian of the *Shiah* sect informed me), the *Sunni* heresy; but with this accusation it was difficult to reconcile the name of ALI, thus conspicuously branded علي, on the left thigh of his spirited charger; this however might have been a private mark, or one merely distinguishing some particular breed of horses, without any allusion to that venerable personage, the son in law of Muhammed. It was whispered to me, that our last night’s march had not been effected without much danger from robbers; but I learned at the same time, that KA’SIM BEIG entertained as a friendly guest at his castle, one of the *Curdi* chiefs; a circumstance which would insure our safety whilst in this neighbourhood<sup>(29)</sup>.

(\*) In Plate LXXIX is a sketch of KA'SIM BATO, which I made on his first approach. This lord of the "Black Castle," had passed the meridian of life, but still possessed all the energy of youth, and managed his horse with considerable dexterity. He wore the *kulák* or black lambskin cap, depressed so far backward, as to expose the greater part

We set out soon after midnight, and at eleven o'clock on the seventeenth reached a small village of stone-built houses called, (from the city before described), *Nakhchuán*; having travelled above thirty miles over a country bleak and barren, without trees or houses, and crossed the Araxes in three or four places. When about half-way, at the foot of some hills which, it was said, bounded the Persian Empire, the *Mehmándár* congratulated me on our escape in certain passes, where many travellers had been robbed and murdered by the *Curds*; and he was still relating some anecdotes of their ferocious cruelty, when several points of spears seemed to rise from the summit of an adjoining hill, and immediately after a party of *Curd* horsemen appeared full in view, and halted. This was a moment of doubt and suspense, perhaps even of alarm, on our part; for, although the number of those we saw did not exceed seventeen or eighteen, yet it was apprehended that a larger body might be lurking in ambush, on the other side of the mountain. Our apprehensions, however, were soon dispelled; their chief, a young man whose spear was mounted with silver, galloped forward alone; saluted us amicably, and said that he was sent by HUSEIN A'GHÁ to escort me as far as *Kars*. For this mark of attention I was indebted to the *Serdár*, between whose family and HUSEIN A'GHÁ's, some inter-marriages had established a close connexion. With our original party, the forty horsemen under KÁSIM BEIG, armed with spears, swords and muskets, and the auxiliary *Curds*, we now constituted a numerous and formidable troop. We proceeded together over the *kutel* or steep and rugged mountain-road, then on a plain, after which we descended gradually towards the *manzel* or halting place. During this part of the journey, our *Curdi* friends amused us with mock combats, always in duels, galloping furiously, and throwing their spears or lances, and discharging pistols. An extraordinary head dress was worn by all these *Curds*; it appeared in front as a kind of bandage, generally embroid-

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of his forehead, and a scarlet *báróni* or "rain cloak" was negligently thrown over his left shoulder, the right arm being thus unembarrassed and free for the exercise of his spear, which, although long and ponderous, he wielded with uncommon grace. His stirrups hung lower than usual among either Turks or Persians, and his martial air and tall stately figure, might have become a Baron in the ages of Chivalry.

ered, fitting closely on the forehead and temples; behind it was a bag made of red cloth. Some wore the Arabian *abbá* (عبا) or brown and white striped cloak, and their inner dress did not much differ from the Turkish; many carried sabres between the saddle and the thigh; every man was armed with two pistols at least, and a few had three and even four. Their spears or lances were from nine to ten feet long, the lower end pointed with iron, which on halting they stuck into the ground. Of some lances the shafts were hollow reeds, and of others rude sticks; but a few were made of solid and well turned wood.

At the mean village of *Nakhchuán*, resembling the ancient city only in name, we were lodged in the best quarters that it afforded; a large stable, in the midst of which was a square platform raised about three feet and inclosed with rails: these alone separated us from the cattle occupying the other part. But into this inclosure the cocks and hens, cats and dogs, little children and old women, our *Curdi* guards and some Turkish muleteers, frequently intruded. The water seemed not only bad but scarce, and we suffered much from heat and flies; the place however furnished that grateful beverage, excellent milk; besides good bread, eggs and cheese. This village belonged to the *Curds*, although chiefly inhabited by Armenian Christians, and hence a messenger was despatched to *Kárs*, soliciting permission from ABDALLAH PA'SHA' that we might enter the Turkish territory under his jurisdiction; meanwhile it was intended that we should slowly proceed four or five farsangs on our way, to a place called *Háji Khálíl* (حاجي خليل); but this, on inquiry, we found had been lately ruined and depopulated by the *Curds*. We therefore remained in the stable of *Nakhchuán*, our horses being extremely fatigued, until ten o'clock at night, when we set out, and on the eighteenth arrived about eight o'clock at *Kháneh Kúí*, after a journey of twenty-nine or perhaps thirty miles; having passed many steep hills, and during some hours felt a considerable degree of chillness in the night air. We were twice alarmed by reports that KARA' BEIG's troop of robbers lay in wait to attack us; for that chief had recently declared himself hostile to FATEH ALI SHA'H; in consequence of which the

*Serdár* had solemnly vowed that he would *annihilate* him. *KARA BEIG* within three days had committed depredations at some villages belonging to the *Serdár*, who immediately retaliated by sending Persian troops to pillage an equal number on his territory. We learned also, that several fires seen blazing on distant hills during our two last nocturnal marches, were kindled by the *Serdár's* patrols, or *keráwels* (قراول) neares to the Russian out-posts.

When I objected, at *Kháneh Kúi*, to the accommodation provided for us in a stable, like that which we had occupied the night before, but more disgusting from the filth and smell of cattle, *MUSTAFA* the *Tátár* candidly forewarned me that between this place and Constantinople I should be often glad to obtain shelter in worse. Here we remained until five o'clock in the evening, when a man very richly dressed, with some attendants carrying silver-mounted sticks, and two others with small kettle drums, all on horseback, arrived from *Kárs* and delivered a message, by which the *Páshá* politely invited me to that city. We accordingly set off, and during the whole way, (about seven or eight miles), to the noise of the kettle drums, struck at very irregular intervals, my new Turkish companions, the Persian guards, and the *Curds*, exercised themselves and highly entertained me by running races, contending in single combat, and throwing their lances, until we halted near the city, having met two fine horses splendidly caparisoned with gold and silver trappings; on one of these, sent by the *Páshá* as a compliment through me to the English Ambassador, I entered the town; whilst *HUSEIN KHA'N* rode on the other, sent for him out of compliment to the Persian prince, by whom he had been appointed my *Mehmândár*. We were conducted through many wide streets and narrow lanes, and over a good stone-bridge, to the house of an Armenian, where the procession closed, much to my satisfaction. The room prepared for me was of small dimensions, yet contained many windows and cupboards; and being completely lined with boards, resembled the cabin of a ship.

It was fixed that on the nineteenth, about eleven o'clock, I should pay my respects to the *Páshá*; accordingly, at that

hour, the *Mehmándár*, MUSTAFA the *Tátár*, the Persian *jilúdárs* and *mehters*, with several of the *Páshá's* officers, assembled near the house where I lodged, and we soon after proceeded on horseback to the castle, situate on a hill, and by the Turks considered impregnable; although after a memorable siege in the year 1386 "it was sacked" by the troops of TAIMU'R, "and levelled to the very ground," as we learn from SHERIF AD' DI'N ALI<sup>(30)</sup>. I remarked at the entrance a few pieces of cannon. An usher or master of ceremonies introduced me into a large room where the *Páshá* sat, on a part of the boarded floor, raised about thirteen inches above the general level, and covered with soft cushions. He received me graciously, and desired that I might seat myself near him; several books lay on the lid of a small wooden box beside him, and over his head were suspended from the wall, a sword, a musket, and some long barrelled pistols, richly mounted with silver. Many servants in magnificent dresses stood at the door, and others handed coffee and pipes, of which the tubes made of cherry tree wood, were from five to seven feet long, and the bowls rested in little saucers placed on the floor. The *Páshá* seemed much pleased whilst reading the Ambassador's letter; he expressed his regard for the English, and his readiness to facilitate as far as in his power, the intercourse subsisting by means of our couriers, between Constantinople and Persia. "This disposition," said he, "I have always manifested; and as a proof shall mention, that when one of those *Tátárs* five or six months ago lost his horse here, I bought another for him; yet the rascal told, "your brother the Ambassador at *Tehrán*, that he had purchased it with his own money." The *Páshá* next read the *Serdár's* letter; then directed two of the officers present to furnish me with whatever I might ask, and concluded by saying that if my accommodation at the Armenian's house was not sufficiently good, apartments should be immediately prepared for me in the castle. Sherbet of delicious flavour and cooled with ice, was presented in very handsome glass

(30) His words are ان حصاراً غارتیدہ با زمین ہموار کردند See the account of this siege in Petis de la Croix's translation, from the Persian History of TAIMU'R, (Liv. II. chap. 58).

cups; and after this friendly interview I took leave of ABDALLAH PA'SHA'. He seemed advanced in years; but his beard was of a reddish colour. Returning through this long and populous city, I remarked many good stone-built houses, with wooden balconies projecting four or five feet. The frames, also wooden, and the cross-barred work of the windows, in which glass was but little used, and the general style of construction, rendered this place more like an old-fashioned European town than any I had seen for a considerable time; a few high chimnies would have made the resemblance still more strong. In some of the buildings much fine and well-cut stone was visible; many houses exhibited boarded fronts, and several appeared lined with deal wainscot; few wanted upper stories and wooden staircases; they seemed to rise on the steep mountain's side to a considerable height, one above another. I saw three strong and handsome bridges of stone, and a fourth of wood, but from the great extent of *Kárs* and the various inflexions of the river it is probable that there were more; I neglected to ascertain the exact number. This river, a branch of the Araxes or rather *Harpasus* of Xenophon, recognised in the modern name *Harpasú*, seemed to abound with fish. Some children bathing in it just before the windows of my room caught, within ten minutes, using only a small net and basket, nearly thirty of different sizes; and a young Armenian presented me a carp recently taken and still alive, that weighed above two pounds.

*Kárs* by Byzantine writers called *Καρσινη*, has been supposed to represent *Chorsa*, a city placed by Ptolemy (Lib. V. c. 13) in Long. 74-40, Lat. 42-30. But the situation of *Colsa* (to which he assigns 78 degrees of Longitude and of Latitude 39 deg. 50 min.) would more nearly correspond to that of *Kárs*, as described by Tavernier, Long. 78-40, Lat. 42-0. (Voyages, Liv. I, p. 24, edit 1679); and SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI removes it farther from the position of Ptolemy's *Chorsa*; for he informs us that "*Kárs* (written *قارس* by the Persians or *قارص* after the Arabian manner) is a fortress in the territory "of *Nakhjûán*, and situate in Long. 81-0, Lat. 50-0"<sup>(31)</sup>. This

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<sup>(31)</sup> قارس حصاریست بنجیوان و معرب ان قارص است and under the head of  
 طول *etwál* or longitudes he writes قارص, and under the عرض *urúz* or latitudes م-ح  
 MS. *Tukwím al beladán*.

place is not mentioned either in the Tables of *Nasser ad dîn Tûsi*, nor of *Ulugh Beig*; but HAMDALLAH has not omitted, although he notices *Kârs* but slightly. "It is," says he, "according to the work entitled *Mujmaa al beldân*, a city "distant two days journey from *Teflis*; the air is pure, and the "crops of corn abundant, the soil being highly productive"<sup>(32)</sup>. I must however remark, that he describes *Kârs* neither as a city of Armenia nor of *Rûm*; but as one belonging to Georgia (*Gurjestân* گرجستان) and *Abkhâz*<sup>(33)</sup>.

Immediately after my return from the castle, I sent MUSTAFA with the Ambassador's presents to ABDALLAH PA'SHA'; they consisted of a fine *Cashmir* shawl, a piece of light blue cloth, and an English spy-glass; to these I added from my own little stores, a bottle of strongly distilled cinnamon-water, in which the *Pâshâ* had been taught to expect very wonderful medicinal virtues; all were arranged on a tray borrowed for the occasion; and proved very acceptable, as he expressed in a letter of thanks, compliments and offers of services. Notwithstanding this, the *Tâtâr Agâsi* or chief courier, whose business was to furnish post horses, declared that a sufficient number could not conveniently be procured for me before



(<sup>32</sup>) قارص در مجمع البلدان گوید که شهرست بر دو روزه راه تفلیس و هوای خوش دارد و حاصلش غله بسیار بود و زمین مرتفع دارد. —  
(See the MS. *Nuzhat al Colûb*, ch. p. VI). A marginal commentator in my best copy of that work thinks it necessary to explain the concluding words of this passage "*Zemîn mertifisaa dâred*," they signify, he tells us, that

حاصلی که از آن زمین برمیخیزد خوب و بسیارست  
"the produce which arises from that soil is good and plentiful."

(<sup>33</sup>) Some copies of HAMDALLAH's Geography (ch. vi) read *Aljâz* (انجاز), others *Anjâr* (انجار), and the same confusion of diacritical points may be observed in different copies of NIZÂMI's *Secunder Nâme*, which informs us that this country was governed by a chief called DU'ÂLI (دوالی) in the time of Alexander. It appears from HAMDALLAH's account to be same as *Teflis*; and the orthography of its name is fixed by the Dict. *Burhân Kâtea*; from this we learn that *Abkhâz* (آبخاز) is a province of which the inhabitants are mostly Christians and Fire worshippers. In the MS. *Tahkik al Aarâb*, (a work of SA'DEK ISFAHÂNÎ), we also read that "*Abkhâz* is a city on the "borders of Georgia; and that the whole territory is called by the same name."

انجاز شهرست باقاصی گرجستان و تمام این مملکت را نیز باین نام خوانند  
Haiton the Armenian associates Georgia with *Abcas*. (See Hist. Orient. de Haiton, ch. x. in Bergeron's Collection).



the next evening; but the *Páshá*, he said, had commanded him to attend me on the journey, as far as *Arzerúm*. Meanwhile several officers and servants, under various denominations, crowded into my room, loudly demanding *bakhshísh* (بخشیش), or a pecuniary gratuity; for this I referred them to *MUSTAFA*, who drove some away with violent scolding, and distributed among others a few pieces of silver money. To these succeeded a party of more gentle and pleasing visitors; five or six Armenian women, of whom one carrying an infant in her arms, was eminently pretty. The old proprietor of the house introduced these ladies, who examined with eager curiosity the frame and curtains of my camp-bed; the white English quilt and sheets; the canteens and other European articles of my baggage.

We remained at *Kárs* during the twentieth, some delay having occurred in providing the requisite number of post horses and mules. I gave to *KA'SIM BEIG*, now setting out on his return to the "Black Castle," a letter, as he requested, recommending him to the *Serdár*; besides a piece of cloth and a spy-glass, the present intended by the Ambassador for *KARA BEIG*, but which this predatory chieftain had forfeited by his hostile conduct. It was also judged necessary by the *Mehmándár* and *MUSTAFA*, that a small pecuniary recompense should be given to the young commander of our *Curdí* guards, whose services terminated here. Although the surrounding country seemed perfectly naked, yet in the city I remarked several fine trunks of fir-trees, drawn through the streets by oxen; and learned that they had been brought from a forest through which we should pass on our way to *Arzerúm*; it was added, that this forest served not unfrequently as the haunt of robbers. But we had little to apprehend, as the *Topchi Báshi*, or chief officer of artillery, and nineteen well armed horsemen, were ordered by the *Páshá* to escort us the three first or most dangerous stages.

\* We set out on the twenty-first at three o'clock after noon, and arrived at the village of *Tosáni* (طوسانی) before nine. During this ride of about twenty miles, the road, which was sufficiently good for any European carriage, lay wholly through a rich

and fertile tract of deep black soil, in a state of excellent cultivation. But the steep mountains about *Kárs* seemed rocky and barren; and of trees, we saw only three or four; these were willows, near that city. The two-wheeled carts, however, abounded; and we met several loaded with hay and corn, and others on which sat women and children returning with much apparent gaiety from their work; a scene which reminded me of that festive season, when our English peasants celebrate the "harvest home."

On the other side of *Kárs* I had already seen a few ploughs drawn by fourteen and even eighteen oxen; but was now surprised at the appearance of some with twenty and of one with twenty-four, harnessed together in pairs. Six or seven men managed the cattle attached to these ploughs, sitting often on the horizontal pieces of wood to which the yokes were fastened; one man walked behind, keeping the share upright; this was not (I thought) proportionably large, but the whole plough, which moved on two wheels, seemed cumbersome and ill-constructed; it cut the ground, however, to a good depth, and apparently with much expedition. This fine plain was irrigated in various parts by means of large water-wheels. Some of the corn fields that it contained, equalled or probably exceeded an English mile in length and breadth. We passed by many villages, wherein, close to almost every house, were seen the perpendicular post; the cross-pole forming a lever, with the chain or rope and bucket, for raising water from the well, (See Pl. LXXIX). My lodging at *Tosani* was in the house of *ASTAKHAL HA'JI*, a man whose remarkable civility induced me to inquire and record his name. Arriving about night-fall, we found a blazing fire that might have served in winter; our host observed that here, on the verge of an extensive pine-forest, wood was cheaper than candles; the fires, therefore, were kindled rather to afford light than warmth. Of *Tosani*, as of most other villages through which we had passed during the last fifty or sixty miles, the houses, covered with roofs of wood, over which were thick layers of clay or sand, and often crops of luxuriant herbage, resembled subterraneous recesses; the stone-built fronts being in few instances above seven feet

high, and the ground, on each side gradually sloping, (See Pl. LXXIX). Contiguous to each habitation were piles of fuel, prepared for winter use from the dung of cattle, mixed up with chaff or straw, chips of wood, or even a little earth; then formed into pieces twelve or fourteen inches long, and dried, so as to appear like the peat or turf used in Scotland and Ireland. These piles of fuel and barking dogs were often the chief indications of a village; for strangers might pass many of those low and earth-covered houses, resembling externally large mole hills, and not suppose them to be the habitations of men; as far as I could discern, all were constructed nearly in the same manner, and according to the plan given in Plate LXXIX; comprehending simply one large chamber, of which by far the greater portion is appropriated at night, or during excessive heat or cold, to cattle or poultry, whilst the owner and his family occupy a small space, inclosed within rails, and elevated two or three feet above the common level. This space, in the dwelling of my kind host at *Tosáni*, was floored and ceiled with deal; and contained some shelves, pegs for clothes, and a good fire-place, besides a *takht* (تخت) or broad wooden seat filling one side, on which I spread my mattress. There were not any windows; light entered with air through the only door, and faintly through two apertures in the roof<sup>(34)</sup>. Such habitations certainly want many conveniences; it must however be considered, that they are principally adapted to resist the cold, which in this country prevails with extreme rigour during several months of the year. Cows, horses and sheep, assembled under one roof with the family, contribute to the warmth of all; where property is so insecure, the master finds an advantage in viewing at once, from the inclosed space, all that constitutes his wealth; and custom reconciles him to the exhalation arising from his cattle, and the smell of their filth; circumstances which, to an European traveller, prove the chief nuisance of these stable or

(34) In some houses which I did not happen to see, the entrance (for human beings) was said to be contrived by a descent from the roof, as in the time of Xenophon; when, also, the goats, sheep, cows and fowls occupied the same subterraneous dwelling with their owners: "Αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν καταγυῖαι, τὸ μὲν στομάχον ὑπερφρεατός, κατὰ δ' εὐρείαι. αἱ δ' εἰσδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις οὐκται, οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι κατὰ κλίμακας κατεβαίνον. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν ἀγέαι, αἶες, βοεῖς, ὀρνίθες, &c. (Xenoph. Anab. Lib. IV. c. 5).

cavern-houses. *Tosáni* did not afford one tree, *mináreh* or steeple, or lofty edifice of any kind; but the good people, as at other villages, had erected a pole with cross sticks at top, for the accommodation of storks, which here enjoyed the comforts of their nest in undisturbed tranquillity. From the inhabitants of this place we heard many alarming anecdotes of robberies and murders, perpetrated by outlaws infesting the gloomy forest of pines, through which we were to pass on our way to the next stage; and though these reports were probably much exaggerated, yet the *Topchi Báshi* deemed it advisable that we should not enter the scene of threatened danger by night; however unpleasant it might be to travel during the heat of day. Accordingly, on the twenty-second, at seven o'clock in the morning, we commenced our journey from *Tosáni*. We soon perceived some distant pine trees on our left, and about the sixth or seventh mile arrived at the noble forest; in this we continued to proceed for sixteen or eighteen miles; the country, which seemed of a fine soil, presenting on both sides many beautiful prospects; hills and dales, winding rivers and woods. But much suspicion was excited by the appearance of several horsemen, armed mostly with spears, who advanced in a direction parallel to ours, but at an interval of above a mile, halting frequently on rising grounds as if to watch our progress. From some rusticks employed in making hay, (with rakes exactly like those used in England), we learned that those men were robbers who had constantly lurked about the forest since the preceding day, in expectation of a rich booty, which it was supposed my baggage contained. *MUSTAFA* immediately proposed to the *Topchi Báshi* that we should attack, seize and kill them, and hang their bodies on different trees along the forest-road; the Turkish officer allowed that this measure would be highly expedient, but declined the execution of it, coolly declaring that he had been merely ordered to escort me in safety to the *A'b-i-garm* (آب گرم), a stream of warm and medicinal water, bounding the jurisdiction of *ABDALLAH PA'SHA'*. We emerged from the forest, and before eight o'clock in the evening, having travelled about thirty miles, alighted at *Medjenkirt* (مدجنكرت); the castle, (on our left, as we entered this village) looked stately when seen from a distance, but

proved to be little more than a steep rock, of which the natural crevices were filled up with masonry. Scattered on our road through the pine forest, (and in other places between *Kárs* and *Arzerúm*), lay many pieces of a black substance, some fully as large as the human head; of these I brought to England three or four fragments<sup>(39)</sup>. At *Medjenkirt*, the servants of *HUSEIN KHA'N* having, perhaps unintentionally, given offence, were beaten by the men and pelted with stones by the women, who in the fury of objurgation frequently styled them "Persian dogs."

We set out before eight o'clock on the twenty-third, and having proceeded ten or eleven miles, halted about one hour at *A'b-i-garm* (اب گرم), a fountain of "warm water," (as the Persian name implies), to which medicinal qualities were profusely attributed. Here the territories of *Kárs* and *Arzerúm* join. In this fountain ten or twelve of our guards, (whose persons evidently required much purification), undressed themselves and bathed all at the same time. I contrived, notwithstanding, to ascertain that the degree of heat in this water was almost as great as the human body could well endure. At *A'b-i-garm*, our protectors the *Topchi Báshi* and his *Deli* soldiers, consigned us to two officers, who brought me a polite message and welcome from the *Páshá* of *Arzerúm*. The *Topchi Báshi's* services I rewarded with a pair of handsome pocket-pistols; and some money was distributed among his men, who immediately set out on their return to *Kárs*, while we went on sixteen or seventeen miles farther, and arrived at *Bedrowás* (بدرواس) between four and five o'clock. In this village, according to local report, were thirty families of the Greek sect; two of the Armenian, and five of the Muhammedan; it contained also, three churches or places for the celebration of religious worship after the Greek rite. But the habitations were still of the mole-hill kind externally, and within served as stables, like those already described. Yet

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<sup>(39)</sup> A lapidary in London declares this substance to be a volcanick production or kind of *lava*; sometimes called Icelandick agate, also "Lapis Obsidianus," having been first discovered in Ethiopia by Obsidius, as I learn from Beckmann (Hist. of Inventions, Vol. I. Sect. of coloured glass); he adds that it was named *galinace* by the Spaniards, who brought it from America.

I fancied the style of architecture considerably improved; and was induced to delineate, (See Pl. LXXIX), the front of one house, which, though the materials were rude and simple, wore an appearance that might almost be termed "classical." Four rough trunks of trees supported an horizontal beam, and over this projected the ends of other trunks, forming the roof or rather ceiling; in some respects resembling an ancient and half subterraneous temple. This structure is partially represented in the general sketch which I made, (See Pl. LXXVII), including a few other houses of this village; the piles of fuel, such as have been before noticed, and the road leading towards *Arzerûm*. Pieces of resinous fir-tree-wood, supplied the place of candles at *Bedrowás*.

24th. We set out by moonlight, soon after two o'clock, and saw at least an hundred carts; some loaded with large trunks of trees, others with deal boards, and many carrying women and children to their harvest-work. Several beams of extraordinary length were dragged on rollers with small wheels, by oxen or buffaloes. Having proceeded 17 or 18 miles, we halted near *Hassan Kelaa* (حسن قلعه), a fine large stone-walled town, at the foot of a majestick rock, crowned with a handsome and strong-looking castle, from which, as we may reasonably suppose, the place has derived its name. It was intended that this town should have been our *manzel* for the day; but a person sent by the chief of *Alwar* (a village distant about five miles), declared that some new arrangement rendered it necessary for us to remove thither. Meanwhile, I examined another spring of very warm water, frequented by numerous bathers; over it a convenient vaulted chamber had been constructed, exhibiting some carved stone-work on the inside; this building was close to the bridge crossing a branch of the Araxes, below the castle. Here we were delayed so long that it was almost noon before our journey terminated at *Alwar*; an extensive village, comprising, besides many of the cavern-houses already described, three or four large and handsome edifices, with windows and separate rooms. In one of these, (it was at first understood), the *Musellim* (مسلم, as some of our party entitled the chief or governor), had invited me to lodge and partake of a collation; but some

difficulties seemed to have arisen on this subject; and my *manzel* proved such as those which I had occupied at *Bed-rowás*, *Medjenkirt* and *Tosáni*. The chief, however, visited me a few minutes after our arrival; his servants bringing coffee, pipes and sherbet. He continued also, every hour until dinner time in the evening, to send similar refreshments; and his hospitalities closed with an ample meal of *pilaw*, eggs, cheese and cream. We had despatched from *Alwar* a messenger to AMI'N PA'SHA' (امين پاشا), announcing our approach; and at midnight received an intimation that apartments were provided for us at *Arzerúm*. About six o'clock, therefore, on the 25th, we set out, and proceeded through a fertile and highly cultivated country nine or ten miles, when we met an officer of the *Páshá's* establishment; three men with kettle drums; some *chiáouses* carrying each a silver wand, branching at the top so as to appear not unlike the ancient *Caduceus*; besides many horsemen and other attendants. The officer delivered to me a very polite letter from the *Páshá*; and mentioned that he had brought two horses (which were very splendidly caparisoned), one for me, the other for HUSEIN KHA'N, the Persian *Mehmándár*. But to ride for two hours on a Turkish saddle, with stirrups most inconveniently hung, was an honour which, until within a mile of the city, I declined; we passed through long streets of good stone buildings, and alighted at the house of an Armenian family, having travelled about seventeen miles. During the journey of this, as of the preceding day, we passed on the road side, many fountains, one almost at every mile, with spouts and troughs neatly cut in marble, some being covered with arches, preserving the water in its original coolness, even while the sun glowed with most powerful heat. These fountains, so numerous throughout Turkey, constitute a luxury unknown in Persia, where the water of one reservoir (*ambár* انبار or *hawz* حوض), is sometimes the sole supply for a long day's march; and even this most commonly defiled by the ablutions of filthy hands and beards.

At *Arzerúm*, through the *Páshá's* especial favour, our baggage was not submitted to the examination of custom house officers, although I found it necessary to satisfy their clamor-

ous demands for *bakhshish* (بخشیش), (gratuity or gift), a word perpetually hissing in our ears since we first entered the Turkish territories. The packages were at once deposited in my apartment, which, it appeared, belonged to an old Armenian convent; the kitchen was, particularly, spacious; with an arched recess containing many stew-holes, and other culinary conveniences; it was also furnished with excellent water by means of a cock. In the principal room allotted to me were two fire places, one at each end, with chimney pieces of carved stone; but a wall not very thick formed the sole partition between this room and a crowded cemetery which, with a stagnant pond at the door, contributed, as I imagined, to infect the air, and was, perhaps, the cause of Mr. Price's illness during our residence here; he, however, and others of the party, had been slightly indisposed at different periods since the commencement of our journey from *Tabriz*. We received a present consisting of weak and bad wine, good or at least very strong arrack, and a tray of sweet-meats, immediately on our arrival; and soon after, a visit from the chief Armenians of *Arzerúm*; they promised to send next day, in consequence of my inquiries concerning antiquities, a man who possessed several gems and medals. Meanwhile, the *Tátár Agási* (who had accompanied us from *Kárs*) proceeded to the camp, where AMÍN PA'SHÁ', being *Seraskier* or general, mostly resided during the summer season. The *Tátár's* object was to fix a certain time when I might pay the *Páshá* my respects. There were some showers of rain in the evening, with much thunder, and at night the wind blew violently. I learned, early on the 26th, that the *Páshá* would be ready to receive my visit at one o'clock; before which hour a man brought eighteen or nineteen silver coins of the Arsacidan kings, with Greek legends as usual, and neither rare nor curious in any particular circumstance, yet valued at a price far exceeding gold of equal weight. Next came a man offering for sale ten or twelve trifling gems, chiefly engraved carnelions and onyxes; of which I purchased a few; he estimated much more highly and I rejected, some bezoars and serpent-stones or *shákh-i-már* (شاخ مار), "snake's horns," and similar articles. But the grand object of temptation was reserved for the last; and from astonishing accounts given by various Armenians,



and the price fixed on it by the proprietor KHOJEH ARETU'N, I had formed expectations of something equally beautiful and ancient; these however were considerably disappointed when it proved to be a Cameo, exhibiting the three kings generally styled Magi, presenting their gifts to the infant Jesus; this device was sculptured on a very handsome Sardonyx (in form oval, and nearly three inches long by two and a quarter wide), the ground being dark brown, and the figures relieved in a lighter brown and in white. The star which had guided the Magi appeared near one end of the stable; and there was some good execution displayed in their horses standing at a distance; angels hovering in the air, and a shepherd carrying a lamb on his back.

At the hour appointed, one o'clock, I set out along with three Turkish officers sent by the *Páshá*, HUSEIN KHA'N the *Mehmándár*, MUSTAFA the *Tátár*, and two Persian grooms, rode through the city, and proceeded about four miles to the plain which afforded a lively and pleasing view, being irregularly spotted with tents, mostly white and some of a pale green colour. I was at first conducted to one very large and sumptuous, in which a man of high rank, reclining on a sofa, invited me to seat myself near him; around him stood several attendants richly clothed and armed with long silver-mounted pistols; after ten minutes an officer announced that the *Páshá* expected me at his tent; this was completely open in front, and exhibited a brilliant display of oriental splendour; whilst forty or fifty soldiers, magnificently habited, were stationed in rows on either side. The *Páshá* welcomed me with much civility; he seemed old and his complexion was extremely dark; he wore, however, a rose, or rather pink coloured robe, lined with the finest snow-white fur; his seat was a long sofa, and, beside it, a smaller one had been placed for me, and immediately opposite, another for HUSEIN KHA'N, who as on former interviews with Turks, acted the part of my interpreter, although I could myself understand the general tenour of what was said. After a refreshment of coffee, pipes, sherbet and sweet-meats, I delivered the Ambassador's letter, and directed MUSTAFA to bring the presents; two Indian shawls and an English gun; this at the *Páshá's*

request I took from its case and put together. He showed me a blunderbuss with seven barrels, which one lock of extraordinary mechanism sufficed to discharge; "it is, said he, "my great favourite, a gift sent to me last year by your brother." He then mentioned his profound respect for the Prince Regent of England and the King of Persia, which had induced him to exempt my baggage from the custom-house duties; and added, that one of his own *Tátúrs*, in whom the utmost confidence might be placed, should attend me the whole way to Constantinople; and that he would, besides, write letters to the governors of *Kará hissár*, *Tokát*, and other places on the road, which might facilitate my progress, and secure me from injury or insult. He concluded with a present of some flowers, and a most polite invitation to dinner on the 28th at his camp, whence, he said, I might proceed in the evening to *Ilíjah*, (السيح) the first stage, distant barely two *saat* (ساعت) or hours (about six miles), each *saat* being such a space as travellers with loaded mules or horses conveniently travel within one hour.

The delay of two days enabled us to make several arrangements necessary on the commencement of such an expedition as the journey from *Arzerúm* to Constantinople; during which, (computed between seven and eight hundred miles), it was not intended that we should halt many hours in any one place; no more than the Prince Regent's horses might require for rest. Some Armenian women undertook to wash for us a sufficient stock of linen. We repaired various packages that had been damaged by kicks from horses, or by falls on the road; and fresh mules were provided to carry our baggage, under the management of a careful *chárwádár*, and two or three assistants, young and active *Curds* or *Assyrians*, natives of *Carcúc*<sup>(36)</sup>. On my return from the camp, a poor

(\*) Sometimes pronounced *Kerkát*, but written properly in the MS. History of *TAIMUR* by *SHERIF ALI YERZDI*, (كركوك) *Carcúc*; and *Carcouc* by the French translator of that work (*M. Petit de la Croix*), (*Liv. III. ch. 35*), who places it in long. 76-35, lat. 35-25. Mr. Ives visited *Kircote* in the year 1758, and says "that it lies in 35-30 of North latitude." (*Trav. p. 311*). *Kerkouk* appeared to D'Anville as the *Demetrias* of Strabo and the *Corcusa* of Ptolemy.

man clad in patched and squalid rags, solicited pecuniary relief, speaking English very intelligibly; and informing me that he was a Russian prisoner, and had formerly served many years as a sailor in one of our frigates, the *Quebec*. After him came a Georgian, whose appearance declared the utmost affliction. His daughter and two sons had been taken from his house by a Janizary, who now threatened that he would sell the girl, and compel the boys to become *Muhammedans*, unless ransomed within a stated time for a certain sum of money. The Armenian Christians had collected, by charitable subscriptions in their churches, a considerable portion of the sum demanded; towards which this unhappy father requested my contribution. The truth of his lamentable story was confirmed by all present, and indirectly, by a circumstance which I had previously learned while passing through the *bázárs* or market places; for it was mentioned that in one of these, several Georgian girls were exposed to public sale, with some young boys whom the Turks had lately obtained among other plunder on the Russian frontiers.

Concerning the great city of *Arzerúm*, its stone-walled castle situate on a hill, its badly paved streets, and other particulars of its modern state, I committed to paper a few remarks hastily made; but these have since been completely anticipated in Mr. Morier's very accurate description, and the reader desirous of information on this subject, will receive more satisfaction from consulting that ingenious traveller's work, than from any account which I could furnish. The same extravagant statements of population noticed, and very properly reduced by him, were given to me. Yet in allowing 270,000 or 275,000 inhabitants, he has perhaps retained too much of the local estimate. Like all persons recently accustomed to the decaying and half deserted cities of Persia, I was much struck with the bustle of *Arzerúm*, and the crowds of people that filled its streets; my superficial observations, however, would not authorise me to rate their numbers even so high as two hundred thousand. Respecting the ancient state of *Arzerúm*, but little success has attended my inquiries. D'Herbelôt, and after him D'Anville, discover it in that city of which the name is written *Artzé* by Cedrenus (in the

eleventh century), and they likewise seem inclined to derive its present name from the Arabick words *Arz al Roum* (or *Aredh ar' Rûm*)<sup>(37)</sup>; signifying "the land of the *Rûmians* or "Greeks;" this place being on the borders of Armenia and Cappadocia or Pontus<sup>(38)</sup>. But their derivation, though sufficiently conformable to the spelling found in one historical Persian manuscript, (which however omits the Arabick article *al*); and to modern usage in epistolary correspondence, cannot easily be reconciled with that orthography which we may trace to the thirteenth century of our era, when NASSIR AD DI'N TU'SI, in his Tables, wrote the name *Arzen al rûm* (ارزن الروم) a form observed by the most celebrated geographers, HAMDALLAH, ULUGH BEIG, SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI, and others<sup>(39)</sup>. To me it appears doubtful whether the last three letters of *Arzerûm* belonged to the original name; but I believe that the first three, without reference to any Arabick word, represent the chief and ancient radical letters; and I fancy that these, whatever transposition they may have suffered whilst passing through the hands of successive copyists or the press, may be recognised in *Azra* (Azupa), to which Ptolemy (Lib. v. c. 13), assigns 76 d. 30 m. of longitude, and 40 d. 40. m. of latitude, a position very nearly coincident with that of *Arzerûm*, according to the Eastern geographers; three of them (NASSIR AD DI'N, ULUGH BEIG, and SADEK ISFAHA'NI), placing it in long. 77-0; lat. 39-40. HAMDALLAH informs us that this city, "appertaining to the fifth climate, is situate in long.

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<sup>(37)</sup> *ارض الروم* L of the Arabick article *al* being dropped in pronunciation or changed into an R, as in the well known surname of the KHALI'FAH HA'RÛN, الرشيد *AL-RASHID* pronounced AR'RASHID.

<sup>(38)</sup> "*Arzeroum ou Erzeroum, nom corrompu d'Arzalroum qui signifie en Arabe "Terre des Romains ou des Grecs; cette ville est située dans le pays de Roum, ou "plutôt sur les confins de l'Armenie et de la Cappadoce," &c. (D'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. See also D'Anville's Geogr. Anc. Armenie).*

<sup>(39)</sup> In the MS *Aulum Arâi Abbâsi*, composed about 200 years ago, the name is written *ارض الروم*; and in the list of Turkish cities and post towns which I procured at Constantinople, the same letters are combined as if forming only a single word *ارزروم*. The name appeared *Arakench ar'rûm* (ارزنه الروم) on a letter entrusted to my care at Tabriz; and in the MS. History of TAIMÛ'R by SHERIF ALI YEZDI I find it simply written *Arzerûm* (ارزروم).

"(from the Fortunate islands), 77-0; and lat. (from the equinoctial line), 39-30. It contains, (adds he), a certain church of extraordinary size; exceeding in height all other edifices of that country; and in the church was once a lofty *gumbed*, a dome or cupola; the dimensions of which were *fifty gaz* (nearly fifty-six English yards), by *fifty gaz*; one side of the vault of this *gumbed* fell down, on the night when (Muhammed) was born, the seal or last and greatest of the prophets, on whom and on his family be the blessing of God! and although great exertions were made in endeavouring to repair it, the building still fell, so that the work was never accomplished; and opposite to that church, one of the Muselmán sovereigns erected a *masjed* or mosque, on the plan of the *Caabeh* (or square temple at *Meccah*), equalling this structure in breadth and length; that mosque therefore is called *Nemûdar-e-Caabeh* or model of the *Caabeh*; and the revenue yielded by *Arzen ar' rûm* amounts to two hundred and twenty-two thousand *dînârs* or pieces of gold"<sup>(40)</sup>.

Having forwarded our baggage properly guarded towards *Ilijah*, I proceeded at three o'clock on the twenty-eighth day of July, from *Arzerûm* to the *Pâshá's* camp, conducted by one of his officers, and mounted, for the first time, on a post-horse; such as may be procured at every regular stage throughout the Turkish Empire. I had hitherto ridden Persian horses of the Ambassador's establishment, and it was now necessary that these should be sent back to *Tabriz*. Two personages very splendidly dressed, one the treasurer, the other a son of the *Pâshá*, received me at the door of a

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(40) ارزن الروم از اقلیم پنجم است طولش از جزایر خالادات عذح و عرض از خط استوا طول در انجا کیسیایست در قایت عظمت چنانکه عالی تر از آن عمارت در آن ملک نیست و در آن گنبد عالی بوده پنجاه کر فر پنجاه کر ظرفی است طاق آن گنبد در شب ولادت حضرت خاتم النبیین صلی الله علیه و آله فرود آمده و چندانکه خواستند که آنرا درست کنند عمارت نهذیرست و فرود آمد و در برابر آن کیسیای یکی از پادشاهان اسلام مسجدی بشکل کعبه و عرض و طول آن مانند کعبه ساخته و آن مسجد را نمودار کعبه میخوانند و حقوق دیوانیش دویست و بیست و دو هزار دینار است

MIS. *Nuzhat al Culûb*, Geogr. chap. vii. (of *Rûm*).

spacious tent, furnished with much elegance, and exhibiting an article of luxury most particularly grateful at this season of excessive heat; close to the sofa on which we sat was a fountain or reservoir sunk sixteen or eighteen inches in the earth, and nearly four feet square, supplied with cool and limpid water, apparently by subterraneous means of communication; after the usual refreshments and some conversation here, a servant announced that the *Páshá's* dinner was ready; and as his hospitable invitation comprehended any persons that I might choose to bring, HUSEIN KHA'N the *Mehmúndár*, and Mr. Price, partook with me of this extraordinary banquet. Within a few yards of the *Páshá's* tent, but in the open air, a large round tray was placed upon an iron frame; thus forming a kind of low table, about which our host, his son, the treasurer, two or three other Turks, and we, the strangers, assembled, and after the customary ablution of hands, seated ourselves on carpets and cushions. Numerous servants waited, who performed their different duties with equal silence, attention and respect; richly embroidered napkins of fine texture, were spread on the necks and knees of all the guests, each being accommodated with a wooden spoon and a handsome sherbet-cup of glass. The table at first displayed some saucers of sliced cucumber, bread, cheese, salt, and various little things which were not removed during the entertainment; but to an ample dish of soup succeeded, after two or three minutes, one of the same size filled with stewed vegetables; the place of this was immediately supplied by another containing roasted lamb; a fourth, sweet jelly; a fifth, *pilaw*; sixth, sweetmeats; seventh, fowl, and many others, all different; the guests seldom taking more than one mouthful from each; thus the pages continued to put before us and to take away, so many dishes, that having reckoned as far as forty, I became weary of the account; but think that the whole number must have exceeded seventy; and of those which I tasted, (forty, or perhaps fifty), most were good and palatable, and some few of such particular excellence as might have augmented the reputation of any Parisian cook. The sherbet too was of delicious flavour; and we concluded, as we had commenced, with the washing of hands. During this entertainment, which lasted a consider-

able time, we were gratified with instrumental and vocal music; two men played on small violins of the kind called *rebáb* (رباب), and two on guitars; singing occasionally in a very soft and melodious manner; but especially so, at least in my opinion, when they performed Persian airs; and in these, although Turks, they seemed to excel; preferring them probably to their own. I was much pleased, on hearing once more, a sweet song which had become familiar to my ear at *Shíráz* and *Tehrán*. After coffee and pipes, the *Páshá*, with many civil speeches, gave me a handsome horse, and I set out from the camp, which seemed of small extent, formed rather as a pleasant summer residence than for any military object. HUSEIN KHA'N obligingly accompanied me to *Ilíjah*, distant from the camp between five and six miles, and nearly as much from *Arzerúm*; at which city his functions of *Mehmándár* had terminated; and he now took leave, with an intention of proceeding the next day on his return to *Tabríz*. The springs of water, naturally warm, have long rendered *Ilíjah* (الجه) the resort of numerous invalids; respecting them I shall extract a passage from that rare MS. work, the *Shejret Mustafey* (شجرة مصطفى): "*Arzen ar' rúm* is a celebrated city, "and there is the fountain called *Aien al Forát*, or Source of "the Euphrates; whoever in spring-time bathes or washes in "the water of this fountain, becomes free from disease"<sup>(41)</sup>. I did not visit the baths, but took an opportunity of enjoying, near this village, a partial ablution in the Euphrates, of which the stream, now very shallow, flowed in a bed of such capaciousness as proved, that during other seasons the river must be here considerable, although so near its source, and so remote from its final issue into the Persian Gulf. I remarked that while some pronounced the name correctly, as written, *Frát* or *Forát*, others gave to the first letter such a sound as might be most nearly expressed by a supposed combination of *m* and *v*, thus *Mvorát* or *Mvorád*; and from this pronun-

<sup>(41)</sup> ارزین الروم شهر مشهور است اینجا چشمه ایست که انرا عین الفرات گویند

هر که در بهار در آن آب غسل بکند از مرض ایمن کردن  
It is added that a fountain near the same city, sends forth its water with a very loud noise, but that any beast approaching it, dies on the spot; and therefore a guard is stationed there.

ciation has, perhaps, originated the name of *Morad*, which distinguishes in some maps another branch of this celebrated river. We find *Ilijah* twice mentioned (and, it may be said, under its present name) in the Natural History of Pliny, who, describing the Euphrates, traces the course of this river to Mount Taurus, near the Armenian *Elegia*; a town or city which Ptolemy, Solinus, and Stephanus Byzantius, also notice<sup>(42)</sup>. This place was the scene of a memorable slaughter, when, (in the year 162), an army of Romans which Severianus, governor of Cappadocia, had stationed here, was completely destroyed by the Parthians; who, under Vologæsus<sup>(43)</sup> the second, having inclosed or surrounded them, transfixing with arrows all the private soldiers and their chiefs; as appears from the historical work of Dion or Dio, epitomised by Xiphilinus<sup>(44)</sup>.

We set out on the 29th at sunrise, and reached the little village of *Ashkelaah* (اشكله) at one o'clock; distant from *Ilijah* 26 or 27 miles; the intermediate road was good; we saw on it many carts, but only one building of any kind, a ruined *caravansera* situate nearly half-way. The violent heat annoyed us much this day, and we were deprived of rest in the evening by thousands of gnats and fleas.

Soon after midnight we left *Ashkelaah*, and at eight o'clock on the 30th, having travelled about 26 miles, established our *manzel* under the shade of some fine old trees, in a beautiful meadow on the bank of the Euphrates. This noble river, during the last twenty miles of our journey, flowed close to

(42) "Elegiam Armeniæ," &c. "Apud Elegiam occurrit ei Taurus mons nec resistit," &c. (Lib. V. cap. 24). *Ilæyia*. (Ptol. Geogr. Lib. V. cap. 13). "Quem (Taurum montem) apud *Elegeam* scindit (Euphrates)." (Solin. Polyhist. cap. 37). The name is so corrected after manuscripts by the learned Salmasius; who says "ita rectè libri—" "made in ante hæc editis Solini *Elegea*." (Plinian. Exercit. p. 442). Ελεγια, χωριον περὶ Εωφράτον, &c. (Steph. de Urbib.).

(43) This name is written by Greek and Roman historians Ουολογαισος, Ουολογαίσος, Βολόγαισος, Vologæses, &c.

(44) Ο γαρ Ουολογαισος πολεμου ηρξε και στρατοπειλον τε ολον Ρωμαικον το υπο Σεβηριανου, τεταγμενον εν τη Ελεγια (χωριω τιτι της Αρμενίας) επισηκον παστοδεν, αυτοις ηγεμους, καταροξευσε και διεφθειρε. (Xiphil. Epitom. Dionis in M. Antonin. Philosoph. hist.).



us on the left, gradually and almost perceptibly increasing each hour as we advanced, by the accession of numerous mountain-streams; contributing to form, what after their passage through many celebrated regions were styled by the royal psalmist "the waters or rivers of Babylon" (נהרות בבל); and have been dignified by various ancient writers with the epithet "great"<sup>(45)</sup>, and even more emphatically styled "the river"<sup>(46)</sup>. About half a mile from the spot where we halted were some remains of a *caravansera*, but so infested by snakes, scorpions and flies, that it had acquired the name of *Shaitân deresi* (شیطان درهسی) or the "devil's mansion;"\* and there were but few of our party besides myself who ventured to explore its recesses. As it was known that this place would not furnish any provision, we had brought some from *Ashkelaah*, and whilst our servants were engaged in preparing dinner, I took an opportunity of bathing in the Euphrates, and of swimming across its stream, here very broad and rapid, and even at this season of drought, from five to six feet deep in the middle; the water, although warm and not remarkably clear, afforded me a very pleasant draught<sup>(47)</sup>; it abounded with fish of various

(45) Thus in the Book of Joshua (ch. I. v. 4) נהר הגדול נהר פרת "even unto the Great River, the River Euphrates." And in the Revelation or Apocalypse of Saint John we find "the great River Euphrates, τὸ ποταμὸν τὸ μεγάλην Εὐφράτην." (ch. IX. v. 14). In the Pharsalia also of Lucan, it is thus mentioned, "Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus—Euphrates," &c. (Lib. III. v. 258).

(46) "Euphrates, נהר quando absolutè ponitur, Isai. XI. 15. Castell. Lexic. Polygl. p. 3089, in נהר פרת, per Antonomas. *Jordanes*, sæpius *Euphrates* qui terminus Terræ Sanctæ camque circumvit nec eo majus flumen Judæis notum." ib. p. 2235. "Idem "inde perspicuum est quod fluvius iste in confiniis Terræ Sanctæ constitutus vocatur κατ' ἐξοχὴν נהר FLOVIUS ILLE Ita vero apertissime appellatur Euphrates." Exod. XXXIII. 31. Isai. XXVII. 12. See Dav. Millii Dissert. p. 200. In the third Dissertation (De Nilo et Euphrate) his object is to demonstrate that the Holy Land, which God preserved to the posterity of Abraham, was properly bounded by the Nile and the Euphrates. In the course of this Dissertation he successfully combats the strange opinion of a certain learned man in Germany, ("Est tamen vir quidam doctus in Germania," &c. p. 196,) who affirmed that the words נהר פרת or "River Phrath," did not imply the great Euphrates, but another river falling into the sea between Tyre and Sarepta.

(47) Dr. Leonhart Rauwolf, who in the year 1574, passed seventeen days at *Bir* on the Euphrates, tells us that this river "is continually muddy, and therefore almost not fit "to be drunk, except you let it stand two or three hours until the sand and mud is "sunk down to the bottom, which sometimes is of the thickness of an inch." See Rauwolf's Travels in Ray's Collection; part II. ch. I. p. 126; Oct. Lond. 1693. But

kinds, and some, resembling trouts, nearly two feet long, allowed me to approach them within three yards, springing with much eagerness to catch the flies that struggled on the surface. It was now to me a subject of much regret that I had broken at *Isfahán* my English fishing rod<sup>(48)</sup>.

Having dined, and slept a few hours under the large trees, we mounted our horses by star-light, at nine o'clock, and proceeded along the right bank of the Euphrates about two and twenty miles, during which almost as many rivulets discharged themselves into that river<sup>(49)</sup>. We then lost sight of it, and went on ten or eleven miles farther, by a stony road over steep, rugged and lofty mountains, to the village of *Kara Kulák* (قره قولا, a name signifying "black ears,") where we alighted soon after six o'clock on the morning of the thirty-first, having travelled about one or perhaps two and thirty miles. This extensive village consisted chiefly of the half-subterraneous habitations, such as have been already described. I saw but two houses of a different or better construction; one was the post house, where we found a *Tátár* courier on his way from *Arzerúm* to Constantinople, and three or four other men assembled before a cheerful wood-fire; this proved

Mr. Jackson, who in the year 1797 went from *Barak* to Constantinople, says, "I cannot quit the Euphrates without taking notice of its salubrious water, which is by much the most pleasant that I ever tasted; though very muddy when it is first taken up it soon becomes perfectly clear, and while I could get this water, I had not the least desire for either wine or spirits." See ("Journey from India," &c. Lond. 1799; p. 57).

(48) Rauwolff, speaking of *Bár* on the Euphrates, says: "During the time of our staying there, they brought us several sorts of fishes they had caught in the river to sell; and among the rest one sort called *Geirigi*, which in their shape and scales were very like unto carps, only they were not so thick in the belly, but a great deal longer and bigger, so that sometimes one of them did weigh three *rotulas* of their weight, which is about seventeen or eighteen of our pounds. They are very delicate and good to eat, and so cheap that we could buy one for one *medin*, in our money worth about three pence." See "Rauwolff's Travels, in Ray's Collection;" part. II. ch. I. p. 126. Of the same kind were probably those noticed by Mr. Eyles Irwin, at Anna, in the year 1781. "We fared very sumptuously to day, says he, on good mutton and fish, which were carp from the Euphrates, of a size that perhaps no table in Europe could boast." See the very interesting account of his Travels in the Supplement, to "A Series of Adventures," &c. Third Edition, Vol. II. p. 315, Lond. 1787.

(49) I must reserve for some other occasion, what was originally designed for insertion here, a digressive chapter on the Euphrates, noticing incidentally some strange opinions entertained by learned men concerning the Terrestrial Paradise.

by no means unpleasant to us who had been chilled by the morning air, as we ascended many lofty hills and rugged rocks, by a path extremely difficult and dangerous, during the last three hours, or from that place where we lost sight of the Euphrates, and to which a person might almost have come from *Kárs* in an European four-wheeled carriage, so good had generally been the intermediate road. I had latterly remarked but few of those fountains which the Turks are so fond of adorning with cut-stone fronts, arches, and often with inscriptions; and which in many parts of their Asiatick provinces, offer themselves to the thirsty traveller every quarter of an hour; some I may have passed during the darkness of the night; but between *Ashkelaah* and *Kara Kúlák*, the country is so admirably supplied by nature with numerous streams of excellent water, that such artificial substitutes would have been superfluous.

On the first of August we set off at six in the morning, and soon after nine reached the village of *Lóri* (لوري), distant from *Kara Kúlák* eleven or twelve miles. Our baggage, I know not why, was sent by the summer road, and we took that chiefly frequented in winter; both very bad and stony, crossing many steep hills. At the foot of one, about half-way, we rode through a considerable *ordú*, a tribe or encampment of *Turcománs*, such as the Persians style *siáh-chádrán* (سیاه چادران), "those who dwell in the black or dark brown-coloured tents." The land, although mountainous, appeared fertile; it abounded with fine springs, but did not exhibit any trees. At *Lóri* we were lodged in the house of a respectable and very obliging farmer. It was spacious, and so cool, that while the sun's heat at mid-day proved almost intolerably oppressive in the open air, a wood fire in the room did not compel me to rise from the carpet on which I lay within two yards of its blaze. The place occupied by us, was separated from the stable, (both as usual being under one roof) by a boarded partition about four feet and a half high. Here we were feasted at breakfast with good butter, fresh eggs, and brown, but most excellent bread; our host brought me as a present some small trouts, still alive, and at dinner

we had them with lamb and fowls. It was said that another village within three miles, contributed to this feast<sup>(50)</sup>.

At eight o'clock in the evening we left *Lóri*; travelled all night, and arrived at *Chiftlic* (چفتلی) before seven on the morning of the second; during this journey, of about thirty miles, we crossed by paths extremely steep and in some parts dangerous, several lofty mountains; the name of one, as *MUSTAFA* informed me, was *Ilmalí-dágh* or "the wild apple-hill." We lost our way for at least an hour in the dark, but soon recovered the right road when the moon appeared, enabling us at the same time to enjoy some very grand, though indistinct prospects, and to remark the windings of a beautiful stream, above which we rode, sometimes half asleep, on the very brinks of precipices, deep and rocky. The common post-horse that carried me, being accustomed to these scenes, walked over the steep and rugged rocks with perfect safety, whilst those of other countries evinced considerable terror, and in some places were not, without much difficulty, led or driven along. At *Chiftlic*, which seemed a good large town, we did not occupy the post-house, as its late keeper had absconded, and a successor had not been yet appointed. Our lodgings were at the dwelling of a private person. Here by the advice of my *Tátár* companions, I dismissed with *bakhshish* (بخشیش) or a pecuniary recompense, the soldiers who had accompanied us as guards from *Arzerúm*, by order of the *Páshá*. Yet it was afterwards deemed necessary, in consequence of alarming reports concerning robbers, that

(\*) The conveniences improve as we advance; the raised seats about the rooms are higher; the fire-places resemble those of the antique fashion in Europe; and at the last stage, (*Kura Kúlák*) and here, we remarked a few chimnies rising two or three feet above the roof, and the post houses are ceiled with deal boards and have a room up stairs. At *Lóri* I was induced to sketch the fire-place in my chamber, (See Pl. LXXIX); with the raised hearth, tongs, candlestick and snuffers fastened by a chain, and other articles: a handsome carpet covered the floor close up to the hearth; this was in a private dwelling, but even the post-houses furnish many comforts not found in the Persian caravanseras; coffee, milk, eggs, bread, carpets and pillows; but I could seldom contrive to enjoy a draught of water in its original purity; for a bucket stands near the outer door with a cup beside it, which every fellow, however dirty or diseased, heated or bearded, fills from the bucket, dipping in his hand at the same time; and should he leave any water in the cup, it is bleeded with the main stock by the next person who comes to drink.

four armed men should be hired to attend us during part of the next stage.

We set out from *Chiftlic* at ten o'clock, the night being very dark; travelled without intermission about twenty-eight miles, and at six the next morning, (August the 3d), alighted in the village of *Shírán* (شیران). During the first twelve or fourteen miles our road lay through a forest, not very thickly planted, nor, (if the darkness allowed me to discern objects rightly) containing many tall or bulky trees. In passing through it about midnight, I was much struck with the appearance of several fires, around which were collected various groups of persons belonging to a *caravan*, now halting here. The vivid coruscations of light which gleamed from the blazing wood, and cast a reddish glare on many turbaned heads and bearded visages, produced an extraordinary effect amidst the deep nocturnal shade of the surrounding forest. *Shírán*, although possessing some natural beauties of situation, (on the side of a hill), comprised but a few mean houses of the cave or stable kind. Yet it could formerly boast of two Armenian churches; one stood within three or four hundred yards of the village, on our right as we approached from *Chiftlic*. I visited the ruins and found several sculptured stones, both without the walls and inside, exhibiting crosses of different forms. In the small door-way of this church a large stone was so laid, that a man even of moderate stature could not go through, unless stooping almost double. It may be supposed that this was a contrivance of the original architect, whereby he designed to exclude the Turkish horsemen, or to oblige all who entered even on foot, to bow at the sacred threshold, under the sign of the cross. But it is not improbable that the carved horizontal stone, which I have delineated in the sketch, (Pl. LXXIX), had once covered some grave, and was subsequently inserted in the place where it now appears. The cemetery here, as in other parts of Asia, contained many figures of rams, very large and rudely cut in stone; some being represented with collars. It was here that an Armenian (mentioned in Vol. I. p. 271) who spoke Persian, observed me examining them, and said that they were erected in allusion to the *Barreh-i-Khuddá*, or "Lamb of God."

The other church or chapel, situate on a rock at the farther end of *Shírán*, was in a more perfect state, although its roof had been taken away. Some of the altar remained, and several portraits of saints, nearly of the natural human size, were still visible on the walls, painted, but by no skilful artist, in very gaudy colours. This chapel was barely thirteen feet long, and in breadth did not exceed eight and a half; but the walls were seventeen or eighteen feet high. Here an old woman of miserable appearance came to solicit alms; and soon convinced me that she was a Christian by her reverence for the cross, and the emotions of contempt and abhorrence with which she uttered the word *Muselmán*. Some rain fell in the course of this day, which was cloudy; the weather being as cool as generally in England during the month of May.

We set out from *Shírán* at nine o'clock, and travelled all night through a forest which, in many places, as I was able to perceive even by star-light, afforded views of most beautiful and "picturesque" scenery; rivers, vallies, waterfalls, bare rocks, and finely wooded mountains. On the morning of the fourth, we halted at six o'clock, after a ride of about eight and twenty miles, under some trees near a delightful stream, watering the rich plain or meadow called *Kara bekchair* or *Kara bethái* (as the name was written for me قریب های); where we were induced to remain, that our horses might benefit by its luxuriant herbage, although we had proposed that *Karaja*, (three or four miles farther), should have been our *manzel*. The forests of this country seemed to consist chiefly of noble pines, but they contained also other trees of considerable size; and some wild shrubs and flowers that to me appeared rare. Several of the hills within view from our halting-place were slightly wooded to the very summits, and many exhibited extraordinary ridges of sharp rugged rocks, dividing them by serrated lines, in the middle, not unlike *vertebræ*; or resembling the walls of battlements; and on the sides of some, half concealed among the trees, were immense natural masses of stone, that might be mistaken at a distance for the remains of castles or other edifices. On the highest part of a hill bounding the valley where we had alighted, were two of those tumular eminences which the Turks call *tepeh* (تپه), (and after

them the Persians, *tapeh*). These, though perhaps natural, so much resembled the sepulchral heaps piled in ancient times and in different countries over the bodies of illustrious personages, that I delineated them (as in Pl. LXXVI). According to the report of some peasants, there was a ruined fortress beyond the smaller *tepeh*. Whilst we rested at this place, a *kâfilah* of about forty men and above an hundred mules, passed us on their way to *Tokât*. I remarked but one woman with the party; at this place we were indebted for a scanty supply of provisions, to the neighbouring village of *Alijer*. Proceeding about sunset, we crossed the stream, and passed by a lofty rock crowned with fragments of masonry, ascribed to the Genoese, like most other ruins of uncertain date or origin, in this country. Here it was said the Turks had lately destroyed an inscription, lest Christian travellers might discover the treasures which it was supposed to indicate. Many suits of armour and swords of uncommon size and make, had been found among the ruins of this castle; but whether really *antique* or only foreign, I could not ascertain from the imperfect description. For several miles about this spot the country was highly beautiful and fertile; but our path led us along the edges of some frightful precipices. Earthquakes, we heard, were frequent here; and about the 14th mile we passed a mountain still called *Musellim dâgh* or the "governor's hill;" since a Turkish magistrate of high rank, travelling with two or three of his wives, several children and attendants, perished in a gulf or chasm, suddenly formed under their feet by the opening earth, and almost instantly filled with water. Soon after midnight we lost our way, and wandered above an hour among trees of thick foliage, which caused such an intense darkness that I could not see my horse's ears; after a journey however, of 26 miles, we arrived early on the fifth at *Kara hissâr* (قره حصار). Of this place, I sketched a view (See Pl. LXXVII) as we approached, when part of the town was visible at the foot of an immense rock, on which stood the castle, seemingly impregnable; we found the town of considerable size; one quarter occupied by Christians of the Armenian sect; many good houses in badly paved streets, built on the steep sides of the rock. As we had been now during four entire nights successively on the road, I was not much

displeased at the occurrence of some difficulties respecting post-horses, which rendered it necessary that we should remain until the next morning at *Kara hissár*. "Of this name, " (which signifies the "Black Castle"), there are, according to HANDALLAH, "several fortified places (in *Rúm*)," and he particularly notices four. Of this, which was my *manzel*, he only says, "*Kara hissár Nuvas*, bordering on the territories of "*A'kshehr* and *Arzenján*"<sup>(51)</sup>. At the post house I could scarcely obtain room to sit down, among a crowd of couriers and travellers of different ranks, smoking, sleeping, eating or picking from their clothes certain vermin of a disgusting kind; but TA'TA'R MUSA, whom the *Páshá* had sent with me from *Arzerúm*, now took his master's letter to the *Musellim* or governor, in consequence of which, arrangements were immediately made for my accommodation in the best manner that the place would allow.

6th. Early this morning, a *Tátár* courier who had left Constantinople eleven days before, came here on his way to Persia; from him I learned the arrival of Mr. Liston, as English Ambassador, and of a Russian and French minister at the Turkish capital. We proceeded on our journey through a country finely cultivated, particularly rich in corn, and exhibiting many fountains with ornamented arches of hewn stone; but our narrow path over rocks and mountains soon became extremely dangerous, along the right side of a large river flowing westward; we enjoyed, however occasionally, some prospects of uncommon beauty and magnificence. About the eighth mile we passed a huge insulated rock, on which once stood a fortress called *Kara hissár*; this was long since deserted, as report stated; the inhabitants having removed to that place (bearing the same name, and in appearance very similar), from which we had come this morning. Our march (of about 20 miles) terminated at the little village

(51) قراحصار چند قلعه است بدین نام — قراحصار نواس حدود آقشهر و ارزنجان

(MS. *Núskát. Caláb.* ch. 7). In these passages and throughout his work the Persian Geographer writes قرا *kará* (black), which the Turks themselves express by كمر. The word *Nuvas*, seems to distinguish this "Black Castle" as the *Norus* of D'Anville; that strong fortress on a rock wherein the principal treasures of Mithridates were deposited.



of *Arpahjuk* (ارپه جوق), where I established my *manzel* under a tree by the side of a brook; and learned that the river which, during two days had flowed on our left, was named *Kalket* (or *Kalked*) *Ermak*; that it ran to *Charshumbeh* near *Janik*, and thence into the Black Sea or *Kara Dengez*.

7th. We began our march about five. At two miles and a half saw a double edifice with two doors (containing a hot spring and bath), at the foot of a rocky mountain; this was on the opposite side of the river; we, on the right bank, winding among precipices by a path worn to a dangerous degree of smoothness, and so narrow, that two slender and active persons, even on foot, could not in some places, contrive to pass each other. We arrived, however, in safety, at *Kûil hissâr* (كويل حصار, called also *Gûlei* or *Kûlei hissâr*), distant from *Arpahjuk* about four and twenty miles. The inhabitants would not admit us into their houses, which were few and small, but spread a carpet for me under some plum trees, and extended another between two branches, so that I was screened from the sun. Within two miles was one *hissâr* or castle, on a hill (See Pl. LXXVII); and at the distance of about three miles another, constructed on a rock so high and steep, that it appeared such as a few men might defend against many thousands; indeed it was difficult to comprehend by what means even the builders had ascended to its summit<sup>(58)</sup>.

8th. I was ready to march at a very early hour, but the *Tâtars* declared that it would be necessary to allow the horses rest until evening. Meanwhile, one of our party having mislaid some trifling article of his baggage, indiscreetly raised a

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(58) The first mentioned (that which I sketched), was attributed to the Genoese by a person of the village, and called the *Kara Kelaak* or *Ashaghi Kelaak*, the black or lower castle of the *Kûil hissâr*, with a *khan* or *caravansera* below it; the other which I have described as almost inaccessible, was called from its rocky situation, the castle of *Kuaci dâgh* or the naked mountain (as the same villager informed me). The little village too, where we had established our *manzel*, had its particular name, which is nearly obliterated in my journal, but seems to be *Kesâsmedeh*. Under the general denomination of *Kûil hissâr* (or *Kûlei hissâr*), these fortified heights constitute what D'Anville regards as the *Colonis* of our Byzantine writers. In this province (*Rûm*), *HAMDALLAN* places, likewise, a town called *Kolûniâh* (كلونيه), but it agrees only in name with the other, as he assigns to it a maritime situation.

violent clamour, and insinuated that it had been stolen; he found it, however, himself, soon after, and his unjust suspicions excited, in a high degree, the indignation of the postmaster, who seemed also to be the chief inhabitant of the village. Many *Farangki* or European travellers, he exclaimed, had halted under his protection; nothing of their property had ever been lost, although they left their watches, rings, money and pocket-books on the carpets, whilst they reposed; "and here, said he to MUSTAFA, (who reported the complaint to me), "here is this English *Beigzâdeh* (بیکزاده) (or gentleman), "he has slept soundly all the night; some of his boxes open; "the keys in others, and his clothes scattered about his bed. "Has any thing been taken from him? or whom does he accuse of theft?" To calm the feelings of this honest Turk, I gave him a handsome London-made penknife; and at breakfast sent him a large cup of tea; in return for this, he immediately brought me some delicious honey, and requested, at the same time, another cup of tea, with which, as was hinted by one of the *Tâtárs*, he intended to gratify the curiosity of a young wife whom he had lately married, and who was described as being extremely beautiful.

But she did not engross all the charms of this village; for of six or seven women whom we saw in it, most were pretty, and took but little pains to conceal their faces. There was one girl, a child of nine or ten years, singularly interesting in her appearance and manner; who offered us a dish of mulberries, while the postmaster whispered that she was a poor orphan, having lost both father and mother at an early period of her infancy; kind friends had supplied her with good clothes, and she wore round her neck a string of coins, among which I hoped to find, as on former occasions, some ancient medals; but all proved modern Turkish money. A man of high rank with several attendants, arrived here on his way from Constantinople to *Arzerûm*, just as we mounted our horses in the evening. This great personage placed himself in solemn state upon a carpet, with a large cushion behind him; while the others sat around, within two or three yards; and most of them, having recently left the Turkish capital, seemed to regard the village

and its rustick inhabitants with pity and contempt; one, a remarkably handsome young man, I fancied to be, (and *MUSTAFA* confirmed my opinion) a perfect Constantinopolitan concomb; the cover of his snuff-box was looking-glass, and afforded him, probably, more gratification than the contents; all the party seemed well-furnished with French watches<sup>(53)</sup>. Much had been said respecting an adjacent and immense hill, to ascend which was reckoned a labour of four hours; this task we commenced almost immediately on leaving *Kúil-hissár*, and performed it with considerable difficulty, from the steepness and serpentine inflexions of the path by which, through various woods, our horses climbed up the mountain. But from its summit we enjoyed what is commonly styled a bird's eye view, beholding the extensive tract of land and the river below, as if delineated on a map. In this elevated region we continued to travel for several miles, through a flat and fertile country, in some places beautifully wooded, in others open and richly cultivated; it was dark when we entered a noble forest, beyond which lay fine lawns and meadows watered by a winding stream; near the side of this we halted under some trees soon after midnight, on the verge of rising grounds, thickly covered with pines and oaks; among these it was not thought prudent that we should venture to pass before sunrise. The great mountain which we had ascended was the *Eider-dágh*, and the spot where we alighted (after a journey of 22 or 23 miles) was called *Eider Urmáni* (ایدر اورمانی). Here we kindled large fires, both for the sake of warmth during the night, and to terrify wild beasts, with which the adjoining forest, it was said, abounded.

9th. We began our march at seven, and finished it before three at *Kútáni* (قوتانی); distant about 26 miles from our last *manzel* (in the forest). The road lay chiefly through groves of stately pines, some of immense size; among which were many corn-fields and rising grounds, plentifully watered by clear running streams. At 14 miles we passed the castle of



<sup>(53)</sup> A gentleman who resided many years at Constantinople, informed me that the Turks of high rank are extremely delighted with clocks and watches; and that he knew some who amused themselves every day in winding and regulating ten or twelve.

*Isker sú*, the chief place of an extensive district, comprehending numerous villages; the castle covered, like others in this country, the summit of an insulated rock, or small mountain, but nearly surrounded by lofty and thickly wooded hills. The construction of this, as of most ancient or ruined edifices near the Black Sea, the Turks ascribe to *giáours* or infidels, meaning more particularly the Genoese. Besides the summer or forest road, we learned that there was another, but very bad, along the river side; and that on it was a stream of water naturally hot and of a most offensive smell, issuing from its subterraneous source with such a noise as might be heard at the distance of a mile. We saw this day many *arábehs* (عرا به), or carts of very good construction, drawn by oxen; and passed through meadows where several country people were cutting hay with scythes, much resembling those used in England. I also remarked a wonderful profusion of fragrant and beautiful flowers. The village of *Kútáni*, standing chiefly on a rising round, seemed to comprise about fifty houses; of which some were formed merely with the rude trunks of fir-trees, laid horizontally together; the interstices being filled with clay, (See Pl. LXXIX, fig. *a*); but many displayed a better style of building<sup>(54)</sup>.

10th. We left *Kútáni* at six, and soon after the second mile passed through the smiling village of *Ermenli*; and about the tenth mile, another equally pretty, called *Boschiftlic*, watered by a delightful stream. Before two o'clock we alighted at *Nicsár* (نيكسار), having travelled perhaps two and twenty miles. Our road led us over many lofty hills, of which the summits only were bare; but during the greater part of this day, we

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(<sup>54</sup>) Such as the post-house; this was ceiled and wainscotted with well-planed deal, and had stairs by which we ascended to a good room, wherein were bed-places, also of boards, raised three feet above the floor. From the windows of this room I sketched two neighbouring houses; of that delineated in fig. *b*, (Pl. LXXIX), the lower part was of stone; the superstructure of fir tree beams; many resembling this, scattered among the woods and on the finely swelling sides of hills, when viewed at such a distance as concealed their rudeness of fabrick, and meanness of materials, wore a temple-like appearance, which gave to the whole country an air of something classical. The other house (represented in fig. *c*, Pl. LXXIX) exhibited a substructure of stone, partly open in front; this served as a stable for cattle. Of the upper part the walls were formed of beams, perpendicular and close together, supporting others laid horizontally. The earthen roofs of all were flat.

rode through fine forests chiefly of firs and small oaks; latterly, the trees were of various kinds and immense size. Near *Nicsár*, the path was very steep and rugged; but often arched over our heads with intertwining boughs, and affording in every direction the most admirable views; hills, dalez, rivulets and fountains; villas and single cottages, or little clusters of houses on the sloping sides of wooded mountains; each habitation, with its respective garden, abundantly yielding grapes, plums, and different fruits, formed a most rich, novel and pleasing scenery. Many houses were of the temple-form, above described; and others presented the appearance of a colonnade or portico, (See fig. *d*, Pl. LXXIX), although the pillars were, like those horizontal beams which supported the roof, merely trunks of fir trees, divested of their lateral branches<sup>(55)</sup>. At *Nicsár* I remarked some houses of three stories or floors; the lowermost, appropriated to cattle, generally constructed of stone; the two upper of wood, or partly of wood and stone. A few had brick chimnies, and roofs of red tiles, not flat like those before described, but raised as in Europe, (See Pl. LXXIX, fig. *e*). This city, of which the inhabitants, it was said, suffered much from the cold in winter, seemed to me extremely beautiful; situate on the slope and at the foot of a steep hill, on which was an old and apparently strong castle, now falling to decay. The high road, as usual near the towns of Asia, led us through the cemetery, where many sculptured tomb-stones exhibited much neatness of execution. Some ruined edifices resembled what the Persians call *gumbed*, or vaulted towers, and other remains, probably more ancient, caused me to regret the want of leisure necessary for exploring this interesting spot. The suspicious looks of several Turks hindered me from copying an inscrip-

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(<sup>55</sup>) So many cottages scattered singly and at irregular intervals over the country, bespoke a manly confidence and independence in the people; and afforded a prospect highly gratifying to one whose eye had been accustomed to the Persian mud-walled and fortified villages, into which every family, within several miles around, must crowd at night for mutual protection. On this journey from *Kútání* to *Nicsár*, I also observed other circumstances very grateful to a British traveller, since they wore an air of liberty; there was in the men a look of boldness, yet without rudeness; and in the women an unrestrained and cheerful, yet not immodest manner. Several of these females were busily employed as hay-makers, in the same fields with those whom we may suppose to have been their husbands or brothers.

tion carved in Greek characters, and visible among the stones of a garden wall, not far beyond the town on the farther side. In the modern Greek name of *Νεῦσαρις*, and in the Turkish *Nicsár* نيكسار, we easily recognise the ancient *Neo-cæsarea*, *Neo καيسαρεία*, which Ptolemy (Lib. v. c. 6) describes as a city belonging to that part of Cappadocia called Pontus Polemoniæ. It is watered by the *Kalket-ermak* or river Lycus, which according to Pliny separates its territory from the lesser Armenia<sup>(56)</sup>. In the annals of Ecclesiastical History, *Neo-cæsarea* is remarkable as the place where (in 261, 313, and 314) Synods were holden<sup>(57)</sup>. Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished near the close of the fourth century, styles this city the most celebrated of Polemoniæ Pontus<sup>(58)</sup>. We learn from a writer of the ninth century, that it had been overthrown by an earthquake, which affected other parts of Asia, more especially Antioch<sup>(59)</sup>. But in the fourteenth, we find it described by the Persian geographer, HAMDALLAH, as "a city of middling size; comprehending numerous gardens, abounding with fruit, and yielding an annual revenue to the amount of one hundred and seventy seven thousand, three hundred *dinârs*, or pieces of gold"<sup>(60)</sup>.

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(44) "Cappadocia intus habet—oppida Comana quod (per fluit) Sarus; Neocæsaream quod Lycus.—A Neocæsarea supradicta minorem Armeniam Lycus amnis disternat." Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VI. c. 3 "Neocæsaream fluvius Lycus alluit." Solin. Polyhist. cap. 47; or of Salmassius's Edition, cap. 45.

(<sup>67</sup>) It appears from a tract *περι των αγίων οικουμενικῶν ἐκτὰ συνοδῶν* (printed among the "Varia Sacra," &c. of Le Moine, Lugd. Bat. 1685, Tom. 1. p. 117), that besides the seven great œcumenical Synods held at Nice or *Nikea*, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon, there were several other particular Synods, in various places. "Of these," according to the tract above quoted, "the first was held at Ancyra, the second at "Neo-cæsarea." *Τὸν μὲν οὖν μερικῶν ταύτων συνοδῶν πρώτη γέγονεν ἡ ἐν Ἀγκυρᾷ δεύτερα δὲ ἡ ἐν Νεοκαισαρείᾳ.*

(<sup>22</sup>) "*Aracnis filium Param—Imperator Valens apud Neocæsaream morari præcepit, "urbem Polemoniaci Ponti notissimam."* (Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii).

(<sup>10</sup>) "Terræ motus maximus in oriente factus est et præcipuè in Antiochia, quæ anno jugiter est commota; et Neo-cæsarea, civitas Ponti cecidit." Pauli Diaconi, *Hist. Miscell. Lib. II. c. 18.*

(60) نیکسار شهری و وسطست و باغستان فراوان دارد و میوه بسیار و حقوی دیوانیش صد و دفتاد و هفت هزار دینارست MS. *Nuzhat al Culub*, (chapter of Rûm).

11th. We left *Nácsár* before six; at the second mile rode across the fine broad river *Kalket*, (or *Lycus* above-mentioned). For the first four or five miles, the country was flat and marshy from the multiplicity of drains and water-courses, contrived to facilitate irrigation. We then began to ascend the hills on a winding road, shaded by trees of various kinds, whilst mountain streams rushed down with a loud noise in natural cascades on right and left, crossing our very path in many places. About the tenth mile we attained the summit, and continuing mostly on a level and beautiful tract of rich corn-fields, interspersed among groves, passed, after a few miles, the village of *Okdop*. At the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth mile, I examined a fountain much delapidated, on the right side of our road, hoping to find some ancient Greek inscription; for one of the stones employed in its construction, exhibited well sculptured bunches of grapes and handsome foliage. Nearly opposite were the ruins of a stone-built edifice, and not far beyond that, a vaulted tower; but this was, perhaps, only the tomb of some *Muselmán* saint, situate on an eminence. Below it, however, appeared a most remarkable insulated rock, and as Mr. Morier observes, "with excavated chambers, one of which has an ornamented front," (*Trav.* Vol. I. p. 343). The sudden intrusion here of many surly Turks, embarrassed me so much that it was not without difficulty I made, whilst riding by it, an imperfect sketch (See Pl. LXXIX) of this extraordinary monument, which, according to our *Suruji*, (the guide or post-boy accompanying travellers in Turkey from one stage to another) was a work of the early Christians. Its principal door or window, visible from the road, seemed to be nine or ten feet above the ground. The ruins which I mentioned before, are probably those noticed in 1807 by the ingenious M. de Gardane, as the remains of a chapel where Saint John Chrysostom preached, and where also he is said to have died<sup>(61)</sup>; although, according to a tradition preserved among the Christians of this country about the year 1665, when Tavernier passed through here,

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(61) "A une lieue (de Tocat) est une chapelle en ruine ou prêchoit St. Jean Chrysostôme: on dit qu'il y 'est mort." *Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie, et la Perse, &c.* p. 14, (Paris, 1809).

the excavated rock had served that Saint both as an oratory and a bed-chamber<sup>(62)</sup>. From the 17th mile, the river which waters *Tokat*, (and, as it thence proceeds to *Amasiah*, must be the Iris of Strabo and Pliny), ran sometimes very close on our left, until the 27th, when we crossed (on horseback) its stream, now in few places above two feet deep, but evidently liable at certain seasons to considerable augmentation. We afterwards saw that it flowed under a good stone bridge of four or five arches, near *Tokat*, on entering which we passed an extensive Armenian cemetery; and we alighted about one o'clock, having performed (more expeditiously than usual) in seven hours, a journey of 29 or perhaps 30 miles; but our baggage did not arrive until evening. The post-house afforded us sufficiently good accommodation with respect to lodgings; and in the abundant market of *Tokat* we easily procured such articles of food as were necessary. I replenished my canteens (of which the bottles had been empty for two or three days) with wine and arrack sold by the Armenians; and made various other arrangements towards the prosecution of my journey, in hopes of continuing it on the next morning; but HASSAN AGHA', the conductor of our baggage, declared that he, at least, could not possibly proceed before the thirteenth, as his horses were nearly exhausted with fatigue, and all his saddles and harness required a thorough repair. It was also apprehended, that without two days rest, the Prince Regent's horses might probably sustain some injury. However anxious for the conclusion of this expedition, I reconciled my mind to the proposed delay; resolved to employ the leisure which it would afford me in exploring the large and extraordinary city of *Tokat*, and was laying myself down tranquilly to sleep, at night, when I ascertained, from the report of MUSTAFA and others, a circumstance by no means favourable to repose; the truth of unwelcome news, which had been hitherto suppressed or faintly whispered; for it was now acknowledged that the plague not only raged with

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(62) "Les Chrétiens du pays assurent que cette roche a servi de retraite à St. Jean Chrysostôme, durant son exil: que de cette galerie il preschoit au peuple, et que dans sa petite chambre il n'avoit pour matelas et pour chevet que le roc mesme, ou l'on a pratiqué la place d'un homme pour se reposer." Voyages de J. B. Tavernier, Tome 1. part. 1. p. 14, (édition printed after the Paris copy of 1679) 12mo.



much malignity at Constantinople, but had already extended its mortal contagion even to *Nicsár*, where, during our last day's halt, fifteen or sixteen persons had died of its effects; that *Tokát* our present *manzel* was strongly tainted with the disease, which had, within the few hours elapsed since our arrival, proved fatal to many; and that we should find its virulence increasing progressively at every place on our way towards the Turkish capital, and at every town and village on the right and left<sup>(63)</sup>.

The first intelligence that reached me on the 12th, when awaking after a night of most refreshing sleep, very strongly confirmed the rumours above mentioned, concerning the plague; for a person whom we expected to shoe our horses this morning, sickened of it within two hours, and a woman of his family had just died. According to some indispensable arrangements between the *Tátárs*, the muleteers, and the post-master, the necessity of repairing saddles and harness, and various other matters, it was now decided that we should remain in our present quarters until the evening of the 13th. Meanwhile, we were abundantly supplied with fruit, particu-

(63) Thus I found myself at once surrounded with the dangers of an evil which seems above all others to be the object of most general dread. For some minutes imagination was very busy in creating most horrible phantoms, and presented to my view the livid forms of those who suffered under the loathsome plague in all its stages, from the first symptom of infection to delirium and death. I fancied myself, for a moment, in the situation of those whom cautious or despairing friends had abandoned to their fate, or in the situation perhaps equally dreadful of some men, whom a tender wife and affectionate children still continue to attend, however unable to relieve, whilst the miserable patient almost wishes, though his heart sinks at the idea of a last parting look, that they should consult their own safety by leaving him alone to perish. I thought of the distance between home and that spot on which my mattress was now spread, and where it was very probable, that amongst a crew of semi-barbarians, my earthly career might within a few days be closed for ever. With all these gloomy notions, and with a perfect consciousness of the horrors which threatened me, I solemnly declare that fear of the plague did not for one moment occupy my mind; on the contrary, entertaining the most implicit confidence in that great power which had so often preserved me during times of imminent peril, I resolved not to deviate in any respect from the original plan of my journey, by avoiding the infection, yet that I would neither expose myself to it unnecessarily, nor any of my party. It is true that some uneasiness was excited among us by the increasing illness of Mr. Price; but he had been indisposed two or three times before, in places perfectly free from contagion; besides, the symptoms which affected him were not such as generally indicate the plague; yet where this horrible disease is concerned, even the slightest head-ache becomes a subject of alarm.

larly mulberries and pears; a kind of cherry called *kizil jak*, beautifully red, with a very long stone; and melons, but not of the finest flavour; we had ice also to cool our wine or water. This halt gave me an opportunity of revising my journal, and retouching several sketches. I purchased some of the copper ware for which *Tokat* is remarkable; especially drinking vessels, tinned so as to resemble silver, and ornamented with verses, or other short sentences, very neatly engraved; and I saw a good specimen of linen manufactured here, and stamped, as MUSTAFA said, in a large and handsome building which we had passed (on the left) when entering the city. I was enabled, from the commanding situation of the post-house, to delineate (as in Pl. LXXVIII) the fortified rock that constitutes the castle of *Tokat*, and below it, a portion of this considerable town, which contains in its narrow streets, many excellent houses, and some with fronts of boards, or of wood and brick or stone intermixed, tiled roofs, projecting balconies, dark and inconvenient entrances and steep stairs, wearing altogether a very antique appearance in the eyes of an European, although I do not recollect that any were in a state of decay. In the rooms of most houses, as might be seen from the outside, there was generally a small window of carved wood-work, over the larger. These were nearly on the same plan, however different in dimensions, as at our *khan* or inn; where, on the carved work of the upper window, paper had been pasted, rendered almost transparent by oil or butter, to supply the place of glass. This aperture was 16 or 17 inches high, and about one foot in width; immediately under it, projected a shelf. The lower window, with wooden cross-bars, but without glass or paper, was in height 3 feet 8 inches, and almost two feet wide. Both served to light the same room, and appeared as in Pl. LXXIX. Of some houses, the upper windows were square, and seemed, in their proportions, to equal half of the lower; although light and air were sufficiently admitted, those cross-bars, through which even the human head could not be protruded, always suggested to me the most unpleasant notions of jealousy, suspicion and imprisonment. A natural association of ideas induces me to remark, that in passing through few Turkish towns did I see women so handsome, yet so slightly veiled and apparently so unrestrained as

at *Tokát*. There were in the post-house two or three fire-places, and I employed some minutes of my wearisome abode here, in sketching that of the principal chamber, (See Pl. LXXIX). It was spacious and lofty; its uppermost border reaching to the ceiling, and its ornaments neatly worked in that white plaster which the Persians call *gatch* (چ). The words appearing in Arabick letters on each side, are these; *يا الله* *Yá Allah!* O God! *يا محمد* *Yá Muhammed!* O Muhammed! *Tokát*, which according to D'Anville was formerly *Berisa*, served, in the year 1402, as a place of defence to BA'YAZI'D (تیمورلنگ) against TAIMU'R (or TAIMU'R-LANG); the *BAJAZET* and *TAMERLANE* of our writers. We learn from ALI YEZDI, that "In the vicinity of *Sivás* (the ancient *Sebaste*), several experienced and intelligent persons who perfectly knew all the ways of this country, represented to his majesty (TAIMU'R) that the roads of *Tokát* lay through forests and narrow passes, and that BA'YAZI'D, surnamed *ILDERIM* (or the thunderer), had arrived with a powerful and most numerous army at *Tokát*, and secured a perfect command of the river, and that the patrols, also, had seen those forests above mentioned" (64). But it appears from *BEDLI'SI*, that in 1475, *Tokát* was destroyed by ferocious *Turkán* plunderers (ترکان یغماگر), without any respect either for the infidel (Christian) or *Muselmán* inhabitants (كافر و مسلمان); the town was set on fire, and being chiefly constructed of wood (از نخته و چوب), "many thousand books were consumed on that occasion, with several mosques, colleges, pulpits, altars," &c (65). *Tokát* seemed to me a place of much industry and bustle. *Káfilahs* (قافلة) or sets of loaded mules and horses,

(64) هم در حوالی سیواس جمعی صاحب وقوف که مسالك و طرق آن دیار میدانستند بعضی عرض همایون رسانیدند که راه توفات جنگلستانست و ترزها تنگ دارد و ایندم بایزید با حشری فراوان لشکری بی پایان بقوات آمده است و سراب گرفته و قرائن نیز آن جنگل را دیده بودند. (MS. *Tarikh-i Taimur*, Book V. ch. 46). In this work and in the MS. *Hesht Behisht* below quoted, *Tokát* is written توفات, whilst in my Turkish list of places it is spelt طوات.

(65) چندین هزار مصحف و کتابرا در آن میانه سوختند و چندین مسجد و مدرسه و منبر و منراب (MS. *Hesht Behisht*).

(from 5 or 10 to 100 in a body) passed through it by day and night. Storks abounded here, but were not so numerous as the ugly carrion vultures. Many *Tátár* couriers halted at the post-house during my residence in it, on their way to or from *Constantinople*, *Baghdád*, *Arzerúm*, *Trabezún* (طربزون) (or 'Trebizond, the ancient 'Trapezus of Ptolemy), and other places. The different *Páshás* throughout the extensive Turkish Empire, have each an establishment of couriers, with a *Tátár A'gási* at its head; one whom I met here was *Tátár A'gási* to the *Páshá* of *Van*<sup>(66)</sup>.

14th. This morning at six, having travelled during the night about 27 miles, we arrived at *Turkhál* (ترخال), of which I sketched the castle built on an extraordinary rock, with part of the town below it (See Pl. LXXVII). Here, the post-house or *khan* being completely occupied by travellers and others, we spread our carpets in a stable, close to which the river flowed in a course nearly N. W.; it was called by the man who supplied us with fruit, *Tokát ermak*, or the same stream that waters *Tokát*, and runs on to *Amásiuh*. D'Anville is of opinion that *Turkhál* represents the ancient Sebastopolis.

15th. At four in the morning we alighted at a *Caravansera* named *Inabázár Khan*, after the neighbouring village of *Inabázár* or *Ingapázár* (یکی بازار), where the inhabitants refused to admit us into their houses. We had travelled during the whole night, chiefly in a valley between finely wooded hills; the river, in some parts, being close to our path. This halting place was about 24 or 25 miles distant from *Turkhát*. The *Caravansera* seemed a modern structure, spacious and well-built, with a plain stone front; in the field adjoining were foundations of a ruined edifice, probably the former *khan*.

(\*) These *Tâtárs* generally travel in a canter or moderate gallop; a *suraji* or post-boy accompanies them from one stage to another, and leads back the tired horses; and a servant or guide sometimes follows or precedes them. They are occasionally invested with considerable authority; but too frequently assume much more than their due share. Of those whom I saw, the dress, almost uniformly, was a dull red, or brick-coloured cloth coat, trimmed with much yellow tape; the pantaloons were mostly blue; and in the girdle each *Tâtár* invariably carried at least one pistol, and a very long knife. The top of the cap was yellow, the rest black.

which M. Otter described (in 1743) as “un vieux Kiervan-  
“serai,” (Voyages, Tome II, p. 334). Here we found it dif-  
ficult, for some hours, to procure any food<sup>(67)</sup>.

At sunset, we proceeded over rugged mountains, along pre-  
cipices, or in vallies between masses of stone almost meeting  
above our heads; we saw various water-falls on both sides;  
and three or four miles before we reached *Amásiáh* (اماسيه),  
rode by immense and perpendicular rocks, close to the road  
on our right. Of these, the face was in some places smooth,  
and according to the Turks who accompanied us, had been  
chiseled by the hand of FERHA'D<sup>(68)</sup>; but I have not derived  
any confirmation of this tradition from the numerous manu-  
scripts that celebrate the Persian sculptor's ingenuity, so con-  
spicuously exercised at Mount *Bisutún* near *Kirmánsháh*. It  
appears, indeed, that the people of this place have absurdly  
confounded their own territory with the very distant Persian  
scene of FERHA'D's story, as described in various romances;  
and they seem to suppose that an aqueduct or channel, cut in  
the rock near *Amásiáh*, was the bed of that stream called the  
*jaw-i-shír* (جوي شير) or “rivulet of milk;” which the enamoured  
FERHA'D caused to flow at Mount *Bisutún*, for the gratification  
of his mistress, the fair SHIRÍN<sup>(69)</sup>. This confusion is  
manifest from the local tradition noticed by M. Otter, an

(67) About one o'clock, a large fowl, alive, several cucumbers, a few eggs, and some  
sour milk, were brought from the village. MUSA, the huge fat *Tátár*, immediately  
unsheathed his long knife, and having hastily muttered the Arabick sentence which  
Muselmáns repeat before they kill an animal for food, beheaded the bird at one blow,  
and, as I thought, with considerable dexterity; but something awkward either in his  
figure or mode of execution, highly amused five or six country girls, who at this time  
passed by, returning, it was said, from hay-making. Of these, one was pretty, all  
seemed cheerful, and showed their faces with as little concern as any females of the  
same class in France or England.

(68) The Turks above mentioned had solicited my permission to join our party for the  
sake of protection; one was a man of very pleasing manners, going to transact some  
business at Constantinople for the *Muselmán* or governor of *Tokát*; he travelled on  
horseback, wore rich and handsome clothes, and was armed with two silver-mounted  
pistols. The others, three poor pedestrian and ragged-coated fellows, were always  
ready, in return for a piece of bread, a handful of rice, a few onions, or any similar  
trifle, to hold our horses, fetch water, cut wood, kindle fires, or render themselves  
useful in any manner. We never had reason to think them dishonest.

(69) An outline of their story may be seen in the “Oriental Collections,” Vol. I. p. 215.

ingenious French traveller, who (in 1743) visited *Amásiah*<sup>(70)</sup>. During the last two or three miles we passed by several gardens and villas, but it was still so dark that we could not discern all their beauties. Having entered *Amásiah*, and advanced for at least half an hour, through long narrow streets, where the balconies projecting at each side, almost met at top, we established ourselves in the *khan* or post-house about four o'clock on the morning of the 16th, after a journey of 24 or 25 miles. Here we found a *fánús* (فانوس) or lantern, the light of which enabled us to unpack, and spread our beds on the floor, and we enjoyed several hours of sleep, until the day became oppressive with such a degree of warmth as I do not recollect to have suffered even at *Isfahán* or *Shíráz*<sup>(71)</sup>. For breakfast, fine bread, good milk, plums and grapes, were abundantly provided. A *Tátár* arrived about noon, who had left Constantinople but the sixth day before, and was proceeding to *Tokát*; he brought very alarming accounts of the plague, which now desolated the Turkish capital; and cautioned us against any unnecessary delay at *Mársevân* (our next stage), where, during his halt of one hour, he had seen five bodies carried to the grave, and heard the cries of children and lamentations of women in almost every house. The plague at *Amásiah* had just commenced, and was not yet violent, for within the last day only four persons had died. I

(70) "Les gens du pays disent que cette ville a été appelée *Amasia* du nom d'une princesse. L'on y voit un long chemin taillé avec des peines infinies dans le roc. C'est à ce que l'on pretend, l'ouvrage d'un des hommes forts de l'antiquité nommé *Ferhad*. Celui ci étant devenu amoureux, dit-on, d'une belle princesse nommée *Chirin*, entreprit à sa demande cet ouvrage immense pour conduire des montagnes des bonnes eaux à *Amasia*. Il avoit presque fini son ouvrage lorsque apprenant que sa maitresse avoit accordé à un autre, qui n'avoit pas pris tant de peine, la recompense qui lui étoit promise, il se cassa la tête avec sa massue." (Voyages, Tome II. p. 334). M. Otter has himself described in a former part of his interesting work (Tome I. pp. 184, 187, &c.), the original scene of these transactions; and many other travellers have noticed the statues, the fountains and water-conduit, hollowed in the rock, which are still visible at the *Tók-i-Bustán* and Mount *Bisutún*, near *Kirmánsháh*.

(71) M. de Gardane thus notices the heat of *Amásiah* in his rapid but expressive manner: "*Amasie est dans une gorge c'est un four en été*;" and he adds, "Elle est dominée par un Fort bâti par les Grecs, sur la pointe aiguë d'un rocher. Comment y peut-on arriver? Tous les Voyageurs devraient être dessinateurs, un crayon seroit plus utile qu'une plume; un beau dessin seroit mieux connaître un pays que tous ces détails topographiques." *Journal d'un Voyage*, &c. en 1807 and 1808, p. 115.

did not, however, explore much of this ancient and curious city, which stands at the foot of immense rocks, high and rugged, and contains some excellent houses<sup>(72)</sup>. The river is here broad, and flows rapidly below the castle, of which, from the window of our *khan*, I made a sketch (See Pl. LXXVIII). This does not comprehend the river (of which the view was intercepted), but shews five extraordinary chambers or recesses excavated in the solid rock of the mountain, and strangely attributed (like the works before mentioned) to FERHA'D the Persian sculptor; they afforded, as we learn from another tradition, places of abode to early Christian saints; and during the seventeenth century, to some Muhammedan *Dervishes*<sup>(73)</sup>. For whatever purposes they have served, we are authorized in expecting to find on this mountain vestiges of considerable antiquity; and whether the excavated chambers delineated in my view, were sepulchral monuments, or whether the kings of Pontus were entombed among the ruined walls appearing higher up on the mountain, might perhaps have been ascertained had circumstances allowed me to examine it more closely. That this rock contained the royal palace and sepulchres we know from the testimony of Strabo, who was himself born at *Anásiah* about thirty years before the Christian era<sup>(74)</sup>.

(72) Whilst we sat at dinner in the post-house, I was surprised by the discharge of a cannon from the opposite fort, and saw a procession of men and women ascending the mountain, a drummer accompanied them, and several musicians who played on loud-toned instruments resembling clarionets. When this party had reached the summit, two or three more discharges of cannon announced, as we in the *khan* imagined, some great and glorious event, and the *Tótár* who had lately arrived, swore that it must have been a general peace; significantly hinting that he had received private intelligence of this circumstance before his departure from Constantinople, on a promise of observing the most profound secrecy respecting so important a subject. But whilst he was yet boasting of his discretion, a man entered the room and assured us that all those rejoicings were merely to proclaim that a silly Armenian woman, one of his own neighbours, had become a convert to the Muhammedan religion; and he agreed with the *Tótár* and me in thinking, that the occasion scarcely justified such an expenditure of gun-powder.

(73) Tavernier (Voyages, &c. Tome I liv. I. p. 10) having mentioned a fine spring of water which rises on the middle of the mountain, adds—"et au même endroit on voit plusieurs chambres taillées dans le roc ou quelques Dervis font leur demeure."

(74) He twice takes occasion to style it, with the laudable pride and complacency of a native, *his own city and country*. "*Ἀμασειας τῆς ἡμετέρας πατρίδος, πόλεως ἐρμυνιστοῦ*," &c.—"*Ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις*," &c. He describes it as a place of the utmost security; the town being in a valley, deep and ample, watered by the river Iris. Nature and





about a mile from *Mársevân* (مارسوان); not improbably, according to D'Anville, the ancient *Phazemon*. Our carpets were spread under some fine large walnut trees, near a handsome fountain of well-cut stone (See Pl. LXXIX), and we resolved to avoid the town, which various reports of passengers represented to be most deplorably infected with the plague; for above sixty persons had died there during the last night, and from our halting-place we saw before noon, ten or eleven funeral processions<sup>(80)</sup>. The Persians, however, of my party, not so much through any regard to the doctrine of predestination, as from an ignorance of danger, (their country being fortunately almost always exempt from the dreadful plague), could scarcely be restrained from going into the crowded and infected *bázárs* of *Mársevân*; which, according to the best accounts that I could collect, nearly equalled *Amásiah* in size and population. Yet it must be allowed that much of our precautions seemed vain; for after I had mounted a horse brought to me by the post-master, (and which he had ridden from the town), this man very coolly acknowledged that he was himself at that moment affected by unequivocal symptoms, and that his wife and child were then actually sick of the plague. We left our halting-place at six o'clock in the evening, and being anxious to avoid the town, were conducted through a cemetery at one of its corners; a portion which, though small, was sufficient to shew how considerable had been the mortality, from a surprising number of newly-made graves, and the groups of persons who mourned, and of those engaged in the interment of bodies. Through this dreary tract (which was not free from an offensive smell), we urged

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(80) I was engaged in copying the inscription on a tablet of white marble over the fountain near my walnut tree, when a Turk of respectable appearance approached, and having tasted the water himself, gave some to his children; one, a very beautiful girl of eight or ten years, was seated on a small horse, and held on her lap a sleeping infant; whilst a boy, four or five years old, rode behind her; the father, who was on foot, held the bridle; he looked pale and dejected; his eyes seemed red from weeping, or want of sleep; and, as one of the *Tátárs* informed me, he had lately lost his wife, the mother of these children, and having sent forward, the day before, his sister and a servant with some articles of baggage, was now removing from the scene of his misfortune to a neighbouring village. During our halt at this place, I beheld many other groups that excited much melancholy interest; and an ingenious writer of that class which we denominate sentimental, might have found here ample subject for an exertion of sympathy and a display of eloquence.

on our horses at full gallop, and skirting circuitously for almost two miles, through fields and by-ways, we at length arrived on the main road, a little beyond the town. Our journey continued during this whole night, the path being often in river-beds nearly dry, between high and rugged rocks. But I could just perceive in various spots, that the country, by a more favourable light, would have afforded many admirable prospects. We passed, about the 23d mile, a village called *Dingle Husein*, reckoned nearly half-way between *Mársecán* and *Osmánjik*; and then, not without frequent danger of falling, scrambled over the great mountain of *Tirekli Beli*, or *Durekli Beli*, where our *Tútnrs* amused themselves by firing their pistols, to prove the wonderful effects of an echo. We descended by the serpentine windings of a difficult and rocky path, and halted for some minutes at a guard-house, constructed where the mountain ends. In this place, as we heard, 25 or 30 armed men were always stationed. One of the soldiers offered to prepare for us some coffee, but though we had already traveled above 30 miles, I objected to any delay; and having proceeded 15 or 16 more, we alighted at *Osmánjik* (عثمانجق) soon after 3 on the morning of the 18th. Thus a journey of two stages was accomplished with one set of horses; as we found it impossible to procure any at the intermediate village, which seemed almost totally deserted; many having left it on account of their harvest occupations, and others through apprehension of the plague<sup>(31)</sup>. *Osmánjik*,

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(31) About an hour and a half before the termination of this morning's ride, I observed on a rising ground close to the road, a ruined edifice, which may have been the tomb of some Muselman saint, or a little chapel; near its walls, on the outside, were a few graves and several trees, old and small; covered, almost, with shreds of cloth and linen rags, fastened on the branches as votive offerings; of these holy trees, so numerous throughout Persia, sufficient mention has been already made; I had only noticed two since my entrance into Turkey, but may have passed many others during our nocturnal expeditions. Much corn was brought to *Osmánjik* in long baskets of an oval form, and about four feet and a half high, fixed to an axle with two wheels and a pole, and drawn by buffaloes or oxen; light carts of this kind were here very numerous; the country afforded abundance of fine osiers for the basket work. Here also, as at many intermediate places on the road to Constantinople, were several large wooden wheels, so contrived in the river as to raise and distribute water for irrigation by means of pipes or conduits. Most of those great wheels produced, as they slowly revolved, a loud, and sometimes a creaking noise, like massive iron gates moving on rusty hinges. The hollow groanings of those water-wheels I often heard at a considerable distance, which however so softened the sound, especially in the general stillness of night, that although melancholy, it was not to me unpleasant.

which D'Anville supposes to be the ancient *Pimolis*, is a town of extraordinary appearance, at the foot of an immense rock, on the summit of which stands a castle; below it runs the noble river *Kizl-ermak* (or ancient *Halys*), and the view is rendered very pleasing by a bridge of fifteen arches, and a fine surrounding country, rich in cultivated plains and well-wooded mountains<sup>(82)</sup>. Our way to the post-house led us almost round the castle-rock, in which I perceived some rude (probably unfinished) excavations; and fancied that they had been designed as chambers or recesses, like those of more perfect execution at *Amásiáh*. The heat proved excessive at *Osmánjik* during the day, whilst gnats and fleas incessantly tormented us. We left it about ten o'clock, travelled without intermission all night, and early on the 19th reached *Háji-Hamzeh* (حاجي حمزه), a beautiful hamlet, comprising some cottages with excellent gardens; a small *bázár* or market-place; a *mináreh* or steeple, covered with lead, but appearing in the sunshine as if silvered; and the *khan* or inn. Here we alighted after a journey of 25 miles; having passed, by moonlight, a steep mountain with some formidable precipices, and enjoyed a delightful view of the fine river *Kizl-ermak*; winding, almost the whole way, on our right, between rocks of stupendous height, in some places covered up to the very summits with noble forest-trees and a multiplicity of beautiful shrubs, and in others crowned with naked fragments of stone, resembling, even by day-light, the ruins of ancient castles. Three miles from *Osmánjik* we saw the remains of a bridge, which had not been strong enough to resist the impetuous current of the river, here very deep, and of a muddy colour. At the post-house I was introduced into a spacious room, containing six

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(82) As my journal assigns but fifteen arches to the bridge here mentioned, I cannot affirm that it is the same which SULTAN BA'YAZID KHA'N (سلطان بایزید خان) erected in A. H. 918 (A. D. 1512), as we thus learn from the MS. *Tarikh-i-Curdistán*; "and at the town of *Osmánjik* he constructed on the river *Kizl-ermagh* a bridge of "nineteen arches; likewise at the town of *Giveh* (or *Kiveh*), on the river *Sakariah* (the "ancient Sagaris or Sangarius) a bridge consisting of fourteen arches; and another of "nineteen arches on the river *Kúder* (or *Gúder*), in the territory of *Sárúkhan*."

و در قصبه عثمانیجی در سر رودخانه قزل ایرماغ پل نوزده چشمه طاق ساخته و ایضا  
در قصبه کبوه بر سر رودخانه صقریه جسر مشتمل بر چهارده طاق بسته و دروا  
صاروخان در سر رودخانه کودر نوزده طاق پل دگر بنا کرده

compartments or boxes of equal size, raised above the floor, three on each side of the general passage; and furnished with a fire sufficient for the boiling of coffee and lighting tobacco-pipes; every place, at first, seemed to be occupied, but some of the Turks, with much solemn civility, resigned one compartment to me; and, after two or three hours sleep, I was feasted with grapes, a water-melon and a sweet-melon, besides coffee and excellent bread. We had seen, not far from the village, a young man whose vacant looks declared him to be an idiot, lying on the ground. My breakfast was scarcely finished when he entered the coffee-room, crawling slowly on his hands and feet; having stared and grinned at all about him for several minutes, he retired, but moving very rapidly in the same manner; to which, as the post-master informed me, he had so long habituated himself, although free from any corporeal defect or imbecility, that few active men, walking upright, could exceed him in celerity<sup>(83)</sup>.

We set out from *Hâji Hamzeh* in the evening; our ride at first was on the left bank of the *Kizl ırmak*, now shallow, though its bed, nearly half a mile wide, proved that the river had been both deep and violent at certain seasons, by huge masses of rock which it had torn from the adjacent mountains; we crossed this stream after five or six miles, and soon lost sight of it altogether; but a smaller river appeared within an hour, on the left. We halted about the 14th mile at a guard-house, where some soldiers refreshed us with excellent coffee; and at sunrise on the 20th, after a journey of 33 or 34 miles, we entered *Tosiah* (طوسیه), a considerable town, beautifully placed among finely-wooded hills, and exhibiting more taper *minârehs* or steeples of mosques, than many cities exceeding it in extent. From the post-house I sketched part of the



(83) The Turks, who are generally said to entertain a regard, almost religious, for persons deprived of reason, treated this poor idiot with much kindness; he was, it appeared, an inoffensive creature; but I have remarked, on two or three occasions, that some brutal fellows, nearly in a state of nudity, half madmen and half saints, or probably, impostors in both characters, extremely disgusted all the respectable Turks present by most indecent buffoonery of gesticulation and obscene discourse; in which their reputation of sanctity among the vulgar and ignorant, authorized them to indulge with impunity, even before women and children in the publick streets.

town, with some *mindrels*; which were capped with leaden-covered spires of a shining silvery appearance. After a tremendous thunder-storm and much vivid lightning, we were induced, by a fallacious gleam of fine weather, to leave *Tosiah* in the evening; but were soon overwhelmed with rain, which fell perpendicularly during three hours; at midnight we rested in a guard-house, and were supplied by the soldiers with coffee; we then proceeded under heavier rain; but neither this, nor the loud peals of thunder, prevented our guide from sleeping on his horse; which deviated from the proper road and led me, with some others, above three miles before the error was discovered; this prolongation of our journey, after a fatiguing ride in rain and darkness, was extremely unpleasant; yet enabled me, whilst wandering across the country, to view some admirable scenery, with many villages and hamlets which, perhaps, few travellers had ever taken the trouble of visiting. We alighted at *Khudjeh Kissar* (خواجه حصار) early on the 21st, having added, by our deviation, 6 or 7 miles to the regular stage of 29 or 30. Here we occupied the coffee-room in a good post-house, not attached to any other habitation, but near the village *bazar*, which seemed well-furnished. For the greater part of this journey, the same river flowed on our left which has been mentioned as succeeding to the *Kizl erna*, 9 or 10 miles from *Haji Hamzeh*. It seemed to be without a name, at least no one from whom I inquired knew that it had one; but all described its ample bed as sometimes replete with water, and often nearly dry; whilst we advanced towards the west, its course appeared directly contrary<sup>(84)</sup>.

(84) In a dark corner of our room (at *Khudjeh Kissar*), partly concealed by the raised bench or seat, I had noticed a cylindrical stone, about three feet high, and one foot diametrically broad, with a hollow of six or seven inches at the top, in which coffee was frequently pounded during the day, with a ponderous iron pestle. So many Turks constantly crowded the room, that I could not, until just before our departure, find a favourable opportunity of examining this stone, which might, probably, have been a monument of ancient times; for I had often heard and read (what my own subsequent observation confirmed) that the inhabitants of these provinces, where the remains of Grecian sculpture are frequently discovered, often apply a *crappus* or altar, the capital or the base of a pillar, or any marble fragment of convenient size and shape, to purposes of domestic utility, and most commonly fashion them into mortars for the grinding of rice or coffee. The momentary light afforded by a blazing piece of pine-wood, held close to the cylindrical stone, barely enabled me to ascertain that it bore some rude and faintly executed characters.

We left *Khuájeh Hissár* at eight o'clock, by moon-light, and travelled 27 or 28 miles on good roads, through a tract of country flat in general, very richly cultivated, and producing abundantly rice and wheat, and embellished with many beautiful trees; and arrived on the 22d at *Kara súren* (قره سورن), just as the rising sun yielded us a very pleasing view of the *mináreh* or steeple, towering among the gardens and houses of this village. Our party was now augmented by various persons who had joined us on the way; all proceeding to *Istánbul* or Constantinople; among them was a dwarf, whom I had already seen during our halt near *Mársevân*; he was in height about four feet five inches, fat, good-humoured, and apparently forty years old; the horse which he rode was led by one servant, and another followed with his baggage. According to *MUSTAFA*'s information, this little man, (a *Mulá* or priest, from the distant province of *Shirván*), had undertaken so long a journey with hopes of pleasing the Turkish *Sultán*, who was now engaged in forming a numerous assemblage of dwarfs, from different countries, some of whom entertained the monarch at leisure hours, as reciters of facetious or romantick stories. At *Kara súren* we were lodged as usual in a room of the post-house, and found not only the persons who attended, but those Turks who frequented it for the purpose of drinking coffee and smoking tobacco, extremely civil and obliging. I might have borne the same testimony in favour of those at our last three or four stages<sup>(33)</sup>.

From *Kara súren* we proceeded, soon after one o'clock, the day being dark and cool, to the village of *Kara jalar* (قره جل); this was a short stage; about eleven miles; through a country without trees, but abounding in rice and corn-fields; an elevated region and much exposed to snow, on which account rude stones, six or seven feet high, had been set up

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(33) I must notice the manner in which grain was rubbed and trodden out here, and in other parts of this country; two bullocks drag over the sheaves of rice or wheat scattered on the ground, a square frame of boards, resembling a table, fastened by a long pole to the middle of the yoke. A man or boy stands on this frame and drives the oxen within a regular circle, as in a mill; but I have sometimes remarked that he indulged himself by sitting down, and in two or three instances lying on it at full length and sleeping; a second man occasionally throws fresh bundles of rice or corn under the bullocks feet.

along the road, at certain intervals, for the direction of travellers in winter. We passed, during this day, a guard-house wherein were stationed some soldiers; they had hoisted a flag on one pole, and on another, within fifty yards, appeared the remains of a wretch who had been impaled alive. I now learned that those soldiers were in the service of *CHOPAN OGLU*, and that from *Turkhál* to a place beyond *Hamámli*, (two stages farther on our way) the intermediate country was governed by this powerful chief, descended from a line of ancient princes. I had already seen convincing proofs of the severity with which *CHOPAN OGLU* administered justice, in the numerous stakes yet bordering the road between *Amásiah* and this guard-house; and which within three years had borne the writhing bodies of malefactors. For, according to intelligence confirmed by many reporters, a *Tátár* courier on his way from Constantinople was robbed whilst asleep, near *Turkhál*, of a richly ornamented dagger and a bag of gold coin; the plunderers also murdered his guide; but in consequence of the rewards offered by *CHOPAN OGLU*, an Arab who happened to witness the transaction, disclosed every circumstance; and after a long and diligent inquiry, above seventy men who had been actors in the crime or partakers of the spoil, were impaled alive on as many stakes, driven into the ground at certain intervals of one mile and a half or two miles between each<sup>(86)</sup>. Such however was the result of this barbarous execution, that from *Amásiah* to *Chargaz*, a stranger might travel with as much safety as in the most civilized countries of Europe. I often found myself alone, either before or after the party, and sometimes at night in lonely situations, such as would have exposed a stranger to

(86) In the infliction of this most dreadful punishment, (as we learned from some soldiers who had attended it) the executioners were instructed so to direct the stakes that death might not immediately relieve the criminals from their torture; and various anecdotes, almost incredible, were related, concerning the number of hours (whilst every moment must have seemed an age) which many of those miserable sufferers existed, incessantly calling, but in vain, for water. Impalement was said to be the most frequent, yet not the most cruel punishment, inflicted by *CHOPAN OGLU*; the reader, perhaps, will not easily imagine, nor shall I wound his feelings and my own, by attempting to describe any thing more horrible.

much risk from robbers, even in England<sup>(87)</sup>. We remained all the evening and night of the 22d at *Kara jalar*. This village, according to local information, was remarkable for ducks; a kind of bird which had hitherto seemed rare in this part of Asia, and, as I have reason to believe, is very little known in Persia.

On the 23d we proceeded to *Chargaz*, or, as it was also called, *Cherkes*<sup>(88)</sup>; where we alighted at ten o'clock in the morning, after a ride of 10 or 11 miles, over a flat country, well cultivated, but destitute of trees. We saw some villages on both sides, and many corn-fields of considerable extent; as we passed by one in which men and women were busily reaping, a young lad advanced to the road, and in the middle of it propped up a sheaf of wheat among several stones; then placed himself beside it, standing respectfully with his hands in his girdle, and awaiting, in perfect silence, whatever trifling donation we might please to bestow. Some fellows of a very different description met us soon after; about twenty soldiers, most of whom were intoxicated, and apparently much inclined to insult us; they fired off several bullets both as we approached and passed them, scarcely taking the trouble to point their muskets above the level of our heads. Such men, as *MUSTAFA* assured me, have often killed and wounded travellers, without any intention of either murder or robbery,

(<sup>87</sup>) *CHOPAN OGLU* was firmly persuaded that nothing could be so efficacious as his cruel system, in suppressing murders and depredations on the highways: and it was said that he solicited from his sovereign the government of all Asiatic Turkey, offering to forfeit his head, should he fail to render every province equally secure as the territory where he already presided, declaring that the terror inspired by his name should so check violence of every kind, that (in words which have been attributed to more ancient legislators) "a child or beautiful woman, decorated with jewels and carrying a purse of gold, might travel alone from one city to another, through forests or deserts, by day or by night, and neither suffer injury nor insult." But the *Janizaries* of Constantinople were hostile to this able chief, and his offer was rejected by the grand *Vazir*. One account of *CHOPAN OGLU* stated that (in the year 1812) he had twenty-nine sons and daughters *innumerable*.

(<sup>88</sup>) The Persian geographer, *SA'DEK ISFAHA'NI*, explains, with sufficient accuracy, the orthography of this name; and tells us that *Chargez* is a place of the sixth climate, in the territory of *Rum*; and, by a change of the letter *za* into *sin*, is also called *Chargaz*.

چرگز بفتح چیم و سکون را و فتح کاف فارسیه و زای معجمه و چرکس بسین مسملا  
بدل زای ولایتی است از اتلیم ششم در حدرد روم  
MS. *Tukhik al arab*.



always imputing the circumstance to fate. *Chargaz*, a large town, and, as D'Anville supposed, the ancient *Carus*, is said to abound in excellent honey and butter; a fountain, near the coffee-room, supplied water through twelve different spouts. I here remarked several houses resembling European structures, in their raised roofs; large doors on the outside and chimnies. This day the weather was nearly as cool as during the month of May in England, and there were heavy showers of rain with thunder and vivid lightning.

At eleven o'clock we set out, by moonlight, and after 20 miles reached *Hamâmlî* (حامدلي) at five on the 24th. During the first 12 or 14 miles our road lay through a flattish and naked country, but afterwards traversed some very rugged mountains, and led us by the side of a river flowing between immense banks of steep rocks, and furnishing some beautiful scenery; about two hours after midnight we passed a guard-house, where all our shouting, rapping, whistling, and other noisy efforts to awaken the soldiers, proved vain. We entered *Hamâmlî* by a wooden bridge, crossing the river above-mentioned; now an inconsiderable stream, but liable, occasionally, to great augmentation. Having breakfasted in the best of fourteen or fifteen scattered, mean and half-delapidated houses, which constitute this town, I explored the remains of a magnificent villa, a spacious fortified mansion, erected not many years before by HÂ'JÎ AHMED OGLU', and partly destroyed within eighteen months. Of this chief, whom the Turkish government punished as a rebel, I heard many favourable anecdotes; for even his enemies allowed that he was eminently brave, benevolent, and hospitable. But having espoused the cause of CHOPAN OGLU', to whom the grand *Vizir* was hostile; and supported the *Nizâm-jedid* (نظام جديد), or system of European discipline recently introduced, he became unpopular among the *Janizaries* of the capital, and a general was sent with numerous troops to besiege him in his castellated mansion, to ruin *Hamâmlî* and lay waste the adjacent territories. His house suffered much damage from one battery of cannon placed on a *tapeh* or rising ground above the village; and from another, yet remaining at the time of my visit, beyond the river. HÂ'JÎ AHMED was shot on

a neighbouring hill, and his head cut off by some of the *Delis* or Turkish dragoons. The *Janizaries* soon after murdered his brother at Constantinople, where also his wives and children were detained several months, but had been lately consigned to the friendly care of CHOPAN OGLU'. The few habitable houses at *Hamamli* afforded but a scanty population; and the remains of HA'JI AHMED's castle or fortified mansion, were totally deserted; although many rooms might still have been restored, at very trifling expense, to their original state. I wandered for two hours, perfectly alone, through the various apartments, and traced the plan of this spacious edifice, which was in some parts bounded by the river, being strongly walled and embanked against the impetuosity of winter floods. I examined the handsome fountain with its double spout, erected, as a Turkish inscription recorded, nine years before<sup>(\*)</sup>; this was in a court not far from the *atmeidán*, or square allotted to equestrian exercises. The kitchen was yet visible, with two ample fire-places; the base of one, (over which an arch was turned) being 18 feet in length; the other about 10; besides which were many lateral stew-holes. Of HA'JI AHMED's private bath, the beams were reduced to charcoal, but the walls seemed perfect. Whilst I examined the *harem* (حرم), or apartments where his women had resided, and the adjacent gardens, a sudden shower of rain induced me to seek shelter in their bath; a very beautiful structure, and but slightly damaged; indeed, from the gloss of novelty and the richness of ornament which this chamber, and other parts of the mansion yet retained, a person of warm imagination might almost have fancied that its former beauteous tenants, and their unfortunate lord, had but just retired on the appearance of a stranger. Such an illusion, however, must have been soon dissipated by the solitude and profound silence which prevailed throughout the apartments, and by the dreary scene of ruin discernible from every door and window. The adjoining mosque was destroyed, but its steeple or *mináreh* seemed uninjured, although many bullets had struck the wall within a few inches of its lower part. Two imperfect cannon-

(\*) Anno Hegiræ 1218 or of our era 1803. The founder's name appeared as written at that time أحمد زاده إبراهيم A'GHÀ AHMED ZA'DEH ISRAHÍM A'GHÀ'.

balls of stone, which, when entire, had probably contributed to deface the fountain above described, I found near its trough, and have preserved.

Soon after nine at night, notwithstanding very heavy rain, we thought it expedient to leave *Hamâmlî*, as a great personage on his way from *Diârbekr* was expected, and we apprehended that should he arrive before our departure, he might seize for his own use the post-horses assigned to us. About the third mile we passed close by *Baïender* (بايندر), a village which had been ruined during the time of HAJI AHMED, and now comprised only seven or eight inhabited houses; at the eighth mile we halted and drank coffee at a guard-room, which marks the limits of CHOPAN OGLU's territory; immediately after, we entered a tract of country governed by the *Pâshâ* of *Boli*. For some miles near the termination of this stage, a river flowed on our left, and the scenery was diversified with fine rocks and trees. We alighted about sunrise on the 25th at *Garedeh* (گاردی), distant from *Hamâmlî* 30 miles. The coffee-house, our *manzel*, being situate in the *bâzâr*, a variety of discordant noises prevented me from enjoying even one hour's sleep during the day; smiths hammers were incessantly employed; the town seemed populous, and contained many houses mostly constructed of wood. In the evening it was announced that a *Farangî* or European, who had just arrived from Constantinople, expressed a desire of seeing me. I found him to be a handsome man, with a fine long beard; he wore a red great coat, and a hairy cap. We conversed in Italian as well as my frequent involuntary use of Persian words would admit; I learned that he was a Neapolitan missionary, on his way to *Mosul*, where he had before resided; that his name was Father Raphael; or, as he wrote it on a slip of paper at my request, "*Padre Raffaele Campanile Prefetto delle Missioni di Mesopotamia e Kurdistan*;" and that the plague continued to depopulate both Constantinople and Smyrna.

We set off at 8; during the first hour and a half rode in darkness; then passed a small lake, (probably one mile long) on our left; its borders were fringed with tall reeds. At 12 or 13 miles, a lake appeared on our right at half a league's

distance from the road; it seemed to be 7 or 8 miles in length, and was called by some peasants whom we met, the *Shahungeul lake*. About the fifteenth mile we halted at *Shahan Khan*, among some wooden hovels forming a kind of *caravanserai*; but not discovering any person that could supply us with refreshments, we proceeded 4 miles farther, passed numerous flocks of sheep, and rested at a guard-house, where, as usual, coffee was soon provided. Near this spot stood a fountain of excellent water, ornamented with two pillars and an inscription in long Arabick letters, as well as a few faint glimpses of the moon enabled me to discern; and directly over the fountain was a room constructed of boards. The last five or six miles of our journey lay through a finely cultivated plain; and having crossed a river on a wooden bridge, about three miles from the town, we arrived by an excellent road, early on the 26th, at *Bolı* (بولی), distant from *Garehdeh* about 37 miles. Of the ancient Greek denomination, a compound expressing that this was "the city of *Hadrian*," *Hadriano-polis*, we find but an imperfect resemblance of the latter word retained in the modern Turkish name *Bolı*. The post-house of this large town afforded very good accommodation; from the windows of one room, could be seen five *minârehs* or steeples of mosques; and from the same windows I observed many women whose dress seemed to denote opulence and respectable rank; and whose faces were beautiful, as I had an opportunity of perceiving, before they concealed them under veils on the approach of several men<sup>(\*)</sup>. We learned in the evening, that a personage of considerable importance, a *Capigi Bâshi*, was expected to arrive during the night, with sixty attendants; and that he would require every horse which the post-master could furnish; to secure some for our own use, it was thought advisable that we should set off before the great man's arrival, and this consideration, although I had indulged in the hope

(\*) Here I first remarked very excellent white bread, baked in the form of rings, so large in the open space that a man might put his arm through them, but not much thicker in substance than his thumb; and here, as at many places through which we had lately passed, were four-wheeled carts, the basket-bodies being at least ten feet long, five high, and at the top or mouth about six feet wide, but not above two at the bottom; this was generally formed of boards; the wheels seemed well-made and were furnished with spokes.

of enjoying here some hours of refreshing sleep, after so many nocturnal journeys, induced me to leave *Boli* at half past eight o'clock. Mr. Morier mentions, that after a ride of six hours through the forest beyond *Boli*, he was entertained in a wooden guard-hut by the singing of a Turk, (*Travels*, Vol. I. p. 358). My journal records a similar circumstance, but states the distance to be only 8 or 9 miles from *Boli* to the guard-house at which we halted. Here, while the soldiers kindled a blazing fire, round which our party crowded, some smoking their pipes, others sipping coffee, the sound accidentally produced from a guitar, which hung against the wall, (strangely associated with sabres, pistols, spears and muskets) induced me to ask for the musician; and a man was introduced (one, probably of the guard) whose aspect, appearing very grim by fire-light, did not indicate much harmony; he played, however, extremely well, and chaunted in a loud tone three pleasing Turkish songs<sup>(91)</sup>. After this we entered a noble forest that covers an immense mountain called *Bolidagh*, and descended during six or seven miles, by a paved, but very unpleasant road, through thick groves of most majestic and beautiful trees; having sometimes on both sides, views of delightful lawns formed by the clearing of wood. From this we proceeded over a country nearly flat, (a river said to be often almost dried up, appearing in different places on our left) to *Dúzjeh*, as is generally pronounced the name written both *Dúzjeh* (دوسجه) and *Túzjeh* (طوزجه); where we arrived early on the 27th. This place may be described as distant from *Boli* about 30 miles, during which, as on former stages, I have reason to believe, we passed at night some stones exhibiting Greek inscriptions. From the upper floor of our post-house, I sketched the greater part of *Dúzjeh*, (as

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(91) One I had heard at almost every stage between this place and *Arzerum*; the burden was a repetition of the word *Amán* (آمان), "mercy!" Another called to my recollection the lines quoted by Lady Mary Wortley Montague; and the third was a series of verses commemorating a famous robber named *KARA OGLU* or *KARA OWLU*, who once rendered himself as formidable in the forest of *Boli*, as among the mountains near *Kars*, where I had lately seen the ruins of his castle. The song, in which the bravery of this popular hero was celebrated, and his death lamented, resembled much some plaintive Irish airs; and a strong guttural accent was given to the interjection, "Oh!" thus occurring at the close of different verses, "*Ök! Karawül!*

it appears in Pl. LXXX), for this village comprised little more than a *bázár* or row of shops, (the walls being of wood, the roofs of tiles) and a mosque with its *mináreh*, both of wood; the back of a fountain also appears in the view. The *bázár* was crowded for several hours by country-people, as this (thursday) happened to be the weekly market-day; many shops were well-supplied with bread, meat, cheese, tobacco, tea, sugar, gun-powder, pipes, locks, combs and paper; with abundance of ball-cartridges and flints, very much in demand, as almost every man carries pistols, and is ready to discharge them on slight provocation, or often for mere amusement. This place, it was said, produced a remarkable breed of large turkies; we had seen geese and ducks in great numbers at the last five or six stages; these three kinds of birds had been reckoned very uncommon in Persia. I sketched at *Dúzjeh* (See Pl. LIX), a sculptured stone, above three feet high and two in diameter, placed over the mouth of a well, and much fretted by an iron chain, which served to lower the bucket. Here it was deemed necessary, that the Prince Regent's horses should rest for several hours; and we recruited ourselves in the spacious post-house, with a whole night's sleep; during which, however, the *Capigi Báshi*, whose approach had accelerated our departure from a former stage, arrived, and seized so many post-horses that we could scarcely obtain a sufficient number for our journey; he proceeded towards *Baghdád*, and rumour whispered that his business was to decapitate some great man by order of the Turkish *Sultan*.

28th. We left *Dúzjeh* at 7 in the morning, and having travelled above 30 miles under incessant rain, (in a rich and beautiful country, abounding with noble forest-trees) alighted at *Khandak* (خندق) about 4. This small neat town, with two mosques and several good shops, seemed half-concealed among its luxuriant gardens. Here the Persian grooms were cautioned against any altercation with the inhabitants, who, although not uncivil towards us, bore the character of extreme irascibility; every man carried arms; and some of them boasted that they had killed, not long before, when *ASKER KHA'N*, going as Ambassador to Paris, halted here, one of his servants, whose chief offence, as far as I could learn, was

the circumstance of being a Persian, and of the *Shiah* sect; for though equally Muhammedans, the *Sunni* Turks hold in abhorrence all who venerate ALI more than OMAR; thinking, as Rycant informs us, that however meritorious it is in the sight of God, to slay a Christian, "much rather he who kills "a Persian, shall obtain a reward seventy fold from the fountain of justice." (Ottoman Empire, 3d. Edit. p. 122). During some days I had remarked an increasing air of insolence, and at the same time of foppery among the people, especially young men who strutted about, each armed and seemingly encumbered with his large pistols (often silver-mounted), and a long knife or sword stuck in his sash; the jackets or short cloaks being carelessly tossed over one shoulder; most of them affected also to wear the turbans loosely wrapped about their heads, after a peculiar fashion; thus equipped, they lounged in perfect idleness, but ready to bear a part in any fray, and not unwilling to commence one. Many of them, I understood, belonged to the marine establishment of *galionjis*, and this explained the various figures of anchors, ships and fishes, rudely scratched or painted by them on the walls and doors of houses, and worked as badges on their sleeves<sup>(92)</sup>.

29th. We set out from *Khandek* at seven, and travelled through a flat country, thickly wooded, in some places on a rough stone causeway, and in others on planks raised two or three feet above the general marshy level. About the tenth

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(92) It was said that the inhabitants of this region as far as the *Kara dengez* (Σόρξ) or Black Sea, not distant from *Khandek* many leagues, were proverbially ferocious; and that within thirty years a certain *Pashá* on account of the frequent robberies and murders which they committed, undertook to extirpate the race, and actually slaughtered considerable numbers both of males and females; but the destruction was not complete; and the present generation has proved still more fierce and turbulent. The classical reader will here recollect that in early ages the Black Sea was denominated by the Greeks *Axeinos* (Ἀχαινος) or "inhospitable;" not merely on account of the excessive cold to which it was exposed, but also, says Strabo, (lib. vii) from "the cruelty of those tribes resident on its shores, especially the Scythians, who sacrificed guests or strangers, devouring their flesh and using their skulls as drinking "cups." The same Geographer relates that this sea was afterwards called *Euxeinus* or "hospitable," when the Ionians had erected a city on its coast; ὅτερον δ' Εὐξείνιον κελεύσθαι τῶν Ἰωνίων ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ πόλιν κησαντων. (Lib. vii). But whatever alteration the name may have undergone, those who inhabit the Southern borders, at least, of this sea, appear to retain in a considerable degree the character of their barbarous ancestors.

mile, we halted under some fine trees close to a wooden bridge, crossing a muddy river, very deep, but not broad; here was a man who supplied travellers with coffee and grapes, and sold us a fine large fish just taken out of the neighbouring stream. We then proceeded 11 or 12 miles, through a flat and richly wooded tract, to a long bridge of timber, on which we crossed the river *Sakariah* (صقريه, before described as the ancient Sagaris or Sangarius). Of this, the bed seemed to exceed a quarter of a mile in width, but the water now was low, running here in nearly a N. W. direction. From persons stationed on the bridge, we purchased some rings of bread, such as I had already seen at *Boli*. About three miles beyond this spot, I observed on the right, a well-constructed bridge of stone, with many arches; at each end, small buildings were visible; toll-houses or guard-rooms, as our guide informed me; but under this handsome structure (a work ascribed to the Genoese), I could not discover any water<sup>(93)</sup>. Having proceeded a few miles farther we came to that noble expanse of water, that "most ample lake," as Pliny described what the Turks now call *Sábanjeh geul*, or the lake of *Sábanjeh*<sup>(94)</sup>; extending, from east to west, as well as I could judge, between 20 and 30 miles; but seemingly not equal in breadth to half the length; at some spots it so encroached upon the road as to wet our horses feet, and almost touch the beautiful shrubs and lofty trees that clothed and ornamented its banks; these were in two or three places steep sandy cliffs seventy or eighty feet high. I tasted the water of this lake and found its flavour

(93) A strange local tradition thus accounts for the important deficiency. It is said that this bridge, (now called *Mehemet Cupri*), was erected by a great princess three or four hundred years ago, over the river *Sakariah*; every traveller who passed being obliged to pay an *asper* or *para*, the smallest and least valuable Turkish coin, being of base metal. One day, a holy *derwish*, who did not possess money sufficient even for that inconsiderable toll, was stopped by the guards; he pleaded extreme poverty, but in vain; he promised, if allowed to pass, that he would pray for the person who had founded a structure of such utility; this offer was brutally rejected; the indignant *derwish* struck the bank with a hammer, and the river *Sakariah* instantly changed its course, and has not since returned to the bridge.

(94) "Est in Nicomedensium finibus amplissimus lacus," &c. See the younger Pliny's letter, (Lib. x. epist. 50), in which he recommends to the Emperor Trajan, that a communication should be opened between this lake and the sea; a work which some former king, he says, had undertaken, as appeared by the vestiges of an unfinished canal.



unpleasant, (perhaps from the heavy rain which disturbed the bottom), but not saltish, as some Turks had described it. We now became sensible of our approach towards a great capital, from the number and various classes of travellers passing to and fro, and the hundreds of four-wheeled vehicles, each drawn by two oxen, and carrying boards and trunks of trees, destined for the naval arsenal at Constantinople. We arrived at *Sábanjeh* (صابانجه), having performed a journey of 32 miles in about nine hours. The inn (if so may be styled the *khan*), afforded us ample room; and in the spacious stables our horses were well accommodated; but although there was a *bázár* or market-place, this little village (formerly called *Sophon*) yielded us such a scanty supply of food, that we gladly availed ourselves of the large fish, already mentioned. Here, after I lay down at night, the tones of a sweet, though manly voice, and of a string-instrument, managed with pleasing taste and very delicate execution, induced me to remain awake for a considerable time; this musick, which was much in the Persian style, seemed to issue from a house adjoining. Early on the 30th, I examined a monumental stone which had attracted my notice as we entered *Sábanjeh*; and concerning which, during the dusk of evening and the rain, my fingers rather than my eyes, had ascertained that it bore an inscription. This stone was nearly opposite the post-house, and its inscribed face so close to the wall of a barn or stable, that travellers might easily pass yet not observe it, the three faces exposed to the road being perfectly plain. It did not much exceed two feet in height, and served as a kind of step from which the peasants mounted on their mules and horses. In the sketch (Pl. LIX) I have represented its form, and faithfully copied the Greek inscription, which expresses, that "Arrian, the son of Dædalsus, died in the forty-eighth year of his age;" and concludes with the usual valediction, "fare thee well." Recollecting that Arrian, the celebrated writer, was a native of Bithynia, and governor of the neighbouring province, Cappadocia, I thought it not improbable that he had died at *Sábanjeh*, and that this stone was his sepulchral monument; and as we must feel an interest in every circumstance, however trifling, which concerns such a man, who, like his illustrious prototype Xenophon, was a philosopher, an historian and a

general, I flattered myself with the belief of having thus discovered the place of his interment, the number of his years, and his father's name<sup>(25)</sup>. As I had reason to complain that on some former occasions, my antiquarian researches were impeded by the jealous or angry looks of vulgar fellows, so it is just to acknowledge here, that I was assisted in examining the tomb of Arrian by two Turks, whose rich dresses and numerous attendants announced them to be men of considerable rank; they were seated in the coffee-room, nearly opposite that monument, which, perceiving that it was bespattered with mud, they sent a servant to cleanse and wash. They seemed pleased with my copy of the inscription; this they gravely pronounced to be in the *Farangki* or European character, but expressed some doubts of its antiquity, which I was willing to trace back almost seventeen hundred years. Farther in the village, and close to a fountain, was another stone resembling an ancient altar or pedestal; but it did not exhibit any device or inscription.

At seven we left *Sábanjeh*, and reached *Ismid* (or *Iznicmíd*) soon after one; the distance being nearly 20 miles; the country flat and fertile, almost a continued grove, abounding especially with magnificent oaks. We passed, about half-way, the neatly sculptured monuments lately erected over two unfortunate men of *Arzerúm*, brothers, assassinated here three years ago by robbers, who had followed them from Constantinople in consequence of an ostentatious display of their money. We met this day several hundred soldiers; they had served six months with the armies, and were now permitted to revisit their homes; but they all carried muskets, and, as usual, amused themselves and endangered the lives of travellers by firing balls at random in every direction. About the 18th

(25) This discovery of Arrian's monument was slightly noticed in the *Classical Journal*, No. XIII, (April 1813) p. 233; and I communicated to the editor of that work (See No. XXXII, p. 394, Dec. 1817) a copy of the inscription, ΑΡΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΔΟΙ-ΑΛΛΕΟΥ ΖΗΣ ΕΤΗ ΜΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ, with a remark that Δοιδάλεος or Δύδαλεος was a name of some celebrity, as we learn from Strabo (Lib. XII); Memnon (in Photii Biblioth.) and others. It appears to have been more particularly Bithynian; the first Nicomedes (that king who gave his name to the city of Nicomedia) was descended in the fourth degree from a prince called Doidaleus or Dydaleus.

mile we saw a large village on the right; then rode through a small river; soon after crossed it again on a bridge, and passing among noble cypress trees, entered a large town, admirably situate on the side of a mountain, rising with much majesty from the sea; and contributing with others, beautifully wooded, to close a narrow gulf or bay of the Propontis. *Nicomedia*, the ancient Greek name of this city, has been corrupted into *Iz-nicmîd* (ازنکمید) or *Ismid*, by a process not unusual among the Turks. *Nicomedia* appears to have been nearly the same as *Olbia*; and writers of good authority would confound it with *Astacus*, while others deny this identity; supposing *Astacus* a different, though not very distant city, from the ruins of which, when destroyed by *Lysimachus*, (about 300 years before Christ), the inhabitants were transferred to *Nicomedia*<sup>(\*)</sup>. Whatever monuments of former ages still existed here, it was not in my power to examine; but from the accounts of *Busbequius*, *Grelôt*, *Paul Lucas* and *Mr. Dallaway*, there is reason to believe them numerous. Nothing more than an imperfect Greek inscription, on a stone reversed, and some other fragments of sculptured marbles, confounded, as usual, by the Turks, in modern buildings, attracted my observation as I passed through the streets on horseback. That *Nicomedia* was the pride and metropolis of *Bithynia*, (notwithstanding the pretensions of a rival, *Nicæa*) we learn from *Pliny*, from *Pausanius*, from *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and from medals; but it appears to have suffered many conflagrations; and one alone, (that of the year 358, described by *Ammianus*, lib. xvii) continuing to rage during fifty days and nights, must have consumed all that was immediately perishable; “*quidquid consumi poterat.*” Yet monuments of marble or of bronze, gems, vases, coins, arms, ornaments, and various articles of domestick furniture, may still remain beneath the mass of ruins formed when this city and its suburbs, with all their magnificent edifices, long the favourite residence of Emperors, were overthrown by that earthquake which caused the conflagration. Respecting

(\*) See *Strab.* Lib. XII. c. 15. *Ptolem.* V. 1. *Pausan.* V. 12. *Memnon* (apud *Phot.*) *Trebell. Poll.* (inter *Hist. Aug. Script.*) *Euseb.* (*Chron. Canon.*) *Ammian. Marcel.* XXII. *Salmas.* (*Plin. Exercit.*) *D'Auville, &c.*

the actual state of Nicomedia, I can offer but a few observations; the town seemed large and very populous; the inhabitants were in general a remarkably handsome race; the faces of some young men and women resembling more strongly in their style of beauty the antique Grecian countenance than any I had hitherto seen. The beggars of both sexes and of all ages were numerous and most importunate; among them must be classed even the well-clothed post-master himself; and here the baker's boys recommended by an extraordinary cry their fine white bread made in the form of rings, as before described: meat and fruit seemed to abound in the market; and we were supplied by the Greeks and Armenians with wine which was not unpalatable, and very strong arrack. Here I first observed the yellow tint of autumn begin to show itself on the leaves of a majestick and beautiful oak that shaded the windows of my room in the post-house.

31st. During our halt this morning, MUSTAFA and MUSA the *Tátars*, and most of the Persians, Turks and Armenians that formed my party, commenced by the shaving of heads and trimming of beards, their preparations towards making a respectable appearance in the great capital which we expected to enter within two days; they likewise opened various packages, and unfolded their clothes; but it particularly gratified me to witness their arrangements for putting on clean inside garments; since there was reason to believe that some of them, notwithstanding the excessive heat, had not once changed any article of dress during the months of July and August. About noon the *Tátár* GANGE ALI (گنج علی) whom we had left at *Tabriz* arrived with despatches from Sir Gore Ouseley for Mr. Liston, our Ambassador to the Porte. I availed myself of this opportunity and wrote a letter to Mr. Morier, the Consul General at Constantinople. In the evening we proceeded on our journey, and having left the town through a long street where houses, tomb-stones and cypress trees appeared on both sides, we approached the sea and continued to view its unruffled surface, very near on the left, for 18 or 20 miles; whilst by the light of innumerable stars, shining with more brilliancy than I had ever remarked, the

finely swelling hills that bounded the bay on its opposite side were distinctly visible. We then turned a little among mountains, and alighted at *Gibisah* (or *Gibijah* كيبجه as the name appears in my list of stages) before five on the morning of September the first. This was a march of 28 or 30 miles; we passed when nearly half way a *Caravansera* called *Harek Khan* which afforded lodgings and coffee; it was said, too, that a traveller bringing meat with him, might have it cooked at an adjoining shop. This *khan* was close to the sea; and here we found ourselves among several hundred soldiers, of whom most were sleeping on the ground; and many smoking; but none of them annoyed us, as others on former occasions, by firing bullets at random. We had not enjoyed quite two hours sleep in the post-house at *Gibisah* when MUSTAFA informed me that it would be expedient to leave the place as many servants of the *Páshá* had just arrived, announcing the approach of this great personage with above two hundred guards and other attendants. I set out accordingly, at nine, much regretting that my intention of exploring *Gibisah* could not be accomplished; for, as this village, although now inconsiderable, was the ancient *Libyssa*, a name but little altered beyond the first letter<sup>(\*)</sup>; we might reasonably expect to discover, in or near it, some vestiges of that monument which covered or contained the bones of Hannibal. We had proceeded but a few miles from *Gibisah*, when several armed men on horseback, with many attendants on foot, appeared, escorting some of the *Páshá's* women, who sat in vehicles resembling the Persian *cájávahs*, already described; but these of the Turks were more neatly made and gaily ornamented; they had, besides, the advantage of an awning or covering, which shaded the fair travellers from the sun; being equally extended over the two baskets or boxes that contained their seats. We soon after met an unwieldy carriage of the coach-kind, four-wheeled, richly gilt and painted; this was drawn by four horses, and as we passed it, I heard through the blinds and curtains, the voice of a young child and of a

(\*) I remarked that the Greeks and many Turks pronounced the modern name as if written *Givisah*; and it appears that the ancient name suffered a similar alteration; for in the Ptolemaic Table, we read "*Livissa*."

woman, the favourite or principal wife, as it was said, of the *Páshá*. This great man himself, we saw, in a field near the road side, about two miles farther, sitting cross-legged on a fine carpet spread in front, but within the shade of his tent, which was green outside, with various coloured hangings, and gilt poles; two long and highly decorated spears being stuck in the ground exactly opposite. The *Páshá* was smoking in very solemn state; his robes were yellow and white; several men handsomely dressed stood respectfully before him, and many *Janizaries*, *Tátárs*, and other attendants, were reposing in small tents and under the large trees, within forty or fifty yards all around him. It was mentioned to me that he had expressed a wish of asking some questions concerning the Prince Regent's horses, from one of the Persian grooms. I immediately sent to him KARI'M BEIG (كريم بيگ), the principal, who satisfied his curiosity. At the 7th or 8th mile beyond *Gibisah*, so many Turks were assembled, drinking and washing at a fountain of carved stone, that I was not able to examine or copy the Greek inscription which it exhibited<sup>(\*)</sup>. We halted a few minutes at *Pantik*; (the ancient *Pantichium*) beautifully situate on the sea shore. Some remains of sculptured stones, and foundations of extensive buildings, prove that this was once a more considerable town. Having proceeded three miles farther, we alighted at *Kártál* (قارتال), a large village, (the ancient *Cartalimen*) standing like *Pantik*, immediately on a bay of the sea, and distant from *Gibisah* 15 or 16 miles. Here several fishing vessels were anchored close

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(\*) Having advanced from this spot about three miles, we rode by a vineyard on our right, and within sixty or seventy yards of some boats on our left, partly aground; from one of these a shot was discharged, and the bullet passed between my head and James the English groom who was close behind. Looking at the shore whence this shot had been fired, I perceived a fellow preparing to level his musket at us, and, as his party seemed to consist but of four or five men, my first impulse would have induced me to attack them; but MUSTAFA called out loudly and begged that we might gallop on and shelter ourselves behind the trees near an old fountain and some tombstones. Here I learned from him and from the *Sarufi* who attended our post-horses, that this part of the sea-coast was frequented by a numerous band of robbers; who if pursued by a superior force, escaped in their boats; that although five or six only had shewn themselves, fifteen or perhaps twenty others were lurking near them. Many atrocities were mentioned as having been lately committed by these outlaws; and MUSTAFA saw, about three years before, the bodies of a *Muslimán* and an Armenian Christian whom they had murdered on this spot the day before he passed it.

to the houses. From a window of our *khan* or inn, I delineated (as in Pl. LXXX) the bay, part of the long street, and the cemetery with its cypresses; for in this country there are not many tomb-stones without the melancholy shade of that

“Dark tree; still sad when other’s grief is fled,

“The only constant mourner o’er the dead!”

as it is well described by one of our best living poets<sup>(99)</sup>. At *Kártál*, as at some of our stages during the last hundred miles, I heard clocks strike; and found that they did not mark the hours according to our mode of computation, but from sunrise to sunset; the sound, however, reminded me of Europe and of home, and was most grateful to my ear. Many families, it was said, had come over from Constantinople to settle here, in hopes of avoiding the plague, which now desolated that capital.

On the 2d, we set off soon after three in the morning, and having travelled between 11 and 12 miles, and passed (but not visited) the remains of *Chalcedon*, on our left, began to enter a gloomy avenue of cypress trees and tomb-stones, through which we rode above two miles, and arrived before seven o’clock at *Scutari*, as we generally call *Iscudár* (اسكدار). This large town, full of the bustle that usually pervades every well frequented sea-port, was formerly called *Chrysopolis*, or the “City of Gold,” because, says Dionysius of Byzantium, (as quoted by his compatriot Stephanus) here were deposited those treasures which the Persians, during their government, collected from other cities as tributes. Stephanus however, adds, that it was more generally supposed to derive its name from Chryses, the son of Agamemnon and Chryseis<sup>(100)</sup>.

<sup>(99)</sup> See Lord Byron’s “Giaour,” v. 286. The cemeteries of *Scutari* are described by Olivier, as more beautiful than any others in the Turkish empire, “par leur étendue, “le luxe des tombeaux, la hauteur et le rapprochement des arbres,” (Voyages, Tome I. p. 75; Paris, an. 9). He adds, that the rich Turks of Constantinople, from a sentiment of pride or of piety, prefer to be buried in Asia, which they regard as a kind of holy land, belonging to true believers; whilst the cemeteries on the European side are destined, they think, to become, on a future day, (like their capital) the property of Christian powers, and to be contaminated by the footsteps of infidels.

<sup>(100)</sup> Διονύσιος δε ο Βυζαντίας—περι του ονοματος αυτον (Chrysopolis) ταδε φησι. Κεκληται δε Χρυσοπολις ως μεν ενιοι φασιν επι της Περσων ηγεμονιας, ενταυθα ποιουμένων τον προσιαντος απο των πολων χρυσου τον αθροισμον. Οι δε πλειονι απο Χρυσου παιδος Χρυσηδος και Αγαμεμνονος. Steph. Byzant. in Chrysop.

Here, having arrived on the verge of Asia, I gazed with astonishment and delight at the glorious prospect that presented itself on the European shore of the Bosphorus; Constantinople appearing in all its majesty before me, and its suburbs, with a long succession of *kiosks* or summer-houses, gardens, palaces, mosques, and cypress groves, extending for many miles towards the Black Sea, and forming, with several ships of considerable size, and innumerable boats, such a scene as far surpassed every idea that I had conceived, although prepared, by various descriptions, to expect something wonderfully beautiful and sublime. Whilst I enjoyed this view, one of the English Ambassador's *Janizaries* delivered a letter written by Mr. Morier, our Consul General at Constantinople, in answer to that which I had addressed to him from Nicomedia; his account of the plague confirmed even the most lamentable reports that had reached us; he informed me that his Excellency Mr. Liston, had provided a room for my accommodation in the palace at Pera; and he made the most obliging offers of his own services. It was, however, still uncertain whether a vessel could be here procured which might convey at once the Prince Regent's horses and the presents to England; or whether I should find it necessary to protract my expedition in Asia as far as Smyrna, or some other sea-port. Resolving therefore to lose no further time, but consult immediately with the Ambassador, and make arrangements respecting the prosecution of my journey, I went with MUSTAFA into a boat, and leaving all the others of my party, with the horses and baggage, at *Scutari*, was soon rowed across the Thracian Bosphorus, (here about one mile and a half wide) and landed in Europe.



## CHAPTER XX.

### *Constantinople, Smyrna, and return to England.*

SOON after eight o'clock (on the morning of September 2d), I proceeded from the landing place to our Ambassador's palace, and was most politely received by Mr. (now the Right Honourable Sir Robert) Liston, who, with his Lady, Mr. Frere the Secretary, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Turner, and other gentlemen of the Embassy, had just sat down to breakfast. Here, emerging from an association of two months with semi-barbarians, I felt, very acutely, the sudden transition to a state of polished and refined life; and highly enjoyed, after a long privation of many things which some would deem almost necessary, all the European luxuries, elegancies and conveniencies of a princely mansion. Mr. Liston's hospitality was not restricted to me; he ordered that a room should be prepared for Mr. Price, who, before noon, arrived from *Scutari*. Stables were provided for the Prince Regent's horses, which, with most of the men who formed my party, were brought over from the Asiatick shore in the course of a few hours. It was now advised and determined that I should await the return of a courier, expected within five or six days from Smyrna, as his information concerning the English ships at that port, might considerably influence my proceedings; there not being any chance of obtaining at Constantinople a vessel suited to my purposes. The horses, besides, required an interval of rest after a tedious and fatiguing journey; as for myself, no man was ever blest with more perfect health, nor more capable of immediately undertaking a new expedition either by land or by sea. According to the salutary system generally adopted during a pestilential season by the Foreign Ministers and principal Christians resident in

the suburbs of this great capital, the English palace was closed against all Turks; nor, without due precaution, was the gate of its outer wall opened to any person; those who sought admission were fumigated at the porter's lodge, being so placed over a chafing-dish of burning aromatics, that the smoke might in its ascent pervade their entire dress; even the various articles of food necessary for domestick consumption, were not received until they had undergone immersion in a large tub of water; from this process, however, I must notice the exception of bread; which, at least when fresh, does not, it is said, communicate infection<sup>(1)</sup>. Whilst I resided at Constantinople, the number of those who daily fell victims to the plague, fluctuated, as local report stated, between one thousand and fifteen hundred. But there is reason to believe that the horrible account of mortality sometimes comprehended still more; and that during certain periods when the disease raged with unusual malignancy, the deaths in this city amounted within a single day even to two thousand. A passage from the work of an able physician and ingenious traveller, published since my return to England, is below quoted, in confirmation of this circumstance<sup>(2)</sup>. A journey

(1) The plague, which had now continued above two months, began, as was said, in the district of *Saint Demetri*, which it nearly depopulated: then spread itself more generally among the Greeks of *Galata*; next affected the Armenians of that quarter, and finally reaching the Turks, (with whom it most frequently commences), the contagion became universal; for to these bigotted fatalists, the prevention and the cure of this disease were, as usual, matters of equal indifference; and they vainly flattered themselves with the hope that its ravages would spontaneously cease on the first day of their *Ramazan* or holy fast, which this year occurred on the 7th of September. They superstitiously remarked, also, that during a war of several years with the Russians, Constantinople had not suffered from the plague; and that this scourge did not afflict the city until peace had been made with those hardy infidels of the north, whom they consider as their natural and inveterate enemies.

(2) "The dreadful destruction which the plague committed at Constantinople during the year 1812, was at this period (November) at its height. During our stay at Larissa, the Archbishop received a letter of some credit from that city, in which it was affirmed, that the deaths there in the preceding three months, amounted to about 120,000, and that in the month of October, not fewer than 2000 on the average died every day. Some months after this time, I had the opportunity of seeing a written document, in which an estimate was given of the mortality at Constantinople and its environs, during the period from June 1812 to the following January. This document, which derived an appearance of accuracy from the minuteness of its details, stated the total number of deaths to exceed 300,000. There may be exaggeration in these estimates, but it is at least certain that there are few recorded instances of greater calamity, within the same time and among the same amount of population." (Dr. Holland's Travels, p. 265).

of some weeks through an infected country had not so familiarised my mind with the horrors of this disease, as to render me insensible of its dangers. I had never willingly incurred, (although taking but little trouble to avoid), the risk of contact, by which alone, it is commonly affirmed, the plague can be communicated; and I now observed, during many days, the same system of seclusion, as the other inmates at the Ambassador's palace, who quitted its precincts only on short and not very frequent excursions, to places supposed free from the contagion. Yet in thus secluding myself, I consulted rather the feelings of others than my own; since, respecting the plague, I possessed that kind of indifference, which among the Turks may be ascribed to fatalism, and which, whether caused by a blind confidence in the natural habit or disposition of body, or by pious resignation; by constitutional boldness or religious hope, has powerfully contributed to save many from infection; has supported others under their sufferings, and frequently promoted their recovery, from a disease in which fear or despondency is the almost certain fore-runner of death<sup>(\*)</sup>. Never were even my suspicions excited, relative to the actual infection of myself, but on one occasion, when, soon after midnight, a noise in the left ear, (so loud as to be almost painful), occasioned, probably, by some insect, suddenly awakened me, and continued during several minutes, whilst busy recollection suggested that a tinkling in that organ was regarded as one symptom of the plague. But all suspicion ceased with the noise; and after a

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(\*) The Turks, as Mr. Thornton informs us, "from temperance, from consequent robustness of constitution, and from firmness of mind, frequently escape after infection." (Present State of Turkey, p. 323; 2to Edition, 1807). Yet according to another well-informed writer, of an hundred persons infected, eight or ten only recover, (See "D'Ohsson's Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman," Tome IV; p. 386). It is however, as Mr. Dallaway affirms, "past contradiction, that one man shall expose himself to the contact of crowds without precaution, and yet escape the contagion; whilst another, who has immured himself and been scrupulously careful, shall receive the taint of death from unfolding a letter." (Constantinople, ancient and modern, p. 107). In whatever degree habitual temperance may contribute towards a cure, it is certain that many persons regard wine and even ardent spirits as excellent preservatives from infection. Thus the *Tatars* who accompanied me through Asia Minor, on first discovering that the plague surrounded us, became loud in recommendation of those liquors, and most pertinaciously followed their own prescription, especially in imbibing copious draughts of strong and fiery arrack; which, however, there was reason to doubt, whether they had at any time regarded with much abhorrence.

sound sleep of four or five hours, I rose without the slightest indisposition of body or alarm of mind. Yet from various well authenticated anecdotes it might be easily proved, that less serious causes of apprehension have often produced fatal consequences; for with those whose habits are more than commonly susceptible, to *fear* is the same as to *receive* the contagion of a disease, in which far above every other, the imagination operates with surprising influence<sup>(4)</sup>. The only person belonging to my party who suffered from the plague was he who at all times feared it most, KARI'M BEIG, chief of the Persian grooms; an intelligent man, whose recital of Eastern tales had amused many hours of my nocturnal journies. He was of very respectable character, and inoffensive conduct; of temperate and even abstemious habits; but prepossessed with most gloomy apprehensions concerning the plague. I have myself heard him declare two or three times during our expedition through Turkey, that he did not expect ever to revisit his native land. A few days after our arrival at Constantinople, he died, almost in the very act of prayer, having just performed his devotions with much religious fervency, stretched on the spotted skin of a *yüz* (يوز) or lynx, which had occasionally served him as a saddle-cloth and a carpet. Mortal infection, it was supposed, had been communicated to him on the morning of the second, at *Scutari*, from the keeper of the *khan* or inn, who served me, as well as him and some more of our party, with coffee, which he handed to us in china cups, acknowledging coolly, at the same moment, that the corpse of a woman, but recently dead of the plague, was then lying in the house. KARI'M BEIG, during his illness, was frequently visited by the other Persians, and by

(4) Mr. Thornton (as above quoted p. 323) assures us that he knew a lady "who sickened immediately and died with all the symptoms of the plague, on being informed that a person, whom she had visited several days before, was dead of that disorder"—"If the patient," says Mr. Dallaway, "droops under the dread of death, that event becomes almost inevitable: nor is there a disease in which the mind exerts so decided an influence, or the imagination is awakened to so fatal a sense of danger." (Constant. p. 107).—"La crainte et la contagion sont une même chose," says Vanbelmont, as quoted by Pouqueville, (*Voyage en Morée*, &c. Tome I. p. 402), who adds, that according to Gaubius, it was doubtful whether those who feared epidemick maladies were not the only persons exposed to them. "Gaubius met en doute si les peureux seuls ne sont pas exposés aux epidemies."

one of those *plague-doctors*, who form a body at Constantinople, more numerous, it would appear, than useful. Although many instances occurred within my own observation, of that apathy and neglect of precaution, with which the Turks, in general, contemplate the approach of death under the form of pestilential disease, yet I remarked that on some occasions they excluded from their houses, bundles of the garments worn by those who had lately expired, and the bedding, which it was natural to suppose had been contaminated by infection. Some of these things seemed yet sufficiently new and serviceable; but most were old and tattered; yet, as my Turkish companions hinted, there existed wretches so miserably poor, or so meanly avaricious, as to seize on these disgusting spoils of the dead, and either sell them for a trifle, or apply them to their own personal uses. Of such bundles, exposed in corners, or on pillars and stair-cases, many were visible one day, when, being on the eve of my departure from Constantinople, I was induced to perambulate the ancient part of this city, by an irresistible desire of viewing, however hastily, the publick objects yet remaining, most worthy of an antiquary's notice. I had deferred, as long as was possible consistently with the gratification of this desire, to visit the infected quarter, where, as various reports informed us, the plague more particularly raged with daily increasing virulence; for it was my intention, had Mr. Liston expressed any strong apprehension of dangerous consequences from this visit, to absent myself after it from the palace; indeed I should not have resumed my place at his hospitable board had even a momentary head-ache, or any other sensation of pain, however trifling, given the slightest occasion for alarm.

It was early on the thirteenth, when, in one of those neatly carved and ornamented boats, of which thousands are employed almost incessantly, by the inhabitants of this great maritime city<sup>(\*)</sup>, I crossed that narrow bay or creek of the Bosphorus which separates Pera from Byzantium. My com-

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(\*) Grelôt states the number of sail and row-boats continually passing here, at sixteen thousand. "La quantité prodigieuse de kaïcs, permes ou gondoles et petits bateaux, dont le nombre est estimé monter a seize mille," &c. (Voyage, p. 84).

panions were Mr. Wood, a gentleman engaged in studying the Turkish language, *MUSTAFA* the *Tátár*, and a Janizary named *HASSAN AGHA*, whom the Ambassador had ordered to attend me. From the landing-place we walked up to the *Atmeidán* or Hippodrome, and viewed the brazen serpents and the obelisks; that admirable edifice *Sancta Sophia*, and near it a beautiful fountain resembling a square house of filligree work; the vast reservoir or cistern of "a thousand and "one pillars," as it was styled by a Greek who kept the key, and lamented that the pillars were partly concealed by an accumulation of earth and stones, the rubbish of different buildings thrown in by the Turks. We saw the gate-way, whence, it has been said, was derived the title of "Sublime " *Porte*," and the adjoining edifice, containing the principal offices of the Turkish government. We looked at several stately and splendid mosques, and entered as far within the outer courts of the Seraglio as is generally allowed to strangers. But I have not pretended, from my very superficial view, to describe those remains of antiquity, nor the edifices above barely mentioned. So many ingenious travellers have already published minute accounts of Constantinople, that it would be unnecessary for me, were I qualified, to state particulars of all those objects. After a glance at whatever bore the reputation of antiquity, we proceeded to the rope-walk, near which I observed several enormous cannon-balls of stone, (such as *Rycaut*, p. 201, describes as from three feet to forty inches in diameter); and rambling through various streets and market-places, purchased a few trifling articles. In some of the most narrow lanes we met funeral processions; the bodies were carried to the graves (but, as I understood, not buried) in wooden coffins. Returning by water, we passed along the naval arsenal, where was a large ship of war on the stocks; near it lay many other vessels of considerable size, but apparently old and much in need of repair. I remarked that one of them was named the *Nimet-i-Khudá* (نعمت خدا), or "Grace of God;" another *Azhder Bahri* (اژدر بحري), the Great Serpent or "Dragon of the Sea," and a third displayed the title of *Humái Bahri* (دهاي بحري), the "Marine *Humái*," or "Royal Eagle of the Ocean;" like these, also, were some other names, entirely compounded of Arabick and Persian,

words. The grand Turkish fleet, eleven sail of the line, besides three or four frigates, all in complete order, and very handsome vessels, constructed according to the French or English system of naval architecture, I had previously seen, lying at anchor near the mouth of the Black Sea, when, on the seventh, with several gentlemen of the Embassy, I attended Mr. and Mrs. Liston to *Büyuc dereh* (بيوك دره). On this occasion we embarked in the Ambassador's state barge at *Pera*, soon after six o'clock in the morning; and seven Greek rowers, of whom the principal was an uncommonly handsome man, conducted us along the European side of the Bosphorus, which, like the opposite Asiatick shore, afforded a succession of beautiful and diversified prospects; exhibiting gilded and airy *kiosks* or summer-houses; slender *minârehs*; dark groves of lofty cypresses, and smiling flower gardens. At length the mouth of the Euxine or Black Sea opened on our view, and about nine o'clock, having passed near some large ships of the Turkish fleet, we landed at *Büyuc dereh*, and proceeded to the house of M. Jabat, the Spanish minister, where breakfast had been provided for us; this repast comprised, among various luxuries, that kind of fish which is called in the Turkish (and, as a gentleman of the company observed, in almost every other language) by a name signifying "sword-fish." From the Spanish minister's, we accompanied Madame Jabat, our amiable and accomplished hostess, to the villa of M. Italinski, the Russian Envoy, and walked on the terraces and in the gardens that embellish this spot, where once resided the English Ambassador, Sir Robert Ainslie. We next proceeded to visit M. Palin, the Swedish Envoy, an ingenious antiquary. Having passed several hours most pleasantly at *Büyuc dereh*, we again embarked in Mr. Liston's barge, descended rapidly with the current of the Bosphorus, and returned to the palace at *Pera*, soon after three o'clock. During this aquatick excursion we saw many boats conveying the bodies of men and women recently dead, to various cemeteries, both on the European and the Asiatick shore; over each body a white sheet was spread; and I remarked at the head of one a cockade, silver and white; from which hung a bunch of grapes; others were decorated with grapes and flowers; these, as a Turk informed me afterwards, designated young unmarried women or children.

A residence of thirteen days at *Pera*, enabled me to indulge in perusing or at least turning over, some French and English books, published since my departure from Europe; the London newspapers also proved highly interesting after so long a privation of all intelligence respecting home. Of the leisure moments which I here enjoyed, a few were spent in arranging the loose notes hastily taken during the latter part of my journey, and in delineating some remnants of Grecian sculpture, lately discovered among the stones that constituted the foundation of an old stable, near the palace in which they were now preserved, (See Pl. LIX, fig. 13, 14, 18 and 19). The circle of our domestick society was occasionally enlarged by visits from Mr. Morier, the worthy Consul General, Mr. Pisani, chief Dragoman, (*Tarjemán* ترجمان or interpreter), and Mr. (now Sir William) Boughton, who, as I most particularly regretted, did not arrive until a short time before my departure; this young traveller (already mentioned in Vol. I. p. 436) had just completed a most interesting journey through Syria and Egypt.

It was at length ascertained on the arrival of a messenger, that the *Salsette*, an English frigate, had been for some time stationed near Smyrna; and, in hopes of obtaining a passage in that ship, at least to Malta, (whence opportunities of proceeding to England, it was said, frequently occurred), I resolved to delay no longer. By the obliging assistance of the Ambassador and Mr. Morier, all the arrangements necessary for my departure were soon effected. A *firmán* was procured, signed by the *Reis Effendi*, recommending me, in the usual manner, to all officers and magistrates; besides which, a letter was given more particularly addressed to the governor of *Mikhálíj*, and to KARA OSMÁ'N ZA'DEH, one of the most powerful chiefs in that part of Asia Minor through which I was to pass. A boat was hired sufficiently large to accommodate the Prince Regent's horses during the passage to *Mikhálíj*, on the Asiatick shore, a navigation seldom exceeding ten or twelve hours. The Persian grobms, on the death of their fellow-countryman, KARÍM BEIG, had requested permission to quit Constantinople immediately, and set out on their return to *Tubriz*. In their place some Greeks and Ar



menians were engaged to attend the horses ; these, with the baggage, and a hamper which Mrs. Liston had kindly filled with cold-meat, wine and American spruce beer, were put on board during the 14th. MUSTAFA still continued of my party ; and, as an additional protector, the Janizary HASSAN was directed by Mr. Liston to accompany me ; the country between *Mikhâtij* and Smyrna, especially some districts near *Bergamo*, (the ancient Pergamus) being at this time in a disturbed state.

14th. We sailed from the *Tûpkhâneh* (طوپخانه or "artillery magazine") soon after eight o'clock ; the evening was delightfully mild ; our boat glided gently down, midway between Europe and Asia ; the seraglio, with its domes and gardens on our right, and *Scutari* on the left. We distinctly heard, from both sides at once, the solemn and often melodious voices of the *Muezzins*, resounding, as they called the people to prayers, from the *minârehs* of numerous mosques ; whilst the lamps that illuminated these buildings, amidst the gloom of cypress groves, produced, as the night became dark, a most beautiful effect. Our boat's crew consisted of six or seven Greeks, who, as there was but little wind, occasionally plied their oars. Thus we crossed the Sea of Marmora or the White Sea (formerly called Propontis), and about ten o'clock on the 15th entered the river of *Mikhâtij* (مخالج). Here, although stakes set up to mark certain shallow spots sufficiently indicated the danger, our sailors allowed the vessel to run aground ; and we were not relieved from this embarrassing situation, without the assistance of a pilot who came to us in a small boat, holding in his hand a red flag. It was found expedient to reduce the quantity of our ballast, and among the stones and gravel that composed it, I discovered, and caused to be immediately thrown overboard, the spotted skin (before mentioned) on which KARI'M BEIG had lain extended at the moment of his death, and which some of my party (there was reason to suspect a particular individual), although all denied the charge, had appropriated, without any regard to the infection that it might communicate. The boat was soon drawn up close to the low marshy bank on our right ; the horses were after some difficulties landed, and

allowed me to see. The nature of my mission precluding any unnecessary delay, or any deviation from the most direct road to Smyrna, I had already, while at Constantinople, relinquished all hopes of visiting Troy; and now passed within a few leagues of Bergamo, the ancient Pergamus, on my right; and, what I should more gladly have examined, the celebrated residence of Cræsus, and other Lydian sovereigns, distant on the left, between thirty and forty miles; a city, of which the original name Sardes may be traced in the modern *Sart*. To explore, or at least to inspect the monuments of former ages, still visible at that place and its vicinity, had long been a favourite object of my wishes, and this desire was now rendered more strong, by the accounts of those remains, collected from some Turks who seemed well acquainted with the country, and which confirmed, although with much exaggeration, Dr. Chandler's interesting description<sup>(1)</sup>. At *Magnisa*, as at the last two or three stages, we heard very alarming reports of the plague, that still continued to afflict the inhabitants of Smyrna. But this intelligence was not sufficient to interrupt our progress. We set off soon after midnight, and proceeded nearly one mile through a cemetery planted with fine cyprass trees; looking back at the city, I perceived that numerous lamps illuminating the mosques, as usual during the *Ramazán* fast, produced, although the moon shone brightly, a very pleasing and extraordinary effect, appearing to great advantage from the dark mass of the mountain behind them. Along the skirt of this (which was on our left) we advanced six or seven miles; then ascended some hills; next rode across the deep, but now dry channel of a river, between two mountains. We again crossed it (about the ninth mile) on a bridge of stone; then scrambled, by a very stony path, over rugged

(1) See his "Travels in Asia Minor," chap. LXXV, LXXVIII, &c. I know not whether that extraordinary tumular monument, which he entitles the "Barrow of "Alyattes" (father of Cræsus), has yet been accurately measured, and the result compared with the measurements given by Herodotus, who mentions some inscriptions that remained on its summit in his time, and does not hesitate to class it next after the Egyptian and Babylonian remains, among the greatest works of antiquity. *Εν δε έργον πολλον μεγιστον παρεχεται χωρις των τε Αιγυπτιακων εργων και των Βαβυλωνιακων, εστ αυτου Αλυαττων του Κροισου πατρος σημα.* Herodot: lib. 1. 93.

geographical tables. "*Izmîr* is a fortress situate on the (salt) "sea, near the confines of *Rûm* (or Asia Minor). The *EMI'R* "TAIMU'R took it from the Franks or European Christians" (14).

It would have yielded me much gratification to view the ruins of Ephesus, generally known by the name of a Turkish town in its vicinity, now reduced to the condition of a mean village, *Aiâsaluck* (or *Aiâslîk* ایاسلیک), as written by *SHERIF ALI*), distant from Smyrna not much above forty miles. But it was necessary that I should proceed to England without delay, and accordingly, on the 26th, I accompanied Captain Hope to the Salsette. The wind, however, not being favourable for our passage through the gulf, we visited Captain Clavell in his ship the *Orlando* (of 36 guns), arrived within a few hours from the Adriatick. We then went on board the *Espoir* (of 18 guns) and paid our compliments to Captain Mitford; this gentleman had lately procured in Egypt many valuable remains of antiquity; and by his permission I delineated one which Plate LIX (fig. 12) represents of the real size. After dinner at the Consul's, Captain Hope and I returned to the Salsette.

27th. About noon we sailed out of the bay; and on the next morning at ten o'clock anchored opposite Scio, a large town, and capital of the island, anciently named Chios; the paradise of modern Greece, as Dr. Clarke has styled it. Here we landed and passed some houses in the town since depopulated by its brutal and fanatical Turkish rulers. We sailed in the evening, and during two or three days enjoyed a most delightful navigation among islands of which every spot is classic ground: Samos, Delos, Mikene, Tinos, Paros, Milo, Cerigo, the ancient Cythera, and many others. The Morea, also, presented itself to our view, the sun setting finely on its coast; and Malta, though at a considerable distance. We sailed so near to Sicily that Girgenti was plainly visible; and (on the 7th of October) Sardinia was in sight. On the 10th

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(14) از میر قلعه ایستاد در دریای شور بعد از روم امیر تیمور از فرنگیان گرفته بود  
MS. *Tukwim al besdan.*

we approached within a mile of George-town in Minorca, where some fresh provisions were obtained ; on the 12th we saw the French coast and joined the grand fleet (thirteen ships of the line, five being three deckers) under Sir Edward Pellew (now Lord Exmouth) blockading the French fleet off Toulon ; having been honoured by an invitation from the Admiral, Captain Hope and I dined with him on board his magnificent ship, the *Caledonia* of 120 guns, in company with Sir Sydney Smith, Admiral Israel Pellew and several other officers of distinction. In the evening we proceeded on our voyage ; on the 19th saw Majorca and Ivica, and on the 21st anchored near Alicant, close to Admiral Hollowel's ship, the *Malta* of 84 guns. On the 22d I went on shore along with Captain Shepherd (a gentleman who had come on board the *Salsette* from the fleet off Toulon) ; we visited the churches and other public buildings in Alicant, saw some military parades, and many beautiful Spanish ladies. Here was procured a supply of straw and provender for the Prince Regent's horses. We sailed at midnight, and on the 26th saw the African coast, while the high hills of Granada were yet within sight. During the course of our voyage from Smyrna, it seemed to me that the Mediterranean might almost have been described as covered with English men of war, for we sometimes spoke on the same day with two or three ; from the class of ten gun sloops, to large frigates of heavy metal or ships of the line. On the 30th we enjoyed a distant view of Ape's hill on the Barbary shore, also of Ceuta and Tetuan and even of Gibraltar. On the 31st I went with Captain Hope in his boat, up the river of Tetuan, landed below a square fort or castle ; and walked to the Custom-house : Tetuan, at a distance, seemed to be a considerable town. We saw many tall stout negro slaves, and some women mounted on mules and asses, and muffled in dirty-looking mantles or sheets ; they wore very large whitish hats : at four we returned to the ship, and (Nov. 1st) anchored off Gibraltar, where Captain Hope and I dined with Commissioner Frazer, at his residence, which combined, in as high a degree as the barren rock would admit, all the conveniencies and luxuries of a town mansion, with the beauty and seclusion of a rural seat. Next day I visited the batteries, galleries, Spanish church,

and other objects worthy of notice; and on board the ship of Commodore Penrose saw some interesting remains of antiquity discovered by that gentleman on the site of ancient Carteia. At night we sailed, and in the Bay of Biscay, (as throughout the Mediterranean) examined many vessels, that from their appearance might have been supposed belonging to the enemy; indeed, the Salsette chased, indiscriminately, every ship that did not, by means of signals, prove itself most unequivocally to be English; but it was reserved for Captain Hope to distinguish himself in another frigate, the *Endymion*. At last, early on the thirteenth, we saw the British coast, and at the same time a three-masted French privateer, (the *Mercure*, formerly the *Marie Louise*, of Cherbourg, carrying sixteen guns and seventy men), which after a chase of some hours we brought into Portsmouth; where, on the fourteenth, I landed, having been absent from England two years and nearly four months.



See page 349.

# APPENDIX

## TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

### No. I.

#### *References to Plate LIX (Miscellaneous Antiques).*

**N**OS. 1 and 2. Medals (probably) of KHUSRAU or Chosroes, See p. 198. No. 3. Medal of Aradus; p. 409. No. 4. Medal of Ariarathes, p. 442. No. 5. Egyptian devices, on a red carnelion of the same size; it is perforated longitudinally, and injured on one side. No. 6. A face represented of the real size, rudely formed from a flesh-coloured agate-onyx, mounted in silver; the artist, in making the eye, has availed himself of a natural circle, white, with a blackish spot in the middle. This was found in Egypt. Nos. 7, 8 and 9. Sardonyx seals, with Persian devices; they are all of the same form as No. 18 *a*, in Plate XXI, (Vol. I). Respecting the regal personage, the monsters whom he powerfully holds, and the Mithraick globe, appearing on No. 7, see Vol. I. p. 432; and for the Lion and Bull of No. 8, see Vol. I. p. 438. The horse of No. 9 is winged like other creatures of real or imaginary forms, delineated in Pl. XXI, Vol. I. No. 10. Flat seal of a blue opaque stone with whitish specks; the head is Persian, and the inscription *Pahlavi*. No. 11. Red carnelion; a Persian head with *Pahlavi* letters. No. 12. In p. 540 I alluded to this beautiful ornament, which Captain Mitford had brought from Egypt, and obligingly permitted me to delineate. It was found in the ear of a mummy; and here appears of the real size; it is of the purest

gold, and flexible as if made of lead; so that the pointed extremity may, with perfect ease, be occasionally released from a little hook or catch that serves to connect it with the head. No. 13. Mutilated figure of white marble, about eighteen inches high, (See p. 527). No. 14. Head, also of white marble, and of the natural size, (See p. 527). No. 15. Hæmatite; found in Egypt. No. 16. See p. 509. No. 17. Tomb of Arrian; See p. 512. No. 18. One of the sculptures found at Pera; See p. 527. An urn from one solid piece of white marble; its extreme height 18 inches, and its circumference (at the inscription) 32 inches. No. 19 shows its form.

## No. II.

### *Persian Pictures in Plate LXI explained.*

OF this plate, the three uppermost figures are reduced from pictures, executed on distinct squares of thick paper or pasteboard, differing in size, and regarded as productions of the old Persian school, far excelling in delicacy of pencil, softness of colouring, and even in drawing, such as it is, the laboured and gaudy works of modern artists, (See pp. 68, 69, 70). The first represents a female, whose drapery and head-dress, particularly the golden crescent on her forehead, correspond to many figures of dancing and singing girls, in manuscripts illuminated between two and three hundred years ago; she holds in her hand the *deff* (دف) or *dâireh* (دایره), a kind of tambourine. The second is one of those effeminate Georgian youths, the favourite pages or attendants of great men; he smokes the *kaleán* or water-pipe, so often mentioned; this picture is at least an hundred years old. The third, said to be a real portrait of some venerable personage, holding a book, is executed in a kind of pen-and-ink drawing, slightly touched with colour in two or three places. The fourth and fifth are from oil paintings which I procured at *Isfahán*; they represent the figures nearly of the natural size; and the sixth is from a large picture on paper; all three, executed since the beginning of this present century,

are most accurate representations of the modern female dress; and will prove, (according to an observation made in p. 70) that Persian beauty does not derive much embellishment from any graces of drapery. Sitting at home (as in fig. 4 and fig. 5), the ladies are supposed to have laid aside the *châder* (چادر), that veil or sheet which envelopes their persons when they go forth from the house, either on foot or on horseback; a small space being left open, just above the nose, that they may be enabled to see their way. The painter generally introduces a black or white cat, a parrot, a vase containing flowers, or fruit, to fill his canvass. In fig. 5, the lady plays on a guitar called *sehtâreh* (سه تار) "three stringed"; and before her is a *khâncheh* (خوانچه) or tray, with pomegranates, plums, pistachia nuts, white mulberries and sherbet; the bowls and plates are of fine porcelain, and sugar is seen in a little glass vessel resembling some of our common salt-cellars; on the plums some snow is laid; a metallick preparation used as paint gives an appearance of real gold to the tray; it shows that the cushion is of a most rich brocade, and the cat's staring eyes are also golden. The lady's dress, except her inner garment, is wholly composed of shawls; in her hair is an ornament of emeralds, pearls and rubies; the same jewels constitute those *bâzû bands* (بازوبند) which encompass her arms, and they decorate the lower part of her pantaloons or trowsers. The eyebrows of those ladies are tinged with black, and appear as if united; the eyelashes are also blackened with a composition called *surmeh* (سرمه); the hands and soles of the feet are stained (with *hinna*) of a reddish or orange colour. Some plaits of the black hair descend below the knee.

### No. III.

#### *Caspian Strait.*

A REFERENCE is made (in p. 224) to this Appendix, concerning the narrow valley or strait, of which Pliny has noticed some remarkable circumstances, and which many Greek and Roman authors have used as a central point in



their calculations of distances, calling it the "Caspian Gates," (Πύλαι Κάσπιαι, *Pylæ* or *Portæ Caspiæ*). By several eminent geographers, the position of this strait has been fixed at a pass near *Khuár* (خوار), which in name and general description seems to indicate, unequivocally, the ancient (*Khoara*) *Choara* of Pliny. This pass is placed by Major Rennell about fifty miles eastward of *Rai* or *Rages*, (Geogr. of Herodot. p. 174). The Baron de Ste. Croix, and M. Barbié du Bocage, regard it as a defile which has *Khuár* at one extremity, and *Firúzkhúh* at the other, (Examen des Hist. d'Alexandre, pp. 690, 862; 2de edit). Olivier says that one entrance of this strait is at *Guillas*, a village ten leagues eastward of *Tehrán*; the other begins at *Mahalleh bāgh*, ten or twelve leagues to the south-east; both terminating at *Firúzkhúh*; but, adds he, the traveller, before his arrival at *Hablah-rúd*, will find a pass which leads through vallies into the fine elevated plain of *Dameghán*, (Voyage, ch. vii. Tome V. p. 221; Paris 1807; oct). Mr. Morier is inclined to regard as the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, a succession of passes, some very narrow and others more expanded, called the *Ser dereh Khuár*, beginning at the distance of ten farsangs from *Rai*, in a south-eastern direction. (Travels, Vol. II. p. 366). M. Walckenaer, however, a learned member of the French institute, justly distinguished for his researches in classical geography, declares that the pass of *Khuár* does not correspond to the Caspian strait of the ancients; its position being too remote from Rhages (or *Rai*), and also contrary to their texts and measures; but the *Pylæ Caspiæ* were situate, he says, more northerly, "in the same group of mountains, north-eastward "of the ruins of Rhages, near a place called *Serbend*." (See a notice of "Walckenaer on ancient Geography," in the Classical Journal, p. 259, No. XXXII, Dec. 1817). It can scarcely be doubted that this is the village which appears in my journal, p. 325, and in the third map, as *Serbendán*, for such was the name given to it by persons on the spot, and so it was written for me (سرېندان) by a native of *Tehrán*, though by many pronounced *Serbendoon* or *Serbendoun*, (according to an affected mode of accenting the letters *án* ان, often noticed in this work). the *Serbendoum* of M. Duprè, (Voyages en Perse, Tome II. p. 498). It is equally certain that the *Guillas*

of M. Olivier, above mentioned, is the place which I have called *Gilárd* in p. 335, where Pietro della Valle is quoted, styling it "*Ghilas* or *Ghlard*." Although such an object did not present itself to my view, either at *Gilárd* or at *Serbendán*, yet, as the neighbouring country abounds with narrow passes or *tangs*, it is highly probable that near those villages may be found, between rocks or mountains, some chasm, one extremity perhaps of the Caspian strait; if we place its other extremity near *Khuár*, the length of this strait will sufficiently coincide with Pliny's description. He states it to be 38 miles long ("xxxviii. m. pas." or "xxviii" according to two editions of his Natural History, Lib. vi. c. 14); but for eight miles, he says, the way formed by human labour, between rocks on each side, is particularly narrow, so as scarcely to admit a cart; a rivulet of salt water flows through it, and it is so infested with serpents that no one can pass unless in winter. It appears from Dionysius Periegetes, (if I rightly understand his poetical geography, v. 1037) that the general direction of this strait was N. and S. "Εκταταῦς ἐστὶ βόρην τε καὶ ἐπὶ νότον ἐρχομενοῖσιν." Pietro della Valle, in 1618, and Sir Thomas Herbert in 1627, passed through a remarkable strait, which agrees better with Pliny's account of the *Pylæ* or *Portæ Caspiæ* than any other defile yet discovered, as far as I have been able to ascertain. The Italian traveller, on his way northward, proceeded from *Siahcúh* to *Mahallebágh*, where he halted; then entered "a deep and very narrow valley," (*una profonda e angustissima valle*), having lofty mountains on each side (*i monti son sempre altissimi dalle bande*), and in some turnings so narrow, that to conduct a litter through it was a work of some difficulty and trouble (*che ci diede fastidio per far passar la lettiga*), and in this valley flowed a rivulet of salt water, (Lett. 4. da Ferhabad). Herbert's quaint description must be given entire. "The greater part of this night's journey was through the bottoms of transected Taurus, whose stupendious forehead wets itself in the ayery middle region; the fretum or lane is about forty yards broad<sup>(1)</sup>, even below, and bestrewed with pibbles; either side

(1) Herbert seems to have continued in the main valley; but those difficulties which embarrassed the Italian traveller's litter must have occurred in some lateral chasm or ramification through which he was probably conducted, as offering a shorter road; perhaps the same, which, according to Pliny, would scarcely admit a cart.

"is walled with an amazing hill, higher than to reach up at twice shooting; and for eight miles so continues, agreeing with the relation Pliny and Solinus make of it; a prodigious passage, whether by art or nature questionable; I allude it unto nature, God's handmaid," (Trav. p. 165; edit. of 1638, and, with some immaterial difference, p. 180 of the 3d edit. 1665). But, as both Herbert and Della Valle have omitted the name of *Khuár*, it may be asked, on what authority the defile which they describe should be supposed in the vicinity of that place. From a comparison of their respective routes, it is evident that Herbert, proceeding from *Siahkúh*, halted at the same place which Della Valle called *Mahallé bāgh*, and near which both entered the mountain pass that led them to *Hablahrúd* and *Fírúzkúh*. Now HAMDALLAH, in his Persian geography, proves the identity of *Khuár* with *Mahalleh bāgh*, by the following account of stages between *Raï* and *Semnán*. Having mentioned that *Verámtín* is six farsangs distant from *Raï*, he adds: "From *Verámtín* to the *Rebát* or *Caravansera* of *Khemártegin* 6 farsangs; thence to *Khuár* (belonging to *Raï*, and known by the name of *Mahalleh bāgh*) 6 farsangs; thence to *Deh i nemek* or the village of salt, 6 farsangs; thence to *Rás al Calb* or the dog's head, 6 farsangs; and from that to *Semnán*, 4 farsangs"(\*). The names of these stages I have inserted in my third map, and shall here give the same route as described in the ancient MS. *Súr al beldán*; "From *Raï* to *Afrídín*, one *manzil* or stage; from *Afrídín* to *Kohendeh*, one *manzil*; from *Kohendeh* to *Khuár*, one *manzil*; from *Khuár* to the *Keriet al Melehh* or village of salt, one *manzil*; from *Keriet al Melehh* to *Rás al Calb* or the dog's head, one *manzil*; and from *Rás al Calb* to

(\*) از ورامین تا رباط خمارتکین شش فرسنگ از آن تا خوار ری معروف بمصله باغ شش فرسنگ از آن تا ده نمک شش فرسنگ از آن تا راس الکلب شش فرسنگ (MS. *Nuzhat al Kulúb*, chap. of Roads and Stages). از ورامین تا سمنان چهار فرسنگ That the name of *Raï* was generally added to *Khuár*, has been remarked by ABUL-FEDA and other Eastern Geographers. See the "Specimen Geographicum Historicum," of Mr. Uylenbroek (p. 76: Lugd. Bat. 1822), in which this able Orientalist has collected a mass of interesting information respecting the Persian province of *Írák* or *Jebál*. I shall have occasion to notice this work in another article of the Appendix.

'*Semnán*, one *manzil*'<sup>(3)</sup>. By this route, in the last century, M. Van Mierop travelled from *Tehrán* to *Dameghán*, proceeding in a direction nearly from West to East<sup>(4)</sup>. It does not appear that he found it necessary to turn off on the left at *Khuár*; neither does his journal, nor do the Eastern works which I have cited, indicate any remarkable strait in the vicinity of that place, although they all occasionally notice objects of less importance. But, from its position among rocks or mountains, the entrance of our *Pylæ Caspiæ*, like many *tangs* or narrow passes in other parts of Persia, may not be visible to the traveller until he approaches within a few hundred yards. Of this circumstance my own journeys afforded numerous proofs; I would therefore suppose that a person advancing eastward by Van Mierop's route, (which seems, from the manuscripts above quoted, to have been for many centuries the common track between *Rai* and *Semnán*) must pass *near*, but not *through* the entrance of that strait, described by Herbert and Della Valle as leading northward. Why Alexander deviated from the common route it would here be superfluous to inquire; some branch leading eastward from the main valley or strait may have been regarded as a shorter road to *Semnán* (and to *Dameghán*, the ancient *Hecatompylos*). That he entered the *Pylæ Caspiæ* on the second day of his march from Rages (or *Rai*), is related by Arrian; *τη δευτερα δε εισω παρελθε των πυλων*," (Lib. III. 20). On the first

(3) از ري تا افريدين يك منزل و از افريدين تا كهنده يك منزل و از كهنده تا خوار يك منزل و از خوار تا قريه الملح يك منزل و از قريه الملح تا رأس الكلب يك منزل و از رأس الكلب تا سمنان يك منزل

Some of these names appear altered or corrupted in EDRISI's Geography, according to the printed Arabick text, (clim. iv. sect 7), in which we read, "From *Rai* to *Maakel abad* (معقل آباد) 12 miles; then to *Karendin* (قرندين for *Afridin*) 24 m.; then to *Kohd-h* (كهده for *Kohendeh*) 21.; then to *Khuár* 18 m.; then to *Kasr al melchh* (قصر الملح) the *Castle of Salt* (for *Kariet al melchh*, the *Village of Salt*) 18 m.; then to *Ras al Calb* 21 m.; and thence to *Semnán* 24 miles." From the usual inaccuracy of copyists *Afridin* (افريدين) or *Karendin* (قرندين) has been rendered *Marbendin* (مربندين) in the ill-written MS. which I translated and entitled the "*Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL*," (p. 181).

(4) He went from *Tæhiran* (*Tehrán*) to *Kebud Humbud* (*Kebúd Gumbud*), *Evancekeif* (*Aiwán i Keif*), *Kara* (*Khuár*), *Deh nameck* (the village of salt) *Pochlakaba* (perhaps for *Ros al Kalb* or *Ras al Calb*, the dog's head) *Semnon* (*Semnán*), &c. See his *Journal*, in *Hanway's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 357; and the map annexed to it.

day, as we learn from the same historian, Alexander had encamped with his troops close to those *Pylæ*; "καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ" "πρὸς ταῖς Κασπίαις πύλαις ἐστρατοπέδευσε;" and the site of this hero's camp, (or some spot within two or three miles) I regard as the place where Herbert and Della Valle halted immediately before they entered the strait which led them northwards to *Hablahrúd* and *Firúzkuh*. The name of that halting-place is not mentioned by Herbert; but he marks it as one day's journey north of *Siahcúh*; it is, therefore, the *Mahalleh bāgh* of Della Valle, and the *Khuár* of Eastern geographers. Near this I would expect to find the southern entrance of that strait through which Alexander passed, whether its northern outlet be at *Gilárd*, *Serbendán* or *Firúzcuh*; and as Arrian (above quoted) places the Macedonian camp close to the *Pylæ Caspiæ*, it seems probable that the southern entrance, more particularly, bore this name among the Greeks and Romans, who adopted it as a central point of measurement in their Asiatick itineraries. Hitherto my inquiries on this subject have tended to confirm the opinion long since expressed by Rennell and others; but within two or three years some discoveries may have been made, by travellers in Persia or by antiquaries at home, which would lead to a different conclusion. I shall, however, always regret, that having advanced so far as *Aiwán i Keif*, the arguments or rather the obstinacy of my guides, prevented me from proceeding to *Khuár*, and tracing the footsteps of Della Valle or Herbert, through that strait which seems to me the *Pylæ* or *Portæ Caspiæ*. Here, (probably where the defile is most narrow during eight miles according to Pliny) I might have ascertained that one particular spot on which the ancient geographers were supposed to place the compass when they calculated distances from the *Pylæ Caspiæ*.

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#### No. IV.

#### *Caspian Sea.*

**M**Y present limits allow but a brief notice of the intended Periplus, mentioned in p. 277, and of which the materials already collected would occupy at least fifty pages. It

is chiefly founded on an extraordinary map, executed in the thirteenth century, and illustrating, with fifteen others, the *Sûr al belân*, a most valuable MS. (See Vol. I. pp. 328, 340). This map fills a page of large folio size; and represents the Caspian Sea as perfectly circular, while it appears in the works of some old European geographers as an oval or oblong square, extending chiefly E. and W. almost directly contrary to its true direction and dimensions, which Herodotus had described with sufficient accuracy, (in length a passage of fifteen days for a vessel with oars, and of eight days in the utmost breadth; Lib. I. 203). Our Persian map exhibits two islands (painted red) in the sea, which is green; on the S. is a range of the *Dilem* mountains (جبال الديلم) purple; on the N. is *Sîâh cûh* (سیاه کوه) or the black mountain; the *Nahr Atel* (نهر اتل) or river Wolga, (painted red) appears on the W.; and this map furnishes many other names, of which the explanation must be reserved for a future work. The partial freshness or flavour of the Caspian water has been noticed in p. 279; that it was generally salt or bitter we learn from the *Sûr al belân* (و ان دریای شور است), which also informs us, that "so vast and impetuous is the river *Atel* (or Wolga), " that it renders the water fresh and palatable, predominating over its saltness to the distance of two days sail from " the place where it falls into the sea."

آن رود چندانست که چون بدریا می افتد دو روزه راه از دریا آب خوش ازین رود می باشد و برابر دریا غلب می گیرد چنانکه طعم آنرا خوش می کند

The ingenious European to whom I alluded in Vol. II. p. 38, (note 36) respecting a subterraneous outlet of the Caspian Sea, is Pere Villot, an author not sufficiently known, whose work entitled "Voyages d'un Missionnaire de la compagnie de Jesus, en Turquie, en Perse," &c. (Paris, 1730), does not bear his name. The English philosopher mentioned also in Vol. II. p. 38, is the celebrated Dr. Halley, who thinks that evaporation alone prevents the waters of so many great rivers as fall into the Caspian, from overflowing the basin of this wonderful lake.

## No. V.

*Explanation of Plate LXXXI.*

ALL the figures in this plate, except those which the lowest compartment exhibits, I sketched from the life in different parts of Persia. No. 1 represents three musicians, occasionally hired at *Tehrán*, (See Vol. II. p. 203); one plays on the *tár* (تار, literally a "string"), an instrument of the guitar kind, with five wire strings; of these the two highest were unisons; the two next also unisons; and the lowest was single, the *bamm* (بم) or base; so that the whole were tuned as the simple *sehtáreh* (سه تار) or three-stringed guitar; the wood was partly *tút* (توت), mulberry, and *girdú* (گردو), walnut. The second man and the boy accompany their voices by striking or rubbing on the *deff* or *dáireh*, (See Vol. II. p. 203). These were of sheep skin, well prepared and drawn tightly over a hoop about two inches broad; inside were some brass and iron rings, which sometimes jingled against the parchment. No. 2. A *ferásh* (one of the servants generally employed in pitching tents, spreading carpets, sweeping rooms, and similar offices) holding the *meshaal* (مشعل), used during very dark nights on our marches for illuminating the camp, by means of rags or other substances, dipped in grease or oil, and blazing in the iron grate; pictures in Persian books between three and four hundred years old, exhibit *meshaals* of the same sort; and I have remarked some in illuminated missals and other European manuscripts of equal or still greater antiquity. No. 3. A winter covering of very coarse frieze, chiefly used in the north by persons of the lower classes. No. 4. A soldier of the old establishment, with his match-lock gun, shield, pouches, &c. No. 5. A young woman in the inner court of a mean house, which accident enabled me to see two or three times from the roof of another at *Tehrán*. By means of a string, attached to the canvass hammock or cradle suspended between the walls, (but empty when I sketched her figure) she could rock an infant to sleep without any interruption of her needle-work. Extraordinary scenes may sometimes be witnessed from the flat roofs of lofty houses, even by unintentional spectators;

and one occasion called to my recollection the picture of a man (in a MS. now before me) who aims his arrow at an impertinent peeper; and the following passage in Dr. Fryer's Travels, (p. 394). "When they go to bed, they clamber not "up to them, as we do, but throw themselves on the ground "after carpets are laid, and a bed made in a summer-house "in some garden, left open in summer-time; or else on the "tablets upon the tops of their houses; where, if they observe "any peeping upon them or their wives, an arrow drawn "up to the head is let fly, nor does any blame the marksman "when he hits." No. 6. A *ferásh* (before described) in his *abba* (عبا) or cloak of coarse striped stuff, commonly worn by the Arabs. No. 7. A group of women, one putting on her *cháder*, the veil or wrapper. No. 8. Two *Mázanderánis*, with the *tabr*, described in p. 269; where a reference is made to the Miscellaneous Plate for the head of a *Mázanderáni*, which these figures render superfluous. No. 9. A woman and child, with two men who wear the *pústin* (پوستین) or winter cloak, made of skins. No. 10. A nuptial procession, copied from one of those painted *kalmáns* or pencases, described in p. 62. The bride and her female attendants proceed to meet the bridegroom, who, immediately on her appearance, seems overpowered with delight and admiration; this, I understand, is an act of affectation commonly practised in the *arúsi* (عروسی) or nuptial ceremony; it is expressed in various pictures, but most ridiculously in one at the *Jehán numá* near *Shíráz*, (See Vol. II. p. 2).

## No. VI.

*Eastern Manuscripts.*

I SHALL not extend the present volume to a more unwieldy size, by noticing particularly each of the numerous manuscripts quoted throughout this work. Some have been already made known by our early orientalists, such as Hyde and D'Herbelôt; others recently, by Major Stewart, in his excellent account of TIPPŪ SULTA'N's library; but a few



are extremely rare and perhaps unique in Europe; they all, however, shall be described in a future catalogue of my collection, comprehending many besides those mentioned in the preceding pages, with extracts from the most rare or curious, and biographical anecdotes of the authors. Meanwhile, as references have been made to this Appendix, respecting certain MSS. it must be here observed, that the *Tárikh i Tabristán*, (See Vol. II. p. 214), would appear to be the work of ALMERASHI, from which that celebrated orientalist, Mr. Hamner, has given some extracts in the "*Mines de l'Orient*," (Tome III. p. 317). But my copy bears unequivocally the author's name in its title; which declares it to be the work of HASSAN ISFENDYÁ'R (من تصانیف حسن اسفندیار), and after a few lines in the first page repeats that name,

(اما بعد چنین گوید اضعف عباد الله محمد بن الحسن بن اسفندیار). Yet the story of ASHTA'D, YAZDA'N and the beautiful damsel, which I have given (in p. 306) might be supposed an extract from the work whence Mr. Hammer derived the same romantick story (*Mines de l'Orient*, III. p. 324). The first words of my copy are, حمد و ثنا و مدح بی منتها افریدگاریرا. It is an octavo volume of 450 pages; transcribed A. H. 1068.

Of the MS. *Súr al beldán*, transcribed A. H. 670, and illustrated with sixteen coloured maps, some account has been given in Vol. I. (pp. 328, 340, and pref. xix.) where it is declared a more ancient and perfect copy of that work, which many years ago I translated and published as "the "*Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL*;" assigning it to him (the MS. not bearing any author's name) for reasons explained in the preface, chiefly the identity of many passages with words quoted as EBN HAUKAL's, by ABU'LFEDA and others. My reasons were long admitted as satisfactory by the most learned critics of Europe; and particularly, by M. de Sacy, who, in the "*Magazin Encyclopedique*," (Tome VI), devoted above one hundred pages to his "*Notice de la "Geographie Orientale d'Ebn Haukal*," and confirmed my proofs by additional arguments; he regarded the Persian work which I had translated rather as an abridgment than a complete version of EBN HAUKAL's Arabick original, but observed that whatever differences he had discovered between

the Persian or English and the Arabick, were so inconsiderable, that they could not affect the proofs above-mentioned. "Mais ces differences sont trop peu considerables pour faire méconnoître dans la Géographie Orientale l'ouvrage d'Ebn Haukal, cité par Aboulfedâ." In the course, however, of last year (1822), Mr. Uylenbroek published at Leyden his "Specimen Geographico-Historicum," which I have already noticed (p. 548) as a very excellent and interesting work; and in it he declares his opinion (having examined an Arabick volume known to be the work of EBN HAUKAL) that my Persian MS. was a composition older than the Geography of that traveller, though written by a person who flourished in the same century, probably IBN KHORDAD BEH, or ABOU ISHAK AL FARSI; and that this Persian work, the Arabian traveller EBN HAUKAL carried with him on his journeys, consulting it as a guide and occasionally borrowing from it his description of places; the variations which occur between the Persian or English "Oriental Geography," and the text of EBN HAUKAL arose, M. Uylenbroek imagines, from some local changes that may have happened from the time when IBN KHORDADBEH or IBN ISHAK travelled in Persia, until EBN HAUKAL traced the same route. He acknowledges, meanwhile, with much candour, the very close connection between EBN HAUKAL and the "Oriental Geography;" "nexum arctissimum inter Geogr. Orient. et Ibn Haukalum," (p. 51); and whole passages expressed in almost the very same terms, "loca Geog. Orient. et Ibn Hauk. iisdem pæne verbis concepta," (p. 73); also the same order and arrangement in every respect throughout both works; "universum amborum operum habitum et ordinem unum esse et per omnia sibi similem," (p. 51); in short, such are the difficulties which embarrass our ingenious author, endeavouring to reconcile so many cases of perfect agreement or coincidence, with occasional points of variation, that he exclaims (in his researches on the true name and age of EBN HAUKAL) "mira in his omnibus confusio," (p. 7). From some passages quoted in the first volume of my travels, he thinks it probable that the Persian MS. *Sâr al belâdân* may contain a perfect version of EBN HAUKAL's work, (p. 55); but on collation, though more ample in many

parts, more ancient and more beautiful, it proves to be a copy of the same work which I published as the "Oriental Geography of EBN HAUKAL." If it should have been rather ascribed to IBN KHORDAD BEH or IBN ISHAK AL FARSI, the reader, at least, has not been, through my error, wholly defrauded of EBN HAUKAL's words; for, according to M. Uylenbroek's supposition, this Arabian traveller borrowed so copiously and closely from his Persian predecessor, that in many places, the work of one seems almost a literal translation from the other's. Still it is desirable to know the real author, and I should be happy in ascertaining, though not yet convinced, that the *Sûr al beldân* (or the "Oriental Geography") was an original Persian composition of the tenth century, written by IBN KHORDADBEH or IBN ISHAK, from whom EBN HAUKAL so freely borrowed information, as M. Uylenbroek conjectures. I have already noticed, as a literary curiosity, the work of ABDALKA'DER, (See Vol. I. p. 240); the same description may be applied to the autograph *Negâristân* of AHMED AL GHAFARI KAZVINI, replete with his own marginal notes; and to the *Nuzhat Nâmeh Elâti*<sup>(\*)</sup>. Among the several MSS. procured at *Shîrâz*, *Isfahân* and *Tehrân*, were the *Nâuruz Nâmeh*, a valuable Persian treatise on the festivals of the ancient fire-worshippers, with much interesting matter, historical and antiquarian. The chronicle of AS'SIU'TI (السبوطي), a fine Arabick MS.; a volume of tales, also Arabick; and another Persian; in translating some of these stories, I selected such as might, without impropriety, be hereafter offered to the publick; but others

(\*) See Vol. I. p. 212. The work was entitled *Elâti* (علائي) after the author's patron, KHUDAVAND AD'DIN ELA' AD'DOULEH SHAMS AL MOLUK; and contains much valuable and original information on points of history, geography, philology and antiquities; interspersed through many sections, treating on zoology, botany, mineralogy and other branches of natural history; also medicine, astrology, alchymy, interpretation of dreams and physiognomy; the best modes of staining the hair, the process which will cause sheep, pigeons and horses to produce a piebald race, (and which was practised by Jacob, as recorded in the Book of Genesis, ch. xxx) divination; the art of making charms for various purposes; engraving talismanick seals, &c. SEHEM AD DIN (سهم الدين) who flourished in the eleventh century, mentions the names of other works composed by himself; he quotes also some books written by different authors, and now, we may suppose, as rare as his own *Nuzhat Nâmeh*, which is probably unique in Europe.

(to which a reference has been made in Vol. II. p. 116) must not emerge from their present obscurity. *Wámek* and *Ozrá*<sup>(6)</sup>. The *Mekámát* of HAMÍ'DI (مقامات حمیدی), composed in the twelfth century of our era; a specimen of the finest Persian style; our author adopted, as his model, the celebrated Arabick *Mekámát* of HARÍ'RÍ. A little volume, beautifully written on leaves of various coloured paper, splendidly ornamented with gold and ultramarine. This was presented to me as a gift of some importance, by a person whose family had preserved it with great care during fifty or sixty years, having once belonged to NA'DIR SHA'H; the name of this usurper traced, by his own hand, appears in the first page; the subjects are miscellaneous, Persian and Turkish, prose and verse. The *Gulzár i Saadet*, noticed in p. 62. The *Zeinet al Mejáles*. The *Mejmaa al A'nsáb*, a valuable *Taríkh* or chronicle of the fourteenth century. A fine copy of the Persian medical work which Father Angelo published in Latin, (Paris, 1681), as the "Pharmacopœia Persica;" the original author was MUZAFFER IBN MUHAMMED AL HUSEINI; this MS. abounds with marginal notes of considerable extent; it also contains those extraordinary *recipes*, with a translation of which the ingenious Carmelite would not offend the delicacy of his readers, (See Pharm. Pers. pref. p. 35). Another medical work, also Persian, but in verse, and entitled *Júther al Mekál* (جواهر المقال); it comprises a table of the words borrowed from Greek, Syriack, and other languages, explained in Arabick and Persian. The *Zád al Mesuferín* (زاد المسافرين), an excellent moral and religious poem. The

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(6) (وامق و مذكر). The title of this Persian MS. induced me to believe that a literary treasure of considerable value had fallen into my hands; for such might be esteemed not only the original *Pahlavi* Romance so styled, but the poem founded on it by FESSÍHI; a work so rare between three and four hundred years ago that the ingenious and inquisitive DOWLET SHA'H, as he acknowledges, had only seen it in a mutilated state; of my copy no date occurs; but I have reason to apprehend that it is modern; probably composed during the last century by a person named MÍRZA' SA'DEK; and resembling only in its title the poem of FESSÍHI before mentioned, or the more ancient Romance of which a copy offered (in the ninth century of our era) as a most valuable present to the governor of *Khurásán*, was by order of that Muhammedan bigot immediately destroyed, as the composition of Pagans, those who had unfortunately existed before the *Korán* was revealed. Of the modern poem two copies, agreeing in every respect, and evidently written by the same hand, came into my possession; one is now in the collection of Sir Gore Ouseley.

*Tárikh Fáridbí*, or history of patriarchs and prophets from Adam to Muhammed. The *Dilsúz Námeb*. The *Sarv u gul* or "cypress and rose"<sup>(7)</sup>; besides others which shall be described in the catalogue above mentioned, p. 554. The *Turikh i Secander* or "Chronicle of Alexander," which had so strongly excited my curiosity (See Vol. II. p. 458), proved on examination to be an insipid romance in five large volumes) three folio, two quarto), wholly unconnected with the great conqueror's history, except in the beginning, where a few passages have been borrowed from the common Persian accounts. We read in this prolix romance of Alexander's sons, FERIDU'N, IBRAHÍM or Abraham, RUSTAM THA'NÍ (the second Rustam), &c. &c. Still more voluminous is the *Bustán i Khyál*, or "Garden of Imagination," which I have seen in ten or twelve folios or large quartos; and there is now on my table the *Semk ayúr* (سمک عیار), a Persian romance continued through the course of three huge folio volumes, adorned with extraordinary pictures. One Arabick treatise on musick has been noticed in Vol. II. p. 485; another entitled the *Kenz al Tareb* or "Treasury of Delight;" and a third composed by SHEIKH IMA'M AL FAZL SHAMS AD'DÍ'N MUHAMMED, were, like the first, procured at *Isfahán*; to my intended "Descriptive Catalogue," (See p. 554), I must refer for a particular account of the MSS. here slightly mentioned, and of others which have been named in Vol. II. pp. 197, 198.

Besides the more generally known works of TABRÍ, FIRDAUSÍ, EBN HAUKAL, EBN ASIM of *Cufah*, NIZA'MÍ, KHA-KA'NÍ, ANVARI, SAADI, HA'FÍZ, JA'MÍ, SHERÍF ALÍ YEZDÍ, MÍ'RKHOND, KHONDEMI'R; and the dictionaries *Jehángíri*, *Burhán Kátea*, &c.; the names which follow will indicate such oriental authors or MSS. as are chiefly quoted throughout this work. The *Ajáieb al beldún*. BENA'KETÍ. *Shíráz Ná-*

(7) سروگل a poem of about 8000 distiches, by TASKÍ'N (تسکین) of *Shíráz*, who date it in the year 1089 (or of our era 1775); he enumerates amongst his models several romances not uncommon in the publick and private libraries of Europe; and he mentions some that are less known; the *Sám námeb* (سام نامه), the lives of *Selmá* and *Lálat* (سلما و لیلات) of the king of *Shírván* and *Shamáíl* (شاه شروان و شمایل) of *Bahrám* and *Gulendám* (بهرام و گلندام) &c.

*meh* of SUEIKH ZARCU'B. EBN AL VARDI. *Mujmel al Tudríkh*, (See Vol. I. p. 295, and pref. p. xix). The Turkish MS. noticed in Vol. I. pp. 292, 293. The *Aulum Aráí Abbási* by ABDALLAH SHI'RA'ZI. *Tarikh i Wesáf*. *Tohfat al Aulum* by ABD AL LATÍF IBN ABI TALEB, (See Vol. I. p. 148). *Seir al beláut* and *Ajaieb al makhhlúkát* by ZACARIA KAZVINI. *The Haft Aklim* by AMIN RA'ZI. *Súr al beldán*. *Zeinet al Mejáles* by MAJD AD'DIN MUHAMMED AL HUSEINI. *The Tarikh of HA'FIZ ABRU'*. *Jehán Námech*. *Tarikh Maojem* by FAZL ALLAH KAZVINI. *Tarikh Guzideh* and *Nuzhat al Kuláb* by HAMDALLAH KAZVINI. *The Subbeh Sádek*, *Takwim al beldán*, and *Tahkik al eráb* by MUHAMMED SADEK ISFAHA'NI. ASEDI. OTHMAN MUKHTA'RI. SURURI. DOWLET SHA'H. HA'TEFI. *Ajaieb al Gheráieb*. *Matliaa as'sadein* by ABD AR'REZA'K. *The Zaffer Námech Secanderi* by ASHREF. KIPCHA'K KHA'N. AHMED AL GHAFARI. *Judher Námech* by AHMED BEN ABD AL AZI'Z. *Nuzhat Námech Elaii* by SEHEM AD'DIN. *Lubb al Tudríkh* by MI'R YAHIA'I. ABD AL KA'DER. *Assah al Tudríkh*. EBN VAHSHI. MUHAMMED ALI HAZI'N. *Garshásp Námech*. *Barzú námech* by ATA'I. *Kitáb Sháiest u ná Sháiest*. *Ardái vraf námech*. *Tebkát Násri* by MENHAJ SERA'J. *Dabistán*. *Akhteristán*. *Desátir*. *Kitáb Tangalusha*. *Kitáb Suret i Pádsháhán*. *Nizám al Tudríkh* by KA'ZI BEIZA'VI. *Fárs Námech* by IBN AL BALKHI KHAN. *Zein al akhbár*. MASAUDI. EBN KHALECA'N. *Kitáb al Akalim* by ISTAKHRI. MUHAMMED EBN AHMED AL MAS-TOWFI. *Tarikh i Tabristán* by HASSAN ISFENDYA'R. *Hezár yek rúz*. *Hezar u yek mezár*. MI'RZA' SA'LEH. MI'RZA' JA'N. *Athir al belád*. *Súr al akalim*. *Behejet al Tuarikh* by SHUKUR ALLAH, (See Vol. II. pp. 539, 540). EBN JU'ZI. *Tarikh Kavámi*. HAJI KHALFAH OF CATEB CHELEBI. *Jehán A'rá*. *Shahnámech nesr*. *Muntekheb i Sháhnámech*. *Já-miaa al Hekayát* by NU'R AD'DIN MUHAMMED AOEFI. GHOLA'M MUHAMMED GHAUTHI. *Haft Aureng*. OMAR KHEYA'M. *Tarikh Afsi*. *Bahr al ánsáb*. *Weshyái* by NIZA'M AL MULK. ABU'L HASSAN MA'ZENDERANI. BAKHTA'VEH KHA'N. *Mejmaa al Ánsáb*. *Sharf námech of Tarikh i Curdestán* by SHARF IBN SHAMS AD'DIN. *Merát al aulum*. *Mejmaa erbáb al memálek*. MOHSAN FA'NI. *Tarikh Bihakká*.

by ABU'L FAZL MUMAMMED EBN AL HUSEIN (See p. 303). *Mesâlek al Memâlek* by ALI BEN ISA' KEHA'L. *Fardûs al Hikmet* by ALI EBN ZEIN AL CATIB. SHEIKH A'ZERI. NIZA'MI ARU'ZI. YEZDA'DI. *Shahinshâh Nâme*. *Hesht behisht*. *Ganjineh Nishât*. *Miftahh al Futuhh* by ATTA'R. Of some others the names may have escaped me in the hasty formation of this list, which does not include the works mentioned in Vol. II. pp. 195, 196.

## No. VII.

### Explanation of Plate LXXIX.

NO 1. Mount Ararat, as seen from *Nakchuân*, at sunset, (pp. 434, 436). No. 2. Ararat, from the plain of *Sherûr*, bearing W. 85, (p. 436). No. 3. Ararat, from the plain of *Iravân*, (p. 436). No. 4. Portrait of KASIM BEIG, (p. 449). No. 5. Doorway at *Shirân*, (p. 476). No. 6. House at *Tosâni*, (p. 458). No. 7. Plan, (p. 458). No. 8. House at *Bed-rowâs*, (p. 461). No. 9. Excavated rock near *Tokât*, (p. 486). No. 10. Well, (p. 457); this was at *Dûzjeh*, (see p. 509), where I sketched the antique sculptured stone placed over the well, and delineated in Pl. LIX, (fig. 16). No. 11. *d* and *e*, (see p. 484). No. 12. *A, b, b* and *c*, houses, (described in p. 483). No. 13. Fire-place at *Lori*, (p. 475). No. 14. Fire-place at *Tokât*, (p. 490). No. 15. Window at *Tokât*, (p. 489). No. 16. Fountain near *Marsevân*, (p. 496). No. 17. Mosque at *Magnisa*, as seen over the roofs of houses, (p. 536). No. 18. Plan of the palace of *Saadetâbâd* near *Isfâhân*, (see chap. xiv. p. 21, et seq.) *a* is the great *Divân Khâneh* or *Tâlâr*, an open-fronted room, 63 feet by 36; *b, b*, the hall of pillars, open on all sides, but roofed, as it appears in the views, (Plate LVI); *c, c*, stair-cases leading to upper rooms; *d, d*, first *merrebbeh* or stage; *e, e*, the second; *f, f*, the third; here the wall supporting this terrace or stage is 68 feet long. By this scale the dimensions of the smaller chambers may be ascertained. The hall of pillars, the *tâlâr*, and the chamber behind it, contain each a square *hawz*, a cistern or

- Ashtád Resták, III. 306, 307.  
 Ashtarek, III. 442, 444.  
 Ashtola, I. 152.  
 Ashur, I. 336.  
 Asker, II. 214.  
 Asknuwan (see Sangwan).  
 Aspadana, Aspadan (see Isfa-  
 hán).  
 Aspaufargán, II. 134.  
 Astakus, III. 514.  
 Astabbonat (Savonat), II. 128.  
 163 to 170, 308, 472.  
 Asterábád, II. 494. III. 257,  
 278, 316, 346.  
 Astrakhán, III. 156, 249, 316,  
 317.  
 Ateshgáh, III. 9.  
 Atel, III. 551.  
 Athens, II. 44, 261. III. 576.  
 Athos (Mount), I. 381.  
 Atlantick Ocean, I. 7. III.  
 277.  
 A'vah, III. 88, 101.  
 Avher (see Abher).  
 Auber, III. 264.  
 Aujan, (Ujan or Ouján), III.  
 376, 391, 393 to 398, 413,  
 415, 416.  
 Awal or Wál, I. 165, 231, 335.  
 Ayi (or Ayín), II. 118, 119,  
 123, 478, 479.  
 Azamore, I. 177.  
 Azerbajján (see Aderbajján).  
 Azer Gushasp, III. 303.  
 Azora, III. 467.  
 Azzadi, II. 181, 183, 330, 331.  
 Baalbec, I. 377. II. 341, 348,  
 350, 367, 399.  
 Bább Káhi, II. 60, 220.  
 Báb al abuáb, III. 669.  
 Báb al Mandeb, I. 26, 336,  
 339.  
 Babel (See Babylon).  
 Babylon, I. 49, 104, 215, 408,  
 417, 418, 419, 423 to 427,  
 432, 437, 446 to 448, 454.  
 II. 45, 199, 251, 278, 280,  
 296, 340, 366, 420, 536,  
 542. III. 472, 537.  
 Badusétán, III. 416.  
 Baghdád, I. 178, 189, 193,  
 402. II. 55, 200, 204, 379,  
 280, 316. III. 28, 55, 126,  
 198, 311, 334, 364, 369,  
 445, 491, 572.  
 Bahbul (River), III. 221, 283,  
 289, 290, 295, 316.  
 Bahman dízh, II. 352.  
 Bahr al Hind, I. 21 to 30, 331.  
 — ahmer, I. 28.  
 — Mebelt, I. 27, 330.  
 — Hamyar, I. 28.  
 — Barburi, I. 28.  
 — Habsheh, I. 340.  
 — al Sín, I. 330.  
 — Ahkzer, I. 28.  
 Bahr al Irem, III. 201, 317  
 to 320.  
 Bahrein, I. 153, 161, 335,  
 386. II. 346.  
 Bakhtán, III. 2.  
 Baiender, III. 506.  
 Baiza, II. 308. III. 570, 571.  
 Bajéram (or Najéram), I. 333.  
 Bakhtegán (Lake), I. vii. 317.  
 II. 128, 171, 172, 328, 327,  
 331.  
 Bukhtvári, III. 16.  
 Bákhúniáh, I. 357.  
 Balamut, III. 584.  
 Balchan, III. 316.  
 Bálfurúsh (See Bárfurúsh).  
 Bálijá, III. 534, 585.  
 Balkh, I. 125, 126, 127. II.  
 200, 345, 361, 370, 372 to  
 374, 391 to 394. III. 306,  
 346.  
 Bálfúniáh, I. 357.  
 Bandemír, II. 152, 178 to  
 186, 226, 227, 307, 326,  
 334, 447.  
 Bander A'bbási, I. 81, 161,  
 165. II. 431.  
 Bauderánch or Bendaneh, I.  
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 Band i Kussar, II. 330.  
 Band e Merwán, III. 18.  
 Band e Rustam, II. 522.  
 Barbury, II. 435. III. 541.  
 Barcelore, I. 69.  
 Bardistán or Verdístán, I. 182.  
 Bárfurúsh, III. 249, 251, 291  
 to 294, 317, 318.  
 Bárik (áb), II. 225.  
 Barnhill (Mt.) I. 182.  
 Baroach, I. 81, 392, 453.  
 Basrah, I. 27, 164, 228, 230,  
 413, 414, 427. II. 200,  
 214, 215, 247, 316, 347,  
 500. III. 473.  
 Bastám, I. 391.  
 Baver ávuján, III. 265.  
 — jemán, III. 265.  
 Bázhgáh, II. 224.  
 Bedrowás, III. 460, 461, 500.  
 Beidhá, Baisa, III. 570, 571.  
 Belad al Habsheh, I. 339.  
 — al Zinjé, I. 340.  
 Belikesh, III. 265.  
 Belior (See Polior).  
 Belúchistán, II. 523, 524.  
 Benares, I. 416.  
 Bena i Shápúr, I. 297.  
 Bengál, I. 55, 110.  
 Berahán, III. 18.  
 Beráreh, Berázah, III. 567.  
 Bergamo (See Pergamus).  
 Berisa, III. 490.  
 Beshavur, I. 274, 297.  
 Bestám (Bastam), III. 226.  
 Betaksan, III. 13.  
 Bethel, I. 292, 369, 361.  
 Bethlehem, I. 391.  
 Bíd (Deh), II. 443.  
 Bijnagar, I. 323.  
 Bir, III. 472, 473.  
 Bírúndeh, III. 388.  
 Biscay (Bay), I. 3. III. 542.  
 Bishgin (Pishgin), III. 416.  
 Biskurina, I. 78.  
 Bisután, 574.  
 Bisután (Mount), I. 234. II.  
 95. III. 492, 573.  
 Bithynia, III. 514.  
 Bizdán, II. 121.  
 Black Sea, III. 480, 483, 510,  
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 Bokhárá, III. 393, 346.  
 Boli, III. 506 to 508.  
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 Bombareck, I. 154.  
 Bombay, I. 69 to 103, 147,  
 163, 190, 200, 328.  
 Borneo, I. 161.  
 Boschiffic, III. 483.  
 Bosmije (Fahspinj or Vaapinj),  
 III. 398, 407.  
 Bosporus, III. 519, 526.  
 Brazil, I. 9 to 20.  
 Broct, I. 162.  
 Bulghár, III. 311.  
 Bumechen, III. 335.  
 Bun i Kelá, III. 243, 321.  
 Burasjún, I. 253, 254, 257.  
 Burugerd, III. 568.



- Bushehr, I. 181.  
 Būshehr or A'bu'sahr, I. 153, 162, 183 to 251, 261, 277, 310, 313, 316, 403, 404, 451. II. 58, 61, 149, 163, 198, 205, 213. III. 28, 29, 92, 160, 316, 353, 370.  
 Buyur deroh, III. 26.  
 Byzantium, III. 524.  
 Cábul, I. 312. II. 304, 306, 392. III. 562, 574.  
 Cádeshah (Kadesiah), II. 34. III. 69.  
 Cæsarea, III. 448.  
 Cáhrirek, III. 112, 113.  
 Caicandros, I. 174.  
 Cæiel (or Cael or Kail), I. 325.  
 Cailon, I. 228.  
 Cairo, I. 223, 391.  
 Cala, I. 53.  
 Cálán, II. 432.  
 Calatúni, I. 265.  
 Calcutta, I. 416. II. 204.  
 Calcutt, I. 52, 53, 55, 67, 323.  
 Cálí Kelá, III. 572.  
 Callatébos, I. 381.  
 Callirhoe, I. 287. III. 174.  
 Calymere, I. 53.  
 Cameron, I. 52.  
 Canarah (or Keueri), I. 77, 79, 86, 93, 95.  
 Canary islands, I. 6, 7.  
 Canneh, I. 336.  
 Canorein, I. 79.  
 Canton, I. 330.  
 Caphya, I. 389.  
 Carabágh (Karabágh), II. 67.  
 Carabuláh (Karabulágh), II. 160.  
 Carbela (Kerbela), III. 166.  
 Carcúe, III. 465.  
 Cárej (Carage), III. 110, 120, III. 374.  
 Caria, I. 381. III. 91.  
 Carli, I. 78.  
 Carmania, (see Kirmán).  
 Carnine, I. 152.  
 Carta, III. 276.  
 Cartalimen, III. 517.  
 Carteia, III. 542.  
 Carus, III. 504.  
 Cáshtán, II. 214, 493, to 496. III. 3, 57, 79, 82, 84 to 95, 99, 104, 155, 365, 392, 568, 569.  
 Cášmar (or Kášmar), I. 388.  
 Cashmir, I. 110, 388. III. 281.  
 Caspian (Sea), I. 187. II. 38, 363. III. 124, 156, 200, 221, 231, 250, 256, 274, 277 to 282, 550, 551, 562.  
 Caspian (Straits), II. 319, 335, 336. III. 176, 180, 209, 214, 216, 224, 276, 324, 545 to 550.  
 Catea, I. 169.  
 Caucasus, I. 312, 394.  
 Cázerún, I. 187, 225, 266, 271 to 278, 301, 302, 310, 316. III. 185.  
 Cazvin, (see Kazvin).  
 Cephisus, I. 392.  
 Cerigo, III. 540.  
 Certes (or Series), I. 166, 183.  
 Ceuta, III. 541.  
 Ceylon, I. 26, 30 to 64, 85, 161, 324, 329, 393, 402, 450.  
 Chabor, III. 572.  
 Cháh e Kúch, II. 114.  
 Chahkuta, I. 255, 257.  
 Chalcedon, III. 378, 485, 518.  
 Chaldæa, I. 426, 427, 448.  
 Cháoush, III. 531, 533.  
 Chapacur rúd, III. 288.  
 Chár chashmeh, III. 16.  
 Chareg (or Charek), I. 166, 167, 174, 179, 180.  
 Chargaz, III. 502 to 504.  
 Charshumbek, III. 480.  
 Chaul, I. 55.  
 Chaunon (Xaunon), III. 103.  
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## ERRATA, VOL. III.

»1010

Page 2, for writen read written; for retriects r. restricts. p. 19, last line, for denineated r. delineated. p. 20, for *Saffah* r. *Saffah* or *Sofah*. p. 31, (note), for magiore r. maggiore; the note in this page should have been numbered 5, but this mistake does not affect the references of any preceding or subsequent notes. p. 39, line 17, for that r. than. p. 41, for slaughter r. slaughter. p. 58 (and elsewhere), for *tufanji* r. *tufangchi*, and for *تفانجی* r. *تفانجی*. p. 55, for *heily* r. *kheily*. p. 107, to *manzi* add l. p. 128, (line 15), supply, as, after "as far." p. 180, for interspersed r. interspersed. p. 206, for villages r. villages; and for abundantly r. abundantly. p. 211, for others trees, read other trees. p. 220, for beats r. beasts. p. 267, for *Sayzvar* r. *Sabzvar*. p. 298, for possibly r. possible. p. 331, supply the Persian letter *ذ* before *بازند*. p. 340, for expressed r. expressed. p. 346, line 7, for than r. that. p. 371, line 14, dele one did. p. 388, for *Ak-kand* r. *Ak-cand*. p. 390, for, only the, r. the only. p. 411, supply r in apochyphal. p. 431, note, for croased r. crossed. p. 446, for sumptous r. sumptuous. p. 455, (note 33), for, same as *Tefis*, r. the same, &c. p. 464, for four miles, r. four miles. p. 465 (note), for *Carcak* r. *Carcac*. p. 480 (note), for obliterated r. obliterated. p. 483, line 18, for round r. ground. p. 490 (note 44), for *Bekicht* r. *Bekicht*. p. 502, line 8, for father r. farther. p. 523, supply l in,

sooly. p. 526, for *kiosks* r. *kiosks*. p. 536 (line 14), for last r. east. p. 540, for *Tinos* r. *Tenos*. p. 545, line 9, full stop after way. p. 560, for *A, b, b* and *c*, r. *A, b, c* and *d*. p. 562, for about r. about. p. 573, for *Turchesca* r. *Turchesca*; and for *puerile* r. *puerile*.

\* P. 443, for *centinels* r. *sentinels*. p. 566, for *بن بومد* r. *بن بومد*.



To the *Errata* noticed in Vol. II. (page after the advertisement) add—Vol. I. p. 169, (note, line 12), for immeteriality read immateriality. p. 271, line 1, for *Cacerán* r. *Cácerán*. p. 439, line 21, for 286 read 285. Vol. II. p. 2, for *Frangki* r. *Farangki*. p. 6, note 4, for *JA'JERMI* r. *JAJRUMI*. p. 11 (and elsewhere), for *tsfangji* r. *tufangchi*, and for *تفنگچی* r. *تفنگچی*. p. 154, for *Gumbez* r. *Gumbod*, and for *گمبز* r. *گمبذ*, although the word is generally pronounced *gumbez*. p. 195, for *AARFI* r. *URFI*. p. 353, (note 168), for *چنگ* read *چنگ*. p. 377, for *Isáb* r. *Anab*. p. 390 (note 206), for *danek* r. *dong* or *dánk*. p. 400 (note), for *majled* read *majild*; and for *jexx* r. *juxx*. p. 401 (note 235), dele the stop before the word "I find him," &c. p. 415, (note 254), the reference to Vol. I. should be pp. 382, 462. p. 447, for *dispatches* r. *despatches*.

THE END.







